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Art. I.—*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van. Part IV.* By Prof. A. H. Sa[illegible].

Since the publication of the third part of my Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (xx. 1.) for 1882, the number of new Vannic inscriptions which have come to my knowledge has been but small. During the winter of 1888-9 Prof. H. Hyvernat and M. Müller-Simonis travelled in Armenia, and Prof. Hyvernat made every effort to discover fresh cuneiform inscriptions and re-copy those which were previously known. But unfortunately political intrigue and religious antipathies, aided by the severity of the winter, so seriously impeded his efforts as to oblige him to leave the country with few additions to our knowledge of its early epigraphy. That many more inscriptions, however, exist above ground besides those with which we are already acquainted has recently been ascertained by a German engineer, Dr. Belck, who has been settled in Armenia for some time past.

Mr. F. C. Conybeare who met Dr. Belck in November, 1891, writes of him: "He has been this autumn all round Lake Van, then to Erzerûm, Kars, and Erivan. He reports that he has copied twenty-four new cuneiform inscriptions mostly to the north and north-east of Lake Van. On the south shore of Lake Goptcha are three large inscriptions,

of one only of which, that near Alichalu,[1] has he copied about one-fifth. The north shore of the Lake is quite unexplored. Along the north and north-east shores of Lake Van he reports at least twelve other cuneiform inscriptions known to him, but uncopied."

Prof. Hyvernat also heard of several new inscriptions and copied two or three others which were not known before. He gives the following list of texts which must be added to those enumerated in my Memoir[2]:—

(1) One reported to exist at the mill of Kend Engusner (perhaps N.E. of the gardens of Van). No. xi. in Prof. Hyvernat's list.

(2) One reported to exist at the mill of Karemvar at Shushanz. H. No. xii.

(3) One reported to exist over the gate of the castle of Khoshâb. H. No. xiv.

(4) A great tablet on the altar in the chancel of the church at Karagunis, or Kara-Kunduz, near the lake of Arshak or Erjek, 15–20 kils. N.E. of Van. H. No. xiii.

(5) Reported to exist on a stone in a cave five minutes distant from a castle at Ashod Dargah, near two villages named Kimbul and Kiaper, four hours from Khoshâb on the Persian side. On the walls of the cave and pit are said to be several other inscriptions. H. No. xvi. Perhaps the inscription of Ashrut-Dargah (No. lxii.) is meant.

(6) Seven fragments built into the walls of the powder-magazine in the citadel of Van. H. No. i.

(7) About thirty lines at the extreme east end of the rock of Van, left of the gate of Tabriz. H. No. ii.

(8) In the right hand sanctuary of the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Van. H. No. iii.

(9) A duplicate of No. xiv. on a flat round stone in the house of Parsek-Aga in the gardens of Van. H. No. iv.

[1] No. lv. of my Memoir.

[2] *Du Caucase au Golfe persique*, Washington, 1892. Pp. 517–566.

(10) Two fragments of an inscription of Menuas in the monastery of Karemvar at Shushanz. On one is (1) *Me-nu-a-s* . . . (2) *i-ni* . . . ; on the other *Khal-di-ni-li* . . . H. No. v.

(11) On a fragment of a terra-cotta vase; seven characters. H. No. vii.[1]

(12) At Degermen-Keui on Mount Varak, about twelve kils. E. of Van. The stone probably came from the neighbouring ruins of Tsoravans, where arrow-heads have been found. H. No. viii.

(13) Reported to be on the road from Artamid to the Shamiram-su. H. No. ix.

(14) Reported to be at Keshish-göl above Toni. H. No. x. For these two inscriptions see Nos. lxxii, lxxiv. *infra.*

(15) Reported to be at Tsola-Khaneh, near Bash-Kaleh. H. No. xvii.

(16) Reported to be in the new church at Khorzot, about a league from the bay of Arjish. H. No. xviii.

(17) Reported to be in a ruined church at Guzek, about half a league from Khorzot. H. No. xix.

(18) Reported to be in a mill near Khorzot. H. No. xx.

(19) Reported to be in a convent at Medzoph, six hours distant from Arjish. H. No. xxi.

(20) Reported to be in the convent of Arzevaper, near Arjish, on stones above two altars on the two sides of the chancel of the church. H. No. xxii.

(21) On a rock at Delibaba on the road from Toprak-Kaleh to Hassan-Kaleh, in a valley leading to the Araxes. Seen by Dr. Chambers. H. No. xxviii.

(22) An inscription of Sarduris II. in seven lines copied by the R. P. Duplan on a column of the chief cupola on the right side of the church at Patnotz. It is a duplicate of No. lxii. H. No. xxiii.

(23) A duplicate inscription on two stones in the gate of the church at Patnotz copied by the R. P. Duplan.

[1] According to Prof. Hyvernat the first three characters are [cuneiform signs], the fifth being the numeral vi.

Only the commencement is preserved: [*Me-*]*i-nu-hu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-i-*[*s*] "Menuas, son of Ispuinis." H. No. xxiv. For two other inscriptions from Patnotz see below, Nos. lxix, lxx.

Prof. Hyvernat has made the following corrections or additions to the topographical details given in my memoir:—

No. v. The misprint "white hedge" should be corrected into "white hedgehog" (p. 461). The name Ak-kirpi is given as Ar-kipri by Deyrolle and Akh-Köpru "white bridge" by Hyvernat. The tablet is called Choban-Kapussi "shepherd's gate," as well as Meher-Kapussi.

No. vi. The monastery is called Garmirvor by Hyvernat. It is situated at Shushantz, on a slope of Mount Varak.

No. xii. The "church" of Schulz is the monastery of Garmirvor.

No. xiv. Yadi-Kilissa, or Yedi-Kilissa, "the seven churches" is on Mount Varak, and, according to Hyvernat, about fifteen kilometres from Van.

No. xv. The stone is now in the possession of a certain Simon Ferjulian (in the gardens of Van).

No. xvii. Koshbanz, called Kopans-Kaleh by Deyrolle, is about six miles from Van, on Mount Varak. The church is dedicated to Surp Kirikor, or St. Gregory.

No. xviii. "St. George" to be corrected into St. Gregory.

No. xxi. Omit the word Khorkhor, which denotes the gardens of Van and the rock-chambers above them. The inscription is a little to the east of No. xx.

No. xxvii. The place is on the right bank of the Bendimahi-chai, near the spot where it falls into the bay of Arjish.

No. xxxi. The stone forms part of the pavement on the right of the entrance of the church.

No. xxxii. The vault forms a means of communication between the two parts of the double church. The inscription is on the lintel.

No. xlv. For Surk-Sahak read Surp-Sahak "St. Isaac."

No. xlviii. The stone forms the lintel of a door to the left of the altar.

No. li. Col. iii. is about 150 paces to the west of Col. i.

No. lii. Toprak Kilissa is more correctly called Toprak Kaleh. It is built on a spur of the Zemzem-dagh, on one of the roads leading from which is the inscription of Ak-Kirpi, or Agh-Kopru (No. v.). Prof. Hyvernat bought two fragments of a bronze shield found in the ruins, on which is the name of "Rusas son of Eri[menas]."

No. liii. This inscription is now in the Museum of Tiflis.

In the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxiv. 2 (1892), pp. 122 *sqq.* an important article has been published by Dr. Waldemar Belck and Dr. C. F. Lehmann, "Ueber neuerlich aufgefundene Keilinschriften in russisch und türkisch Armenien." Dr. Belck describes the Vannic inscriptions he has discovered and copied, and Dr. Lehmann translates certain of them, of which copies are added at the end of the article. The following thirty-one "new inscriptions" are enumerated by Dr. Belck:—

INSCRIPTIONS OF ISPUINIS.

(1) One of three lines on the fragment of a column in the church of Patnoz.

(2) Two inscriptions in the village of Sewestan six wersts[1] south of Van.

INSCRIPTION OF ISPUINIS AND MENUAS.

(3) One of six double lines in the house of Mukhsi Murad in the village of Mukhrapert, opposite the island of Aghthamar.

INSCRIPTIONS OF MENUAS.

(4) Two inscriptions in the church of Patnoz.

(5) One of nine lines in the churchyard of Kizilgeia, or Güsülgeia, six wersts south of Patnoz.

[1] A werst is given as equal to 3500 English feet.

(6) One of at least twenty-three lines over the door of a church in the monastery of Mezhopa Wank, or Astwadsasin ("the Mother of God"), thirty wersts south of Patnos, on the road to Artish or Erdshish.

(7) Two inscriptions of thirty-one and twenty-three lines respectively in the church of Arzevapert, eight to ten wersts north-east of Artish.

(8) Two inscriptions of thirty-two and ten lines respectively in the church of Gúsak at the north-east corner of the Lake of Van.

(9) One in the church of Sikkéh near Van.

(10) One before the entrance of the mosque of Kurshun in Van.

(11) On the fragment of a column in the house of Mesham Aga, in Van.

(12) Four inscriptions at Artamid, of which copies and descriptions are given below (Nos. lxxi–lv.).

(13) One of four lines at the door of the house of Khadshi Oannes, in the village of Ishkhanikom, at the entrance to the Haiotzor ("the valley of the Armenians").

(14) One on a rock in the village called the Lower Meshingert in the Haiotzor.

(15) Two inscriptions in Noorkerkh, near Mukhrapert, opposite the island of Aghthamar.

(16) Three inscriptions in Anzaff eight to ten wersts east of Van.

INSCRIPTIONS PROBABLY BELONGING TO MENUAS.

(17) Two inscriptions in the church of Gúsak.

(18) One in the church at Sikkéh.

(19) One in the churchyard at Güganz in the Haiotzor.

INSCRIPTION OF ARGISTIS.

(20) One found at Sarikamish (on the Russian frontier on the road from Kars to Erzrum), now in the Museum of Tiflis.

INSCRIPTION OF SARDURIS II.

(21) On a rock at Koélani Girlan or Aluchalu on Lake Erivan; much injured. This is the inscription copied by the Vartabed Mesrop Sempadian, No. lv., of which I have vainly tried to get a photograph taken. Dr. Belck made out in it the name of Sarduris.

INSCRIPTION OF RUŚAS.

(22) One on a stele six wersts east of Toni (twelve to fourteen wersts east of Van). For this inscription see below, No. lxxix.

Besides these thirty-one inscriptions, Dr. Belck heard of ten more, among them being one at Eiri-wank. He also noticed an inscription of twelve lines at Sagalu on the Goektschai or Lake Erivan. Near the same lake is the inscription of Ordaklu (No. lx, where the name Ordanlu should be corrected into Ordaklu).

On the philological side the Rev. Dr. Scheil has published an article in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie at à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* xiv. 1, 2 (1892) on the phrase *gunuśâ khaubi* which I had translated: "I took for a spoil." In this article he endeavours to prove that *gunuśâ* rather signifies "with weapons," and that the derivative *gunusini* has the sense of "warriors." He further believes that the word was adopted into Assyrian under the form of *gunni* "an army."

I will now give the new inscriptions which have come to light since the publication of the last part of my Memoir, and add to them by way of an Appendix the corrections improvements I have been able to introduce into the ıding and translation of the inscriptions I have already blished. Prof. Hyvernat has been kind enough to place my disposal copies of all the inscriptions in his possession. ıe numeration of the texts is a continuation of that in ɜ previous part of my Memoir.

Inscriptions of Ispuinis.

LXIX.

The following inscription was communicated to Prof. Hyvernat by the R. P. Duplan who copied it on the fragment of a column in a Ziaret or mortuary chapel at the entrance to Patuoz, a village situated a few hours before the passage of the Murad on the road to Erzrûm.

(1) . . . . . . si-di-is-tu-[ni]
. . . . . (he) has restored

(2) . . . . . . Śar-[du]-hu-ri 𒁹 Is-[pu-i-ni-is]
. . . . . . for Sarduris, Ispuinis.

(3) . . . . [Is-] pu-i-ni-[ni] 𒁹 ➛𒁹 [RI-du-ri-khi]
. . . . belonging to Ispuinis the son of Sarduris.

The spelling of the name of the king's father in line 2, like the similar spelling of the name in liii. 2, proves that Sar was the pronunciation of the divine name which is usually denoted by the ideograph RI.

LXX.

Copied by M. Duplan on a column in the corner of the nave of the church at Patnoz.

𒁹 Is-pu-u-i-ni-e
Of Ispuinis.

Inscriptions of Menuas.

LXXI.

Besides the two inscriptions copied at Artamit or Artamid by Schulz (Nos. xxii, xxiii). Dr. Belck has discovered four others, one of which is identical with No. xxii. The first inscription is engraved on a wall of rock in the garden of Abdurrahman Bairam Aga oglu at Artamid.

(1) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni 𒁹 Me-nu-a-s
To the children of Khaldis the gracious Menuas

(2) 𒁹 Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni pi-i-[li]
the son of Ispuinis this memorial

(3) a-gu-ni 𒁹 Me-nu-a-i pi-i-li ti-ni
has selected; of Menuas the memorial he has named (it).

3. As the inscriptions of Artamid are engraved in the close neighbourhood of an aqueduct which has been partly cut through the rock, partly formed by a wall of polygonal masonry, Dr. Lehmann takes *pili* in the sense of an "aqueduct" or "canal." The use of the verb *aguni* which means to "conduct" as well as to "take," as, for instance, in l. 25, would sanction this explanation of the word. But *pili* is also found in xxix. B. 7, 9, where there can be no reference to a canal, and consequently I must abide by my old view which regarded *pi-li* as a derivative from *pi* "name." It may be added that one of the Artamid inscriptions, No. xxiii, records the erection of an *uldi* or "post," for which see below.

LXXII.

The second inscription is engraved on a rock on the northern side of the Shamiram-su at the western end of the town. It was discovered in the winter of 1891–2.

(1) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the gracious

(2) 𒁹 Me-nu-a-s 𒁹 Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-s
Menuas the son of Ispuinis

(3) i-ni pi-li-e a-gu-ni
this memorial has selected;

(4) 𒁹 Me-nu-a-i pi-li ti-ni
of Menuas the memorial he has called (it).

LXXIII.

The third inscription is in the garden of Abdurrahman Bairam Aga oglu about ten yards distant from the first.

(1) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-[si]-ni 𒁹 Me-[nu-a-s]
To the children of Khaldis the gracious Menuas

(2) Is-pu-u-i-ni-[khi]-ni-s i-ni pi-i-[li]
the son of Ispuinis this memorial

(3) a-[gu]-ni 𒁹 Me-nu-a-i pi-i-li ti-i-ni
has selected; of Menuas the memorial he has called (it).

(4) AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the mighty
𒁹 Me-nu-a-ni
belonging to Menuas,

(5) << DAN << al-śu-i-ni << 𒆳
the king powerful, the king great, the king
Bi-i-a-i-[na-hu-]e
of Biainas,

(6) a-lu-śi 𒌷 Dhu-us-pa-a-e 𒌷
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas,

(7) 𒁹 Me-nu-a-s a-li-e a-lu-s i-ni DUP-TE
Menuas says: Whoever this tablet

(8) tu-li-e a-lu-s pi-tu-li-e [a]-lu-s
removes, whoever removes the name, whoever

(9) a-i-ni-e-i i-ni-li du-li-e a-lu-s
with earth this destroys, whoever

(10) hu-li-s ti-i-hu-li-e i-e-s i-ni
else pretends: I this

(11) pi-i-li a-gu-bi tu-ri-ni-ni AN
memorial have selected, as for (that) person may
Khal-di-s
Khaldis,

(12) AN IM-s AN UT-s AN-MES-s ma-a-ni
Teisbas (and) Ardinis, the gods, him
AN-UT-ni
publicly,

(13) pi-e-i-ni me-i [ar-khi-] hu-ru-li-a-ni me-i
the name of him, the family of him,

(14) i-na-i-ni me-i na-[ra-a] a-hu-i-e hu-[lu-li-e]
(&) the city of him to fire (&) water consign.

LXXIV.

The fourth inscription, which is in a very injured condition, is in a side-valley near Artamid.

(1) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni ꜏ Me-nu-a-s
To the children of Khaldis the gracious Menuas

(2) ꜏ Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni pi-li-e
the son of Ispuinis this memorial

(3) a-gu-ni ꜏ Me-nu-a-i pi-li ti-ni
has selected; of Menuas the memorial he has called (it).

(4) ꜏ Me-nu-a-s a-li-e a-lu-s i-ni DUP-TE
Menuas says: Whoever this tablet
tu-li-i-e
removes,

(5) a-lu-s pi-tu-li-e a-lu-s a-i-ni-i
whoever removes the name, whoever with earth
i-ni-li du-li-e
this destroys,

(6) a-lu-s hu-li-e-s ti-hu-li-e i-e-s i-ni pi-li-e
whoever else pretends: I this memorial

(7) a-gu-bi tu-ri-ni-ni AN Khal-di-s
have selected, as for (that) person may Khaldis,
AN IM-s AN UT-s AN-MES-s
Teisbas (&) Ardinis, the gods,

(8) ma-a-ni AN-UT-ni [pi-e-i-]ni me-i
him publicly, the name of him,
ar-khi-hu-ru-li-a-ni
the family

(9) me-i i-na-i-ni me-[i] na-ra-a a-hu-i-e
of him, the city of him to fire (&) water
hu-lu-li-[e]
consign.

LXXV.

Copied by Prof. Hyvernat at Yedi Kilissa.

(1) [Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-]i-ni-khi-[ni-is]
Menuas the son of Ispuinis

(2) [i-]ni ►≿YY si-[di-]si-tu-ni
this city has restored:

(3) i-ni [cuneiform] pu-lu-u-śi-e ku-gu-ni
this stone engraved has inscribed,

(4) Y Me-nu-a-ni Y Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khe
belonging to Menuas the son of Ispuinis

(5) ⟨⟨ DAN-NU ⟨⟨ [cuneiform] Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e
the powerful king, the king of the land of Biainas,

(6) a-lu-śi ►≿YY Dhu-us-pa-e ►≿YY
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

The inscription doubtless began with an invocation to Khaldis and his companion divinities.

LXXVI.

Copied by Prof. Hyvernat at Yedi Kilissa.

(1) ►►Y Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-śi-i-ni
To the children of Khaldis the gracious

(2) Y Me-nu-a-s Y Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
Menuas the son of Ispuinis,

(3) ►►Y Khal-di-i-e e-hu-ri-i-e
to Khaldis the lord.

Inscription of Argistis.

LXXVII.

This inscription was found in November, 1891, built into a cottage at Armavir. A photograph was taken by the Galonst Sarkavag and shown to me by Mr. F. C. Conybeare.

(1) ►►Y Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-hu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the mighty

(2) Y Ar-gis-ti-s Y Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s
Argistis the son of Menuas

(3) a-li-e ⊨YYYY ⊨Y► ba-du-hu-śi-i-e
says: a palace which had decayed

(4) si-i-di-is-tu-hu-bi te-ru-hu-bi
I restored, I erected,—

(5) Y Ar-gi-is-ti-khi-ni-li ti-i-ni
(the house) of Argistis it was called—

(6) qi-hu-ra-a-ni qu-ul-di-ni ma-a-nu
. . . . belonging to the court (?) each,

(7) hu-i gi-i is-ti-ni si-da-hu-ri
together with the wall of it which was broken (?):

(8) a-qi-i-na (?)-a-ni sa-nu[1]-e Y⟨⟨⟨ a-gu-bi
mortar (&) bricks I took:

(9) ⊨Y ul-di-e ⊨Y za-a-ri-e te-ru-bi
posts (&) doors I set up;

(10) za-du-bi ar-ni-si-ni-li is-ti-ni
I did the work this

(11) Y Ar-gi-is-ti-ni Y Me-nu-a-khi
belonging to Argistis the son of Menuas,

(12) ⟨⟨ DAN-NU ⟨⟨ al-śu-u-i-ni-e
the king powerful, the king great,

(13) ⟨⟨ ⋆ Bi-i-a-i-na-a-hu-e
the king of the land of Bianias

(14) a-lu-śi ►⊨YY Dhu-us-pa-a-e ►⊨YYY
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

[1] Or *se*. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine from the photograph which of the two characters is intended, though the traces resemble *nu* more than *se*.

Line 7 shows us how iv. 2 and xiii. 2 must be restored. The first passage will read: *asini sidisituni inuki badusini* [*ui*] *giei sida*-[*uri*], "he has restored the house which from of old was decayed together with the wall which was broken"; and in the second passage we have: *dhulurini badusie sidisituni inaini sidisituni ui giei istini sida-u*[*ri*], "he has restored the palace which had decayed, he has restored the city along with this wall which was broken." The parallelism of *sida-uri* with *badusie* and *badusini* indicates a meaning like that of "broken." Consequently I cannot follow Guyard in connecting it with *sidu* "to restore." The word is an adjective with a termination similar to that of *giss-uri* "multitudinous," *e-uri* "lord," *dhul-uri* "palace."

The two inscriptions (iv. 2 and xiii. 2) show that there is a full stop after *sida-uri* at the end of line 7. Hence the sense of the first paragraph of our text must be: "A palace which had decayed I restored, I erected what was called (the house) of Argistis, even each of the *qiurani quldini* (chambers of the court?), along with the wall of it (*or* this wall) which was broken." The use of the words *qiurani quldini* proves that I was wrong in my interpretation of the dative or genitive *qiurâ quldi* in lix. 6. The phrase is similar to *barzani zeldi*, and must signify some kind of building or part of a building. According to K 2100, *Rev.* 13, published by Dr. Bezold in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology for March, 1889, *kiurum* signified "god" in the language of Lulubi, but the inscription copied by Mr. de Morgan at Ser-i-Pul shows that Lulubi was far distant from Van.

For *quldi-ni* see below, lxxix. 6.

In line 8 the sense is indicated partly by the analogy of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, partly by the employment of the ideograph of plurality after *sanue* (or *sase*), as well as by the use of the verb *agubi*.

9. I have at last discovered the meaning of *uldi*. The determinative shows that it was made of wood, and the verb *teru* "to set up," which is employed with it here and in v. 27, makes it clear that it was something fixed in the

ground. Consequently it could not have been an aqueduct, as I had erroneously inferred from xxiii. In this latter inscription it denotes some wooden monument erected in honour of the mother of Menuas; in our present inscription, as in v. 27, it is associated with a "gate," and in lxiv. 1 it is also associated with a "gate." Light is thrown on the signification of the word by the picture of the temple of Khaldis given in my Memoir opposite p. 655. Here, on either side of the gate, two shafts, in the form of spears, are set up in the ground. In *uldi* we may, therefore, see "a post"; either the spear-like post represented in the picture, or an ordinary door-post.

Since *zarie* has the adjectival termination in *-ri*, it is possible that the simple *za* is "a gate," and that *uldie zarie* are "door-posts." If so, in v. 27, 28, we shall have to translate, "Ispuinis and Menuas have erected artificial posts to Khaldis; they have erected artificial gate-doors." *Lûese* seems to signify the two folding doors of the gate. If it were not for *sukhinatsie* (lviii. 4), which is certainly derived from *su* "to make," it would be tempting to suppose that *sukhe* signified "two."

In lxiv. 2 we have *arniu-si-ni-li is*[*tini*] in place of *arnisinili istini*, showing that *arniusinili* and *arnisinili* must be different forms of the same word. For the signification, see the note on lxxix. 20.

LXXVIII.

This inscription is on a stone tablet in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Reynolds, American missionary at Van. The following copy of it was made by Prof. Hyvernat:—

Obverse—(1) ►► . . . .
(2) ma-nu-ni (?)-ni (?) . . .
(3) VII. GUD II. [LU-GAL]

---

(4) kur-ni gu-ni-e-i
(5) III. GUD III. GUD-LID
(6) V. LU-GAL
(7) [illegible] [III.] GUD-LID [illegible]

(8) 𒁹 LID (?)-ni-e-di
(9) I (?) GUD ma-nu

---

(10) kur-ni gu-ni-e-i
(11) III. GUD III. LID VI. LU-GAL
(12) 𒀸 [III.] GUD III. LID VI. LU-GAL

---

(13) 𒁹 ni (?)-di-e-di
(14) . . . . . . LID ma-nu

(1) To the god [s] . . . .
(2) to each [of them] . . .
(3) 7 oxen, 2 [large sheep.]

---

(4) For the offerers of the sacrifice
(5) 3 oxen, 3 wild oxen,
(6) 5 large sheep;
(7) in all [3] wild oxen, 5 large sheep.

---

(8) On the first of the month . . . (?)
(9) 1 ox apiece.

---

(10) For the offerers of the sacrifice
(11) 3 oxen, 3 wild oxen, 6 large sheep;
(12) in all [3] oxen, 3 wild oxen, 6 large sheep.

---

(13) On the first of the month . . . (?)
(14) . . . wild oxen apiece.

Reverse—(1) [kur-ni gu-] ni-e-i
(2) [ma-] nu . . . [III.] GUD
(3) [V.] AM-ŚI 𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋 tar-di-ni se-khi-[ri]
(4) V. LU-GAL
(5) 𒀸 III. GUD V. LID V. LU-GAL

---

(6) 𒁹 ul (?)-di-e-di
(7) [III.] GUD I. LID UT ma-nu
(8) kur-ni gu-ni-e-i
(9) II. GUD II. LID V. LU-GAL
(10) 𒀸 V. GUD III. LID V. LU-GAL

---

(11) ⟝ XXIX. GUD XIII. LID XX. LU-GAL
(12) i- . . -nu ⟝𒀀 Su-pa . . . .
(13) . . . . . . X. LID ⟝𒀀 [Su-] pa VI. SI BIT
(14) . . . . . . ⟝𒀀 Su-pa SI BIT

---

(1) For the offerers of the sacrifice,
(2) to each . . . . [3] oxen,
(3) [5] wild oxen strong (&) alive,
(4) 5 large sheep:
(5) in all 3 oxen, 5 wild oxen, 5 large sheep

---

(6) On the first of the month . . . (?)
(7) [3] oxen, 1 wild ox, each day;
(8) for the offerers of the sacrifice
(9) 2 oxen, 2 wild oxen, 5 large sheep;
(10) in all 5 oxen, 3 wild oxen, 5 large sheep:

---

(11) In all 29 oxen, 13 wild oxen, 20 large sheep
(12) before (?) the city of Supa . . .
(13) . . . 10 wild oxen for the city of Supa, 6 before the temple
(14) . . . the city of Supa before the temple.

The summation in the last paragraph of the Reverse does not agree with the sum of the numerals that precede. Either, therefore, the numerals have been miscopied, or the commencement of the tablet is lost.

(4) *Kurni* is written *ku-ur-ni* in lxviii. 5. The word *guniei* is probably connected with *gunusâ* which Dr. Scheil has shown to denote "weapons." It would seem that the root *gun* signified "to slay." But *gunici* may be borrowed from the Assyrian *ginû*.

(7) The ideograph ⟝ "in all" is new.

(8) If the copy is right it is difficult to conjecture any meaning for the words which follow the numeral "one" in *Obv.* 8, 13, *Rev.* 6, except that of the names of months.

Rev. (3) *Tar-di-ni* will be a derivative from *tar* "to be strong."

(12) The city of Supa is otherwise unknown.

Inscription of Rusas.

LXXIX.

The following inscription was discovered by Dr. Belck, engraved on the face of a stele half-way up the precipitous side of a desolate mountain six wersts east of Toni (which is 12–14 wersts east of Van). The beginning of it is lost, and Dr. Lehmann points out that the conclusion of the text must be on the face of the stele which is concealed from the view of the passer-by. The stele is erected not far from the source of the Keshish-Göll which waters the gardens of Toprak Kaleh (or Kilissa; see No. LII). The English Consul Pollard Devey, at Van, has a copy of the inscription made from a squeeze. The inscription has been published by Belck and Lehmann in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxiv. 2.

(1) . . ri . . hu-e-li (?) . . . . ba-ba-ni-e (?)
. . . . distant

(2) . . nu (?) 𒁹𒌍 hu-ra tar-bi 𒈫 𒁹𒌍 is-ti-ni
. . . . the water. This

(3) tsu-hu-e h-i-tsi-na-a-hu-[e]
canal belonging to the . . . . . .

(4) [t]e-ru-bi ti-ni 𒁹 Ru-ša-a-i tsu-[e ?]
I erected. It is called of Rušas the canal.

(5) [a]-gu-bi si-e is-ti-ni-ni 𒁹 Ru-ša-khi-na-[di]
I took the channel belonging to it into the town of Rušas.

(6) [i]-ku-ka-khi-ni ki-gu a-li qu-ul-di-[ni]
In the same place a garden (?) and a court (?)

(7) [i]-nu 𒆳 Bi-a-i-na-se pal-la e-h[a]
before (?) the people of Bianias . . . as well as

(8) [cuneiform] -se gu-ni su-li-ma-nu 𒁹 Ru-śa-[s]
the gods is established (?) each . . . Ruśas

(9) [a]-li i-hu 𒁹 Ru-śa-khi-i-ni-li-[ni]
says thus: After the town of Ruśas

(10) [si-]-du-hu-li i-u i-ni tsu-e ta se-[e]
had been restored, thus this canal for the visitors

(11) [te-] ru-bi [cuneiform] -se [cuneiform] Dhu-us-pa-i-ni-[e]
I erected (&) for the sons of Dhuspas

(12) hu-ru-lu-ni i-śi-i ki-g[u]
a seed-plot . . . a garden (?)

(13) [𒁹] Ru-śa-khi-na-ka-i e-ha i-mu-u-[ni ?]
for the people of the town of Ruśas as well as the face (?)

(14) tsu-i-ni-i e-śi gu-ni
belonging to the canal (?) of the inscription established (?)
qu-ul-di-[di ?]
in the court (?)

(15) [su]-li-ma-nu [cuneiform] -ni-s a lu-[s]
each . . . Belonging to the sons (of Dhuspas) whoever

(16) hu-ru-lu-ni su-i-ni [cuneiform] -se
the seed-plot which has been made for the sons

(17) . . bi ra di ri [cuneiform] du-[li][1]-e la [2]-ra-gi
(with spades ?) of bronze shall work . . .

(18) [𒁹] Ru-śa-s a-li te-ru-bi i-ku-ka-khi-ni
Ruśas says: I have planted in the same place

(19) . . ki-gu [cuneiform] GIS TIR GAN hu se-dan . .
a garden (?), vines, garden trees & . . .

(20) [a]r-ni-hu-si-ni-li is-ti-[ni]
after the work this

(21) du-hu-li i-na-ni tsu-e-[ni]
had been accomplished for the city (viz.) a canal

(22) [𒁹] Ru-śa-khi-na-hu-e khu-ri-is . .
belonging to the town of Ruśas . . .

[1] The copy gives *di* which, however, cannot be right.
[2] More probably *ts*.

(23) . . ni-ni me-i ab (?) . . śi i ba hu se bi . .
. . . . . of him . . . .

(24) . . . . . ni a-hu-di Y Ru-śa-khi-na-hu-[e]
. . . . . . to the water belonging to the town of Ruśas

(25) . . śi-la-ni-ni a-la-tsi mu-si-ti-na- . .
belonging to . . . of the river . . . .

(26) [YY] Y<<< tsu-i-ni-ni si-e-di hu
the water of the canal in the channel, &

(27) . . ka-tsi-ya-ni mu-si-ti-na- . .
. . . .

(28) [YY] Y<<< YY ⊟ a-la-i-ni-ni si-e-du-li-[e]
the water of the river may he bring back

(29) [Y] Ru-śa-khi-na-i-di a-li YY [Y<<<]
to the town of Ruśas, and the water

(30) [YY ⊟] a-la-i-ni-ni ->YY Dhu-us-pa-ni-[ni]
of the river of Dhuspas

(31) [la-] ra-gi ul-khu-li-ni a-li a-[hu-di]
. . . the course, & to the water

(32) [Y] Ru-śa-khi-na-hu-e ip-sa-du-li
of the town of Ruśas may he set . . .

(33) . . . la[1] ti-ni a-li pi a-bi-li hu
. . . it is called, and the name with fire &

(2) The verb is probably *uratar-bi*. Perhaps this is a compound, the second element being *tar* "to be strong."

(3) Dr. Lehmann suggests that the meaning of *tsuis* is "cistern" or "reservoir," but the context seems rather to imply that a canal is meant. The termination of *hi-tsi-na-ue* shows that a locality is indicated.

(5) *Sé* must have the same root as *sies* "removing," *siubi* "I carried away." It will thus be the "channel" carried by the king to the "town of Ruśas," which Dr. Lehmann is doubtless right in identifying with Toprak Kaleh.

[1] Perhaps (*pal-*) *la*: see line 7.

(6) Line 19 seems to show that *kigu* must signify "a garden." We have already met with *quldi* in lxxvii. 6: see also lix. 6. Qul-mes was the name of a city (xxxv. A 4 *Obv.*), and we may therefore infer that the meaning of the word had some local reference. Perhaps its original signification was "enclosure." At all events for *quldi* we must find some meaning which would apply equally to "a palace" and "a garden."

(7) Line 13 shows that we must read *inu.* The signification of "chamber" I have assigned to *inu* cannot be sustained. In iii. 1, 2 the analogy of the Assyrian texts would lead us to give to the abverb *inu-ki* the meaning of "formerly," "from of old," while in xliv. 11, the natural sense of the phrase *alus giei inukani eśinini siulie* would be "whoever removes the face of the wall belonging to the inscriptions." So in xxi. 3, 5, *ali inu-śt-ni kharkharnêi śir-si-ni-ni terdu-ni inukâni eśini* would be "he has executed all the face of the excavation belonging to the tombs (&) the surface of the inscription."

Perhaps we ought to read *Biaina sepalla*, but the parallelism of the word "gods" in the following line seems to show that it is rather *Biaina-se.* For the termination cp. *usma-sê*, *alśui-sê* (v. 12), *diru-sê* (v. 13).

Gu-ni is grammatically parallel with *ti-ni* in l. 4. My interpretation of it is purely conjectural.

Suli-manu is a compound of *manu* like *ali-manu* "all & each." We should expect some such signification as "for ever" in this passage.

(10) For *tase*, see lxviii. 7.

(12) *Urulu-ni* is a derivative from *urulis* "seed."

(17) *Laragi* or *teragi* occurs again in l. 31.

(20) I am now satisfied that *arniu-sini-li* means "work," and that the translation of the phrase in the inscriptions of Argistis: *Khaldi-a istini inani-li arniu-sini-li suśini salie sadubi*, ought to be "for the people of Khaldis these citizens (& this) work in one year I made."

The phrase always follows an enumeration of the captives who were carried to Van, and so became citizens of Biainas; and consequently I regard *inani-li* as a derivative from *inanis* in the sense of "citizen." But it may have the same force as the dative *inani* in the passage we are at present discussing, so that the phrase would mean: "for the people of Khaldis this is the work for the city which I have accomplished in one year." In the passage before us *arniusini-li* cannot signify "spoil" as Guyard and Müller have supposed. See also lxxvii. 10. The word can hardly be separated from *arnuya-li*, which in xxxi. 4 as compared with 12 is a synonym of *asi-li* "houses."

(24) *Au-di* is the locative of *auis* "water," for which see note on xx. 19.

(25) *Ala-tsi* is a form of the word which appears in ll. 28, 30 as *alai-nini* with the determinative of "river." It may therefore be the old name of the Keshish-Göll. But since the determinative is omitted in l. 25, it is better to regard it as the phonetic equivalent of the determinative. The Vannic graphic system resembles the Tel el-Amarna tablets in adding to an ideograph its phonetic equivalent.

(31) For *ulkhu-di* "in the campaign" or "march," see L. 22.

Corrections in the Reading and Translation of the Inscriptions.

iii. 1, 2. For the correct reading and translation of this line see above, notes on lxxvii. 7 and lxxix. 7. Of course *inu-ki* may mean "in front" as well as "formerly."

v. 13. Since the *Khaldi-ni alsui-sie* or "greater Khaldises" are contrasted with the *Khaldi-ni diru-sie*, it seems to follow that *diru-sis* means "lesser."

17. *Arnê* would be "the work" if *arniu-sini-li* is "work." We should then have in ascending order (1) *Khaldi-ni arnê* "the Khaldises of the work," who

superintended the execution of the inscription; (2) *Khaldi-ni usma-sie* "the Khaldises who are near," usually invoked by the kings at the head of their inscriptions; and (3) *Khaldi-ni šušini* "the Khaldises of the consecrated ground," where the sacrifices mentioned in the inscription were offered.

21. Babas is the god of the "distant foreigner," in opposition to Dhuspuas the god of Van.

26. Translate: "At dawn, at mid-day, (&) in the evening." *Gu-li* will be connected with *gu-di* and *gudu-li* for which see note on lines 29, 30. Since *ardise* is "offerings," *sel-ardis* 'the moon" means probably "the giver of light."

27, 28. *Uldê* are the "posts" or "asherim" set up in front of a temple or elsewhere in honour of a deity. See above, note on lxxvii. 9. Translate "artificial" or "worked posts." Here they signify the door-posts.

We now know from lxxvii. 7 that we must read: *hui giei isti*[*ni sida*]*uri* "along with the wall of it which was broken." *Luese* must agree with *Khaldie*: compare the verb *lû-bi* in l. 18, and see note on lxxvii. 9.

29, 30. It will be seen that a squeeze of No. LIX. which I have obtained from Mr. F. C. Conybeare has shown that the ideograph in line 11 is that which denotes "flesh," not "right hand." Consequently *tisnu* does not signify "right hand." Now *uldi tanuli* is contrasted with *uldi mesuli*, and since, as we have seen, *uldi* signifies "the posts," which (as appears from the representation of a Vannic temple given opposite p. 655 of my Memoir) were erected on either side of the entrance to a sanctuary, it follows that *tanuli* and *mesuli* must mean "right hand" and "left hand." As it is probable that the right hand was named before the left, we may assign to *tanuli* the sense of "right" and to *mesuli* that of "left." *Gudûli* must then be "central," and the translation of the whole passage will be: "they have set up

regulations (&) a temple of wood and stone (?): to the Khaldis in the middle 3 sheep must be sacrificed, and 3 sheep to all the gods of the temple; at the right hand post to the Khaldis 3 sheep must be sacrificed (&) 3 sheep to all the gods of the temple; at the left hand post to the Khaldis 3 sheep must be sacrificed (&) 3 sheep to all the gods."

31. *Mesi* is "wine" rather than "libations," so that the probable signification of *anûni* would be "pour out." I would therefore render the passage: "Wine belonging to others (*uli-ni*) (&) wine belonging to themselves on [each] occasion they shall pour out."

vii. 3. *Gudi* is "middle," see above v. 29. The line will mean: "let him carry to the middle those who are on the left."

4. Translate: "buildings on the left."

5, 6. Translate: "after restoring with earth; after restoring on the right."

ix. 2. The analogy of iii. 2, lxxvii. 7, etc., would lead us to restore *ui* [*giei istini*] "together with [the wall of it]." See xiii. 2.

xii. 3. We should probably read [*uldi ta*]*nulini ase* "the right hand post of the temple." Notice that in x. 6, *urpulini* takes the place of *tanulini*.

xiii. 2. We learn from lxxvii. 7, that the correct reading is: *ui giei istini sidau*[*ri*] "along with its wall which was broken down."

xvi. 6. Prof. Hyvernat's copy reads [*ur-*]*pu-a-tsi* for *kha*(?)-*a-i-ti*(?).

xix. 7, 8. In lviii. 4, 5. *Khaldie nipšiduli-ni* and *Khaldie urpuli-ni* take the place of *Khaldi*[*e nip*]*šidie* and *puruli*[*ni*]. Comp. v. 3, 4, where we have *Khaldie nipšidi* and *Khaldie urpûe*.

Ali in these lines means "and," "Khaldis the giver" being distinguished from *Khaldie nipšidie*. In line 8 the character before *hu-e* is probably *na*, so that we may read: *puruli*[*ni Khaldi*]*na-ue* "for the . . . . of the land of Khaldis."

11. Perhaps we should read *NU-hu-tsi-di.* I now think that *ibirani* must signify "drink-offerings." In xxx. 17, 18 the sense seems to be "he and the people, all of them, brought food (&) drink." That *bidi* signifies "food-offerings" in lxviii. 6, 7 is probable, while *bidi-adibad* in l. 18, could well be "food-vessels." So, too, *barśudi-bidu* could mean a chapel where sacrifices or offerings of food were made.

14. The word is probably to be read *luruqu* "whoever shall set . . ." At all events since LU in line 5 turns out to be non-existent, there is no longer any authority for regarding it in line 14 as the ideograph of "victim." As an ideograph its sole meaning could be "sheep." If this is its signification, *ruqu* must have some such sense as "blemished"; "whoever shall bring a blemished sheep."

15, 17, Translate: "Whoever shall appropriate the inscription; whoever shall bring wild beasts."

xxi. 2. Translate: "he has made this inscription relating to the tomb."

3–5. Translate: "All that is on the face of the excavation for the tombs he has executed, even the face of the inscription."

7. Read *siụ-li ali.*

xxiii. 2, 3. Prof. Hyvernat's copy reads *Tsi-ri-ri* for *Ta-ri-ri.*

xxiv. 6. In xix. 12 *askhu-li-ni* seems to mean "visiting." If so, we may render *askhume* "let her visit." Perhaps the passage signifies: "let Śaris the queen visit the temple publicly during the month of Khaldis."

xxviii. 2–5. Translate: "Whoever shall appropriate the inscribed stone (&) the inscription."

xxx. 16–18. Translate: "He brought gold (&) silver; he and all the people brought food (&) drink" (or perhaps "clothing").

20. *U* here signifies "along with"; "horses and horsemen, chariots and charioteers." Consequently

the word for "horses" ends with -*u*, not *u-u*, that for "chariots" with *â*.

xxxi. 10. *Śui-dutu* is "property."

13. GIS *sa-a-ri* is "gate."

28. *Iulie* must be the object after *tulie*; "whoever carries away the . . . ."

xxxii. I have given a revised translation of this inscription in the *Records of the Past*, new Series I. pp. 163–7.

3. *Amas-tubi* "I partitioned."

3–4. Read: *ikukâni* [*salie sisukhani*] D.P. *khuradinili kiddakuli khaitû* "the same [year], after collecting [the baggage] of the army the fruits (?) (of the country of the son of Sada-halis, I captured)." *Khaitû* may be connected with *khai-di-ani* "fruits" (from *khai* "to grow"), but it may also be a compound of *tu* "to take" and *kha* "to possess."

8. Read at the beginning *hu-e* "together with."

9. Read *tarsuani* [*sâli*]*e* "soldiers of the year."

10. Read [*Khaldi*]*e alimanu* "to Khaldis (I brought) all and each."

xxxiii. In 1891 this inscription was copied by the Rev. J. L. Barton, whose copy I have compared with the published text. It has enabled me to correct the latter in several respects, and has confirmed several of my restorations. Mr. Barton describes the inscription as being four feet broad and twenty feet long.

2. Barton reads: gis-su-ri-e ka-ru-ni-e D.P. Pu-te-ri-a-ni.

3. Barton: MAT Gu(?)-pa ka-ru-ni "who have given the country of Gupas."

4. Barton: Khu-za-a-na-ni.

4. Barton: Ka-ru-ni MAT Tsu(?)-pa-a-ni. The character resembles a misformed *tsu* rather than *gu* at the beginning of the name of the country. But in line 10 he gives an unmistakeable *gu*.

5. Barton: AN Khal-di-i-ni.

6. Barton: AN Khal-di-ni-ni.

7. Barton: 𒁹 Me-nu-a-ni.
8. Barton: Kha-hu-ni.
9. Barton: Kha-hu-ni ►≍𒐖, "who has conquered (the lands of) the city (of Khuzanas)."
10. Barton: Kha-hu-ni. Read *ku* for *khu* in the last word.
11. Barton: pa-a-ri.
12. Barton: AN Khal-di-e-i TAK pu-lu-śi ku-gu-u-ni "who has engraved the inscribed stone for Khaldis."
13. Barton: ►≍𒐖 Pu-[te-]ri-a AN Khal-di-i ya-ra-ni.
14. Barton has at the beginning of this line several doubtful characters which may possibly represent *nu-nu-ni.*
15. Barton confirms my conjecture that we ought to read Śule-khavalis, the Śuluval of the Assyrian inscriptions. He has: ►— . . . 𒁹 Śu-li-e-kha-a-hu-a-li. The analogy of xlix. 17 shows that we must restore *tu-bi* and translate: "I carried away Śuluval (king of the people of Malatiyeh)."
16. Barton: Me-si-ni pi-i; "(I changed) his name."
18. Barton: Me-nu-a-ni.
19. Barton's copy has ⟋ 𒌋𒌋.
20. Barton: Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e.

Between lines 21 and 22 is a space of two feet.

Mr. Barton adds: "The lower part of the inscription is badly defaced by the people, who regard it as a favor to their future to pass a small stone into some cavity so that it will remain there."

xxxiv. Mr. Conybeare has taken a photograph of the Yazli-tash inscription, from which I find that the reading *qa-ab-qa-su-la-du-ni* in line 10 is correct.

xxxvii–xliv. I have given a revised translation of the great inscription of Argistis in the *Records of the Past*, new Series IV. pp. 114–133.

xxxvii. 4. I would now translate: "the company of the great (gods) of the people."

8. The meaning of this difficult expression seems to be: "the girls of the lands of Bias (&) Khusas I

exchanged for the youths of Tarius." That is to say the girls of one country were married to the youths of another.

14. Read: "in all 52675 men of the year." V *atibi* are "five myriads."

26. Read: *garini gar-bi* "I made [his city] a heap of stones." *Garbé*, with the plural affix *bé*, signifies "stones" (xxxii. 7).

34. Probably *śu-[bi]* "I seized" from the same root as *śui* "possession."

xxxviii. 19. Read: "25[2]9 children."

20. Read: "8[8]98 men."

21. Read: "[22]274 men of the year."

45. Read: "[8648] children, 2655 men."

46. Read: "[in all] 19,790 persons of the year."

xxxix. 1. Translate: "(citizens of Assyria) occupied part of the country. I assembled (my) armies."

30. Translate: "I assembled the Averasians," perhaps "those who dwell by the water," from *auis* "water."

31. We must read after *śui[du]bi, zadubi,* "I made [it] part of my country."

32. Translate: "To Dadas the Averasian I apportioned (it)," *amû-bi* being connected with *ama-ni* "half" or "share" and *amas-tu-bi* "I partitioned." Dadas the Averasian is not to be confounded with Dadis of Kulasis mentioned in line 5.

62. Translate: "I made [the cities] heaps of stones": see above xxxvii. 26.

xl. 56–58. Translate: "On departing out of the land of Aladhais, a distant country, I partitioned the country."

72–74. The construction seems to be: "[For the Khaldises] I restored as a satrapy of Argistis (or of the son of Argistis) the hostile Minnian land which belonged to Hazais; I took [to Biainas] the corn (&) *grain* (?) of the land of the Minni." *Khailâ-ni* is probably connected with *khai-di-ani* and *khai-ti-ni* "fruit." For the restoration see xli. 7.

80. *Nunabi* must signify here "I subjugated."

xliii. 2. Translate: "I appropriated the whole."

17. Translate: "from among the hostile people by the river Dainalatis."

18. Translate: "the fortresses of the provinces (of Biainas)."

78. Translate: "For Khaldis [a sixtieth of the] plunder, both a portion of the captives and of the spoil, I selected."

80. What remains in the text seems to be a part of the ideograph of "tablet."

81. Translate: "[I conquered?] the country of Tar[ius] the same [year]."

xliv. 11. Translate: "the surface of the rock-wall belonging to the inscriptions."

xlv. 15. Translate: "the two kings I reduced to vassalage," *ve-dia-du-bi* being literally "I brought to my side."

33. Translate: "the whole [of the country]."

38–40. Translate: "the king of Lusas I reduced to vassalage; as governor of the country of Igas . . I appointed (him)."

xlvi. 15–17. Translate: "I collected the baggage and *durbani* of the soldiers. The other, namely, the son of Diaus."

xlvii. A copy of this inscription has been published in Alishan's "Picturesque Topography" (Shiraq), Venice, 1881, where it is described as engraved on a stone on the north side of the convent of Marmashên. Kalinsha is eight wersts north of Alexandropol.

3. ➤⊱𒐖 to be corrected into ⯌.

4. The reading Irdaniuni to be retained.

xlviii. 6. Translate: "king of the provinces."

12. Read: [AN *Khal-di-*]*i ur-pu-li-i-ni*.

xlix. 11. *Mei* must be a genitive or dative governed by *nunâbi*. Translate: "I subjugated it & the cavalry . . ."

13, 14. Translate: "(the city) of Edias, the royal city of Abianis, which is subject to the country of Liqis, (&) its plunder."

l. 18. For *bidi-adibad* "food-vessels," see above on xix. 11.

26, 27. Perhaps *IX. dhuluré-di śudhuqubi* means "in 9 palaces I established myself."

li. I. 4, 5. Prof. Hyvernats copy has *i-ni* for SARRU, *a-hu-e* for *sa-hu-e*, and *ma-nu-li* for *na-nu-li*. Adopting the reading *aue* "with water," the sense of the passage may be: "Let every king nourish the same with water, the leaves of it with a house, (as well as) the fruit of that which has been planted by Sarduris, and is called the Sardurian. From the vine whoever takes the nourishment which has been given for the shoot."

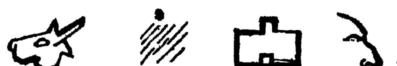
U-ni, however, may be phonetically written, and represent the same word as that which occurs in lxviii. 8, 11. In this case it will signify "provision for," "that which has been assigned to."

9. In place of the *pa* of Schulz, Hyvernat has [cuneiform], which may be intended for *di*. Perhaps we should read: *ui du-se śu-di* "along with what has been appointed for the property," *i.e.* "the endowment of the property."

Col. III. Prof. Hyvernat describes this inscription as about half an hour distant from Arjish, on the left hand side of the road to Arnis, and about three metres above the ground. The first column is a few paces from the second.

lii. The name of the place where the ruins are found seems to be Toprak Kaleh rather than Tuprak Kilissa. Bronze objects from the same locality are in the Royal Museum at Berlin. Among them is a statuette of an eunuch, and the image of a griffon, once gilded, which formed part of a throne. There are also bracelets and fragments of shields, similar to those in the British Museum. On the rim of one of them is an inscription stating that "Ruśas the son of Erimenas has dedicated the shields" *uśtuni ulgusiya*[*ni*], "for the lord of this temple," [cuneiform] *i-ni a-se*. Consequently my restoration in the first line of the inscrip-

tion given on p. 655 of my memoir must be corrected, and we must read: *Khaldi gissuris euris ini* [*ase*] "to Khaldis the lord of multitudes, this temple." Besides the bronze objects, the Museum at Berlin has received from Toprak Kaleh a silver bracelet ending in the heads of serpents, and several tools and weapons of iron, including a double-headed axe. It contains also a large bronze bowl, on the edge of which the following Hittite characters are engraved:—



The bowl may have been an importation. But as it resembles the other bronze objects of native manufacture, we may see in it a verification of my conjecture on p. 523 of my Memoir that "the system of hieroglyphs used by the Hittites" had once been employed in the kingdom of Biainas.

It will be noticed that the bull's head in the inscription given above faces the reverse way to the human face at the opposite end of the inscription. It is therefore probable that the inscription consists of two words or names, each containing two characters which were intended to be read in opposite directions. In a paper in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (xiv. 1 and 2, 1892), I have endeavoured to show that the bull's head had the phonetic value of *er* or *eri*, and it is therefore possible that the inscription on the bowl may contain the names of Rusas and Erimenas.

liii. M. de Morgan, now the Director of the Gizeh Museum at Cairo, was kind enough in 1889 to send me a photograph of the inscription of "Novo-Bajazet" near Lake Erivan. It necessitates the following corrections of the printed text:—

1. *Al-u(sic)-si-ni* instead of *us-ma-si-ni*. If the engraver has not committed a mistake and written *u*

instead of *śu*, we shall have a new word *alu-śi-ni* from *al* "to increase." I have already pointed out that *alśui-nis* is a compound of *al* and *śui* "to possess."

2. The name of the father of Sarduris is written [cuneiform] which, it would appear, is intended to be read *Ar-ra-gis-te-khi-ni-s*. Such an extraordinary way of writing the name, as well as the unusual forms of the first two characters, one of which is met with only in the inscriptions of Sarduris I., are an indication that the inscription does not belong to a king of Biainas. Had it done so, he would have given himself the royal titles.

3. The name of the city is written Tu-li-[cuneiform]-ni, which is doubtless to be read *Tu-li-hu-ni*.

4. Read: [cuneiform] *Tsi-na-li-bi-i* [cuneiform] *Lu-e-ri-khi-ni-i*.

5. Read: *Tsi-na-li-bi-ni*.

6. The scribe has omitted the *tu* after *lu*, in consequence of the *tu* at the beginning of the next word *tu-bi*. Translate: "Tsinalibis the king, the men (&) the women I carried away."

lvi. III. 5. A re-examination of the cast inclines me to think that we should read *za-na-a-ni* "pass" rather than *i-na-a-ni*. But *i* may be right.

12. Read: *pi-tu-hu-li-i-e*.

lix. A squeeze of this inscription has been taken by Mr. F. C. Conybeare and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The ends of the lines, as well as the beginnings, are lost.

3, 4. According to the analogy of lviii. we should restore: AN [*Khal-di-e ni-ip-śi-du*]-*li-ni*.

6. According to the squeeze the first visible character in the line is *ti*. We learn from lxxvii. 6, that the reading is *qi-hu-ra-a qu-ul-di*.

7. According to the squeeze the first visible character in the line is *i*, and the ideograph is not that of "left hand," but [cuneiform] "flesh." Consequently *tisnu* must either mean "flesh" in the abstract, or some

particular kind of flesh. In lxviii. 10, *tisni amani* seems to mean "a part of the flesh." It will be noticed that the word ends in *-u* like *khusu*, another word for a species of flesh.

lx. According to Dr. Belck the name of the place is Ordaklu.

1. Dr. Belck reads: AN *Khal-di-ni-*[*ni*] *al-šu-si-ni.*
2. After *a-li* Dr. Belck reads *e.*
3. According to Belck's copy *qi* is certain.
4. Belck reads: *Is-ti-ku-ni-hu.*
6. The reading of this line is correct, but is quite unintelligible.

lxiv. A squeeze of this inscription has been taken by Mr. Conybeare and is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

1. The *i* after *za-ri* is clearly visible in the squeeze.
2. Instead of *is* the squeeze has [cuneiform sign].

lxv. A squeeze of this inscription also has been taken by Mr. Conybeare and is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

1. The two ideographs are replaced on a bronze shield of Rušas now at Berlin by the words: *gissurié* (*eurie*) "the lord of multitudes."
4. It is better to translate *cha* "& also."

lxviii. Mr. Conybeare has taken a squeeze of this inscription which is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

6. Perhaps we should read: *ali bidi as tanula-li* "& of the food on the right hand side of the temple."
8. The squeeze has: *Ur-bi-ka-ni-ka-a-s*, "a member of the Urbis-clan." Hence it would appear that *hu-ni* must signify: "he shall collect."
10. Translate: "a part of the flesh": see above, lix. 7.

VOCABULARY.

A.

A-bi-li. "With fire." lxxix. 33.

A-gu-bi. "I selected," "conducted." lxxiii. 11, lxxiv. 6, lxxvii. 8, lxxix. 5.

A-gu-ni. lxxi. 3, lxxii. 3, lxxiv. 3.

A-i-ni-e-i. "With earth." lxxiii. 9.

A-i-ni-i. lxxiv. 5.

A-la-i-ni-ni. "Belonging to a river." lxxix. 28, 30.

A-la-tsi. lxxix. 25.

A-li. "And." lxxix. 6, 29, 31, 33.

[A-]li. "He says." lxxix. 9, 18.

Al-śu-hu-i-si-ni. "Great." lxxvii. 1.

Al-śu-hu-i-si-ni. lxxiii. 4.

Al-śu-u-i-ni-e. lxxvii. 12.

Al-śu-i-ni. lxxiii. 5.

A-lu-śi. "Inhabiting." lxxiii. 6, lxxv. 6, lxxvii. 14.

A-mu-hu-bi. "I partitioned." xxxix. 32.

A-nu-hu-ni. "They shall pour out." v. 31.

A-qi-i-na(?)-a-ni. "Mortar." lxxvii. 8.

Ar-gi-is-ti-khi-ni-li. "(The house) of Argistis." lxxvii. 5.

Ar-ni-e. Perhaps "work." v. 17, etc.

Ar-ni-hu-si-ni-li. "The work." lxxix. 20.

Ar-ni-si-ni-li. lxxvii. 10.

As-khu-me. "Let her visit" (?). xxiv. 6.

A-hu-di. "To the water." lxxix. 24, 31.

B.

Ba-ba-ni-e. "Distant." lxxix. 1.

Ba-du-hu-śi-i-e. "Decayed." lxxvii. 3.

Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e. "Of Biainas." lxxiii. 5, lxxv. 5.

Bi-i-a-i-na-a-hu-e. lxxvii. 13.
Bi-a-i-na-se. lxxix. 7.
Bi-du-ni. "Food (?)." xx. 17.
Bi-di. "Food-offerings" (?). lxviii. 6, 7.
Bi-di-a-di-ba-ad. "Food-vessels" (?). l. 18.

D.

Di-ru-si-e. "Lesser." v. 13.
Du-li-e. "He destroys." lxxiii. 9, lxxiv. 5, 17.
Du-hu-li. lxxix. 21.

DH.

Dhu-us-pa-i-ni-[e]. "Of Tosp." lxxix. 11.

E.

E-ha. "As well as." lxxix. 7, 13.
E-śi. "Inscription." lxxix. 14.
E-hu-ri-e. "Lord." lxxvi. 3.

G.

Ga-ri-ni gar-bi. "I made a heap of stones." xxxvii. 26.
Gi-i. "Wall." lxxvii. 7.
Gu-du-hu-li. "Central." v. 29.
Gu-li. "Mid-day." v. 26.
Gu-ni-e-i. "The established sacrifice." lxxviii. *Obv.* 4, 10, *Rev.* 8.
Gu-ni. "He established" (?). lxxix. 8, 14.

H.

H-i-tsi-na-hu-[e]. lxxix. 3.

I.

I-bi-ra-a-ni. "Drink" (?). xix. 11, xxx. 18. The word, however, possibly signifies "clothing."
I-ku-ka-khi-ni. "In the same place." lxxix. 6, 18.
I-na-ni. "City." lxxix. 21.
I-ni. "This." lxxix. 10.

I-ni-li. "This spot." lxxiii. 9, lxxiv. 5.
I-nu. "Before" (?). lxxix. 7.
I-nu-u-[ui]. lxxix. 13.
I-nu-ki. "In front" or "formerly." iii. 1, 2.
Ip-sa-du-li. "May he set . . . " lxxix. 32.
I-śi-i. lxxix. 12.
Is-ti-ni. "Belonging to it." lxxvii. 7, 10, lxxix. 2, 20.
Is-ti-ni-ni. lxxix. 5.
I-hu. "Thus." lxxix. 9, 10.

K.

Ki-gu. "Garden" (?). lxxix. 6, 12, 19.
Ku-gu-ni. "He has inscribed." lxxv. 3.
Kur-ni. "Offerers." lxxviii. *Obv.* 4, 10, *Rev.* 8.

KH.

Khu-ri-is. lxxix. 22.

Q.

Qi-hu-ra-a-ni. lxxvii. 6 (lix. 6).
Qu-ul-di-ni. "Belonging to a court" (?). lxxvii. 6, lxxix. 6.
Qu-ul-di-[di]. lxxix. 14.

L.

La-ra-gi. More probably to be read *te-ra-gi.* lxxix. 17, 31.
LID (?)-ni-e-di. Probably the name of a month. lxxviii. *Obv.* 8.
Lu-hu-e-se. "Folding doors." (?). v. 27.

M.

Ma-a-nu. "Each." lxxvii. 6.
Ma-nu. lxxviii. *Obv.* 9, 14.
Ma-nu-ni-ni (?). lxxviii. *Obv.* 2.
Me-i. "Of him." lxxix. 23.
Me-i-e-si. "Wine." v. 31.
Me-su-li. "Left hand." v. 30.
Mu-śi-ti-na . . . lxxix. 25, 27.

N.

Nu-na-bi. "I subjugated." xl. 80.

P.

Pal-la. lxxix. 7.
Pi. "Name." lxxix. 33.
Pi-i-li. "Memorial," "monument." lxxi. 2, 3, lxxiii. 2, 3, 11.
Pi-li-e. lxxii. 3, lxxiv. 2, 6.
Pi-li. lxxiv. 3.
Pi-tu-li-e. "May he remove the name." lxxiii. 8, lxxiv. 5.
Pu-lu-u-śi-e. "Engraved." lxxv. 3.

R.

Ru-śa-a-i. "Of Ruśas." lxxix. 4.
Ru-śa-khi-na-i-di. lxxix. 5, 29.
Ru-śa-khi-na-ka-i. lxxix. 13.
Ru-śa-khi-na-hu-e. lxxix. 22, 24, 32.
Ru-śa-khi-i-ni-li-[ni]. lxxix. 9.

S.

Sa-nu(*or* se ?)-e-Ĭ<<<. "Bricks." lxxvii. 8.
Se-khi-ri. "Alive." lxxviii. *Rev.* 3.
Se-dan . . lxxix. 19.
Si-e. "Channel." lxxix. 5.
Si-e-di. lxxix. 26.
Si-da-hu-ri. "Broken" (?). lxxvii. 7.
Si-i-di-is-tu-hu-bi. "I restored." lxxvii. 4.
Si-[di]-si-tu-ni. lxxv. 2.
Si-di-is-tu-[ni]. lxix. 1.
Si-e-du-li-[e]. "May he bring back." lxxix. 28.
[Si]-du-hu-li. lxxix. 10.
Su-i-ni. "Which has been made." lxxix. 16.
Su-li-ma-nu. lxxix. 8, 15.
Su-pa. The name of a city. lxxviii. *Rev.* 12, 13, 14.

TS.

Tsu-hu-e. "Canal." lxxix. 3.
Tsu-e. lxxix. 4, 10.
Tsu-e-[ni]. lxxix. 21.
Tsu-i-ni-i. lxxix. 14.
Tsu-i-ni-ni. lxxix. 26.

T.

Ta-nu-li. "Right hand." v. 30, etc.
Tar-bi. See *Ura-tarbi*.
Tar-di-ni. "Strong." lxxviii. *Rev.* 3.
Ta-se-[e]. "Visitors." lxxix. 10.
Te-ru-hu-bi. "I set up." lxxvii. 4.
Te-ru-bi. lxxvii. 9, lxxix. 4, 11, 18.
Ti-i-ni. "Called." lxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 5.
Ti-ni. lxxi. 3, lxxii. 3, lxxiv. 3, lxxix. 4, 33.
Ti-is-nu. A species of "flesh," not "right hand." lix. 11.
Ti-i-hu-li-e. "Pretends." lxxiii. 10, lxxiv. 6.
Tu-li-i-e. "Removes." lxxiv. 4.
Tu-li-e. lxxiii. 8.

U.

Hu. "And," "together with." lxxix. 19, 26, 33.
Hu-i. "Together with." lxxvii. 7.
Hu-ni. "He shall collect." lxviii. 8.
≿| Ul-di. "A post." lxxvii. 9 (v. 27, 28).
Ul(?)-di-e-di. Perhaps the name of a month. lxxviii. *Rev.* 6.
Ul-khu-li-ni. "Course." lxxix. 31.
Hu-ra-tar-bi. "I cut" (?). lxxix. 2. See *tar-bi*.
Hu-ru-lu-ni. "Seed plot." lxxix. 12, 16.
Us-ma-si-i-ni. "Propitious." lxxvi. 1.
Us-ma-si-ni. lxxi. 1, lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 1.

Z.

Za-du-bi. "I made," "built." lxxvii. 10.
≿| Za-a-ri-e. "Door." lxxvii. 9.

Ideographs.

"In all." lxxviii. *Obv.* 7, etc.

"A garden." lxxix. 19.

"Bronze." lxxix. 17.

-*se*. "Young men." lxxix. 11, 16.

-*ni-se*. lxxix. 15.

"Wild oxen." lxxviii. *Rev.* 3.

"A vine." lxxix. 19.

"Garden tree." lxxix. 19.

"Before." lxxviii. *Rev.* 13, 14.

"Water." lxxix. 2, 26, 28, 29.

"River." lxxix. 28, 30.

ART. II.—*A MS. of the Nārada Smṛiti.* By C. MARY RIDDING.

THE Nārada Smṛiti is said by Professor Jolly[1] to be important, both as being the only Smṛiti completely preserved in MSS. which treats of law apart from penance and other religious subjects, and as reflecting the social and political state of India at the time of its compilation.

The preface in the MS., which contains the fuller of the two versions now existing of the Nārada Smṛiti, states that the rules for conduct set forth in 100,000 ṣlokas by Manu, were, by the successive abridgments of Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Sumati reduced, out of consideration for the limits of human life, to 4000 ṣlokas, the present work being the Ninth Chapter of Nārada's abridgment of the original Code of Manu.

The date of the Nārada Smṛiti is uncertain. The compiler was evidently acquainted with the Code of Manu, though some of his rules concerning marriage and inheritance are directly opposed to the Code; his teaching is more advanced than that of the Smṛiti of Vishṇu and Yajñavalkya, which cannot be earlier than the third century A.D., while, on the other hand, the allusion to a Nāradīya Dharmaṣāstra in Kādambarī (sixth century A.D.), and references and quotations in other writers, tend to show that the compilation

[1] The Minor Law-Books: Nārada and Bṛihaspati, tr. by Prof. J. Jolly; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxiii, Oxford, 1889, v. Introduction, p. xiv. and following pages.

of the Nārada Smṛiti cannot be later than the fifth, or at the latest the sixth, century A.D.

The Nepalese paper MS. (Or. 8), 1700 A.D., of the Nārada Smṛiti in the British Museum follows in the main the titles of law as given in the *editio princeps* of the Institutes of Nārada.[1] It omits however—

(1) the whole of the preface before the ṣloka.
Asīd idam tamo bhūtaṃ na prājñāya*ta*[2] kiṃ ca na.
Tasmin svayambhūr bhagavān prādur asīccaturmukhaḥ.

(2) The introduction, treating of legal procedure, except the first and second ṣloka.

(3) The chapter on ordeals.

This MS. is important as containing the chapter on theft, which, though quoted and attributed to Nārada by the law-writers, had not been found in any MS. of the Nārada Smṛiti till its discovery in a Nepalese MS. (date 1407 A.D.), brought by Mr. C. Bendall[3] from India. It contains eight additional ṣlokas, some quoted as Nārada's, and given by Prof. Jolly in his translation of Nārada,[4] and also confirms some corrections made in the text of the Nārada Smṛiti.

The following are the more important variations, with emendations and illustrations by Prof. Jolly,[5] whose help, with that of Mr. C. Bendall, I cannot too gratefully acknowledge.

[1] The Institutes of Nārada, ed. by Prof. J. Jolly; Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1885.

[2] MS. na for *ta*.

[3] It was in connection with work on my MS. of Nārada, lent to Prof. Jolly, that I came upon the Nārada MS. in the British Museum now under notice. It had been described in the Catalogue simply as "Chaurapratishedha," and not recognized as part of the Nārada Smṛiti.—C. Bendall.

[4] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxiii. pp. 266–267.

[5] Indicated by square brackets. An asterisk marks emendations made in the printed text by Prof. Jolly which are confirmed by this MS.

Editio princeps, v.	*Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 8.
1b. tā vindyād MS.	tān vindyād*
2a. prakāṣavañcakās tu te	prakāṣavañcakās *tatra* [°kās teshāṃ, Manu ix. 257.]
3b. °lokataskarāḥ	°lokavañcakāḥ
4b. mushyām prasaktāṣca narā mushṇanty ākramya caiva te (mushyantyākrama caiva te) MS.	suptā pramattāṣ ca narā mukhanty ākrama [read *suptān pramattāṃṣca narān* mushṇanty ākramya caiva te (Nārada in Vivādaratnākara, p. 292).]
5a. yajñaghnā granthimocakāḥ	pathi gacchanti yācakāḥ

The following ṣlokas are inserted between ṣlokas 5 and 6 of the printed text:—

Tān viditvā sukuṣalaiṣ cārais tatkarmakāribhiḥ |
Anusṛitya gṛihītavyā gūḍhapraṇihitair naraiḥ || [M. ix. 261.]
Sabhā prapā pūpasālā veṣa*madyānu*vikrayāḥ [read ṣālā-°madyānna°.]
Catushpathāṣ caityavṛikshāḥ samājāḥ *preshanāni* ca || [r. prekshanāni, M. ix. 264.]
Ṣūnyāgārāṇy araṇyāni devatā yatanāni | ca |
Cārair vineyāny etāni cauragrahaṇa tatparaiḥ || [M. ix. 265.]
Tathaivānye *prahitāḥ* ṣraddheyāṣ *citta* vādinaḥ | [r. praṇihitāḥ —citra.]
Balāhyasāha ye proktā taskaraṃ pārvataskaraḥ || [r. cārāhy utsādayeyus tāṃs taskarān pūrvataskarāḥ? v. Nārada in Vivādaratnākara, p. 337.]
Annapānasamādānaiḥ samājotsavadarṣanaiḥ |
Tathā cauryāpadeṣaiṣ ca kuryus teshām samāgamam || [v. *ibid.*]
Ye *tantrenopasarpante ṣritāḥ pranihitā api* [r. tatra nopasarpante sritaḥ praṇihitair api.]
Te 'bhiṣārya gṛihītavyāḥ sa*putrapaṇḍa*bāndhavāḥ [°putra-jñāti°, v. *ibid.*]

Yān tatra cauraṃ gṛihṇīyān tān tānyapiviḍambinaḥ [r. yāṃs tatra caurān gṛihṇīyāt tāṃs tān apyavilambitaḥ?]
Avaghnanti ca sarvatra vadhyāṣ citravadhena te [r. avaghushya? v. *ibid.*]

Editio princeps, v.	*Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 8.
6b. °kāraṇāt	°karaṇāt
7a. yajñāvarodhinaḥ	panthāvarodhinaḥ
8a. ahoḍhān vimṛiṣec caurān gṛihītān yadi ṣaṅkayā	*ahoḍhānvitamṛishāccārāṃ gṛihītāṃ pariṣaṅkayā [v. Nārada in Vivād, p. 334.]
8b. cintābhir	citrābhir [v. *ibid.*]
9a. nāma vā sampratiṣrayam [r. vāsaṃ pra°.]	nāma vā te pratiṣrayam
9b. krityaṃ karmakarā	krityakarmakarā [v. *ibid.*]
10a. °svarākarabhedāt saṃ saditvanivedanāt	°svarākārabhedāt sa saṃdigdhanivedanāt [r. saṃdigdhavinivedanāt—v. *ibid.*]
10b. 11a.	omitted.
12b. kāryaḥ syâc chapathaṃ tataḥ	*kārya* syācchapathas tataḥ [r. kāryaḥ—*ibid.* 338.]
13a. tathāgnyudakadāyakāḥ	tathā syur jaladāyakāḥ
15a. rāshṭreshu rāshṭrādhikṛitāḥ	rāshṭre rāshṭre 'dhipakṛitāḥ
17a. yadā . . . 'nyatra na pâtayet	pade . . . *'nyatra nipātayet
18a. mushite rājā cauragrāhāṃs tu dāpayet	mushitaṃ rājā caurāṇyāstāḥ prayatnataḥ [*ibid.* 343, "Kātyāyana."]
19a. yadi vā doshakartaisha (yadi vā dāpyaka teshām, MS.)	yadi vā dāyakanteshām [r. yadi vā dāpyamānānāṃ—v. *ibid.* 345, "Vṛiddhamanu."]
19b. vai ṣuddhi kāraṇāt	ca chuddhi kārayet
20a. bodhito moshaṃ . . . cauro	cāyite mokshaṃ . . . caure

Editio Princeps, v.	*Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 8.
21a. caurahṛitaṃ prapadya-iva (caure hṛitaṃ prapannena, MS.)	**caurai*hṛitaṃ prayatnena [r. caurair—*ibid.* 345, "Kātyāyana."]
22b. vetasasyāsthi carmaṇoḥ (vatasvādyasthicarmaṇoḥ, MS.)	vetrasāsvasthicarmaṇām
23, 24.	ṣākaharitamūlānāṃ mūlyāt pañcaguṇo dayaḥ—the remainder is omitted.
25b. mūlyād ashṭaguṇo	mūlyād daṣaguṇo [v. *ibid.* 323.]
26a. 'bhyadhikaṃ	'pyadhikaṃ
26b. nyūnaṃ vaikādaṣaguṇaṃ (vaikādaṣaguṇe MS.)	nyūne tvekādaṣaguṇe
27b. mukhyānāṃ ... adhike	muktānām . . adhikaṃ
28a. harataḥ pātyo daṇḍa uttamasâhasaḥ (daṇḍam uttamasahasam MS.)	harata pāpād daṇḍam uttama sāhasaḥ* [v. *ibid.* "Vyāsa."]
29a. mahā paṣūṃs tu nayato	mahā paṣustenayatā [mahā paṣūn stenayate—v. *ibid.* 321.]
30a. paraṣ carṇavati bhavet (paresharṇavati bhavet MS.)	paraḥ shaṇṇavatir bhavet [v. v. *ibid.* 664.]
30b. catuḥ ṣataparo yaṣca (ṣatāni yaṣcaturo MS.)	ṣatāni pañca catvāro [r. catvāri—v. *ibid.*]
32b. tajjñeyaṃ	tacchehaṃ—[v. *ibid.* 322.]
33a. sthūrāyāṣchedanaṃ	sthūlāyaṣ chedanaṃ
34a. yena yathāṅgena steno nṛishu viçeshṭate	yena viṣeshena tenāṃṣena viceshṭatā
34b. tadtad evāsya ccheta-vyaṃ	tad evāsya vicchettavyaṃ [M. viii. 334.]
35a. garīyasi garīyāṃsam agarīyasi	garīyasī garīyāṃse nagarīyasi
35b. stene	steno

Editio Princeps, v.	*Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 8.
39a. mitrakāraṇād	mitrakaraṇād
40a. yāvān avadhyasya vadhe tāvan	yāvannivadhyasya vadhe tāvad
41a. sarva pāpeshv api sthitam	sa pāpeshv api saṃsthito
42b. etebhyo 'nusmaran dharmaṃ prājāpatyam iti sthitiḥ (na tebhyo 'nusmaran dharma-MS.)	na tebhyo 'nusmaraṃ dharma prajāpatya iti sthiti
43a. °parādheshu (°parādhetu MS.)	°parādhe tu
44b. ṣikhishittena kuṭūyet	ṣikhipittena kūṭayet [r. kūṭayet-]
45a. aṣirāḥ (ṣiṣirāḥ MS.)	ṣiṣīlāḥ
46b. tat steyam (ste steyam MS.)	taṃ steyam
47a. anenā bhavati tena	anena bhavati stenaḥ
47b. hyakilbisham (svakilbisham MS.)	svakilbisham
49a, b.	49b, a. (the second half comes first.)
50a. ṣāstā rājā durātmanām	rājā caiva durātmanaḥ
52b. vidyāpi (vritāpi MS.) .. °bhyadhikam	vritrāpi . . . °pyadhikaṃ
54a. kākaṇyādis tvartha daṇḍah (kākaṇyādishvartha daṇḍaḥ MS.)	kākiṇyāshvarthadaṇḍa syāt
54b. ṣārīraḥ saṃnirodhā dir (ṣārīraḥ saṃnidhādhādi° MS.)	ṣārīraḥ sanidhānādi
55a. kākaṇyādis . . . māshāvaraḥ	kākiṇyādis . . . arthāvaraḥ
55b. māshāvarādyo 'yaṃ	yāshāvarādyo yaḥ
56b. dvyavaro 'shṭāparaṣcānyas tryavaro dvādaṣottaraḥ	dvavaro 'shtaparaṣ cānyat pravaro dvādaṣāt paraḥ

Editio Princeps, v.	*Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 8.
this śloka inserted	kārshāpaṇādyo ye proktāḥ sarve *teshu* [r. te syus?] caturguṇāḥ | evam anye 'pi vijñeyāḥ prokshate pūrvasāhasāḥ ||
57a. raupyaḥ	rûpâh [" Vivāda," 668.]
57b. paṇair nibaddhaḥ (vibaddhaḥ MS.)	gaṇair vibaddhaḥ
58b. kākaṇī . . palasya	kākinī . . . panasya [r. paṇasya—v. *ibid.* 667.]
59a. saṃjñā yā	saṃjñeyā [saṃjñeyam — v. *ibid.* 667.]
60a. kārshāpaṇo 'ṇḍikā geyā tāś catasrastu dhānakaḥ	kārshāpanor ṇikā jñeyāṣ catasrastāstu dhātakā
60b. dīnārākhyaḥ sa eva ca (dīnāraṣcitakasya ca MS.)	dīnāraṣ citrakasya ca [*ibid.* 667.]
61b. hanyād upāyair nipuṇair (hannyād upāyennipuṇe MS.)	*hanyād upāyair nipuṇair

Colophon — Iti Nārada proktāyāṃ caurapratikhedhaṃ[1] nāma prakaraṇaṃ samāptāṃ, Samvat 820, Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 12.*

[1] *kh* for *sh*, as often in North Indian MSS.

Art. III.—*The Saraswatī and the Lost River of the Indian Desert.* By Surgeon-Major C. F. Oldham.

As is well known, the description of the Saraswatī river, given in the Veda, differs much from that met with in the Mahābhārata and other ancient but later authorities, while neither agrees with the present condition of that sacred stream.

In the Rig Veda we are told of a large and rapid river flowing from the mountains to the sea. The Mahābhārata describes the same stream as losing itself in the sands. At the present day we find a river, wide and rapid during floods, but containing little water at other times, joining another stream of similar character, and thereupon losing its name; the river below the confluence being now called Gaggar.

According to Rig Veda (v. 61. 2) the Saraswatī, "by her force and her impetuous waves, has broken down the sides of the mountains like a digger of lotos fibres."[1]

In another hymn (vii. 36. 6) the Saraswatī is called the mother of rivers.[2]

And, again, we find (R.V. vii. 95. 1. 2): "With her fertilizing stream the Saraswatī comes forth. (She is to us) a stronghold, an iron gate. Moving along, as on a chariot, this river surpasses in greatness all other waters.

2. Alone among all rivers Saraswatī listened, she who goes pure from the mountains as far as the sea. She who knows of the manifold wealth of the world has poured out to man her fat milk."[3]

With reference to this passage, Prof. Max Müller remarks: "Here we see Samudra used clearly in the sense of sea, the

[1] Muir, ii. 346.
[2] Sacred Books of East, xxxii. 61.
[3] Sacred Books of East, xxxii. 60.

Indian Sea, and we have at the same time a new indication of the distance which separates the Vedic age from the later Sanskrit literature. Though it may not be possible to determine, by geological evidence, the time of the changes which modified the southern area of the Punjab and caused the Saraswatī to disappear in the desert, still the fact remains that the loss of the Saraswatī is later than the Vedic age, and that, at that time, the waters of the Saraswatī reached the sea."[1]

In the Rig Veda nothing is said of the disappearance of the Saraswatī in the sands. At the time of Manu, however, the waters of the sacred river no longer flowed to the sea. From the Mahābhārata we learn that "Valadeva proceeded to Vināsana, where the Saraswatī has become invisible in consequence of her contempt for Sūdras and Abhirias."[2]

And in another place we find: "Here is the beautiful and sacred river Saraswatī, full of waters; and here O Lord of men is the spot known as Vināsana, or the spot where the Saraswatī disappears. Here is the gate of the country of the Nishādas, and it was from hatred of them that the Saraswatī sank into the earth, that the Nishādas might not see her."[3]

From a reason being thus assigned for the disappearance, it would seem to have been then recognized that there had been a time when the sacred stream did not lose itself in the sands.

The legend of Utathya also seems to be an attempt to account for the disappearance of the river.

Although the Vedic accounts of the Saraswatī differ so much from those of less ancient authorities, and from the actual condition of the stream now known by that name, it is very unlikely that the river to which so important a position is assigned in the Brahmanical writings could ever have lost its identity, or that its name and sacred character

[1] Sacred Books of East, xxxii. 60.
[2] Salya, Gadāyuddha Parva.
[3] Mahābhārata, Vāna, Tīrtha-yātra Parva.

could have been transferred to another and less considerable stream. Indeed it is tolerably certain that the Saraswatī of the present day is the river mentioned in the Veda and the Mahābhārata.

The Saraswatī in the Rig Veda (x. 75. 5.) is associated with the other Panjāb rivers, and is placed beween the Yamunā and the Satudri,[1] which is its present position.

Then, the sacred stream has always retained its character, not merely locally, but wherever the Hindu religion has prevailed. It has been the resort of pilgrims from the earliest times, and it flows through the holy land of Kurukshetra, which was sacred even before the wars of of the Mahābhārata.

Further, although it now joins the stream called Gaggar, the Saraswatī did formerly lose itself in the sands, and that in the locality which appears to have been assigned to the Vināsana.

Moreover, as I shall endeavour to show, the Vedic description of the Saraswatī, with a little allowance for poetical license, agrees with what was probably the ancient course of the river, while that given in the Mahābhārata coincides with its position at a later period.

The Saraswatī rises in the outer Himālayan range, usually called Siwalik, close to the water-shed of Upper India, and not far from the gap in the hills by which the Jumna enters the plains.

All streams to the eastward, with the exception of the neighbouring Chitrang, join the Jumna and Ganges; and all to the westward flow towards the Indus.

After a south-westerly course of nearly 100 miles, and after receiving as tributaries the Mārkanda and other streams, the Saraswatī now joins the Gaggar near the village of Rasula.

Although the river below the confluence is marked in our maps as Gaggar, it was formerly the Saraswatī;[2] that name is still known amongst the people, and the famous

[1] Muir, ii. 341.
[2] Panjab Gazetteer, Hissar.

fortress of Sarsuti or Saraswatī was built upon its banks, nearly 100 miles below the present junction with the Gaggar.

How the sacred river came to lose its own name and acquire that of its former tributary is not known. It may have been owing to some change in its course in comparatively modern times.

There is no mention in the Veda or Mahābhārata of any such river as the Gaggar, or of any important stream between the Sutadru and the Saraswatī.

The ancient fortress of Sarsuti or Saraswatī (now Sirsa) was a place of importance up to the time of the early Mahommedan invasions. Its site is marked by immense mounds rising some sixty feet above the plain. The wife of Goga Chohan, the demigod whose shrine is to be found in every Panjāb village, was a daughter of the raja of Sirsa Pattana.

Some seven or eight miles to the eastward of Sirsa is another old bed of the Saraswatī. This is partially obliterated, but it apparently joined the channel just referred to, not far from Sirsa. It may, however, have once been continuous with the old river-bed, called in our maps Chitrang.

The exact position of the Vināsana is unknown, but it was probably not far from Sirsa.

We may now consider how the Saraswatī came to lose itself in the sands.

The view held by several writers on the subject appears to be that it was owing to a shrinking of the stream caused by diminished rainfall.

This, however, could not possibly have been the cause. It would have involved the existence, previously, of such meteorological conditions as must have rendered the holy land of the Brahmans an uninhabitable swamp. The neighbouring large rivers, too, must in such case have been vast in proportion. This, as their channels show, they were not. Some of them, in fact, which are mentioned in the Vedas as being fordable, are so with difficulty at the present day.

In addition to this we find, from the hymns of the Rig Veda, that instead of the rainfall being in excess, relief from drought was most frequently prayed for, and that Indra "gave rain to the sacrificer" (iv. 26. 2).[1]

According to the Aitareya Brahmana (ii. 19) the country at some distance from the river was even then desert, for the rishis, at a sacrifice on the banks of the Saraswatī, took Kavasha Ailūsha into the wilderness, saying, "let thirst destroy him here."[2]

Moreover, long before the time of the Mahābhārata, a terrible drought occurred in this tract of country, which lasted for twelve years, when the rishis wandered hither and thither in search of food, and thus lost the Vedas.

This was not owing to any drying-up of the Saraswatī, as the Muni Saraswata, who is said to have been progenitor of the Saraswatī tribe of Brahmans, remained on the banks of the sacred stream, living upon fish furnished by the river. He thus preserved the Vedas, which he afterwards communicated to other rishis.[3]

We should remember that the Saraswatī, Gaggar, and their tributaries, must, from the earliest times, have contained but little water except in the rainy season. Their sources being in the outer and lower Himālayan range, they are fed by rain only; and not by the melting snows also, as are all the great rivers of Northern India. The collecting ground of these streams, too, is, and always must have been, limited, as it lies between the Sutlej and Jumna valleys.

Some diminution in the volume of these rivers has probably taken place, during the lapse of ages, from destruction of forests and increase of irrigation.

There is nothing, however, in history to show that they ever contained much more water than they do now; indeed all records that have come down to us point to the contrary.

[1] Muir, ii. 361.
[2] Muir, ii. 393.
[3] Mahābhārata Salya, Gudāyuddha Parva.

The rainfall can never have been considerable on the outskirts of the desert of Maru.

It was not, then, owing to the shrinking of its stream that the waters of the Saraswatī lost themselves in the sands, instead of flowing onwards to the ocean. Its ancient course, however, is continuous with the dry bed of a great river, which, as local legends assert, once flowed through the desert to the sea.

In confirmation of these traditions, the channel referred to, which is called Hakra or Sotra, can be traced through the Bikanir and Bhawulpur states into Sind, and thence onwards to the Rann of Kach.

The existence of this river at no very remote period, and the truth of the legends which assert the ancient fertility of the lands through which it flowed, are attested by the ruins which everywhere overspread what is now an arid sandy waste.

Throughout this tract are scattered mounds, marking the sites of cities and towns. And there are strongholds still remaining, in a very decayed state, which were places of importance at the time of the early Mahommedan invasions.

Amongst these ruins are found, not only the huge bricks used by the Hindus in the remote past, but others of a much later make.

All this seems to show that the country must have been fertile for a long period, and that it became desert in comparatively recent times.

Freshwater shells, exactly similiar to those now seen in the Panjāb rivers, are to be found in this old river-bed and upon its banks.

What then was this lost river? Where did it rise? And whither has it gone?

The waters of the Saraswatī, the Gaggar, and their tributaries, for the reasons already given, could never have maintained a permanent river of such magnitude. It must be remembered, too, that the greater part of the long course of the Hakra was through a thirsty and nearly rainless region, in which it did not receive a single feeder.

Between the Sutlej and the Jumna there is no opening in the Himālaya through which a large river could have entered the plains.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Jumna may at some very remote period have taken a westerly instead of an easterly course and joined the Hakra : for, as observed by Mr. R. D. Oldham, of the Indian Geological Survey, this old river-bed lies between the fan or talus of the Jumna, and that of the Sutlej.[1] Tradition, however, is silent on the subject, and so are the Vedas.

In the only place in which the river Gungā is mentioned in the Rig Veda (x. 75. 5) the Yamunā is coupled with it.[2]

In the Rāmāyana we find that Rāma and Lukshmana "directed their course to the place where the Gangā, produced by Baghiratha, unites with Yamunā."[3]

Manu mentions Prayāga, where the Jumna and Ganges meet, and the Vināsana of the Saraswatī as the boundary marks of Madhya Desa.[4]

In the Mahābhārata Vivatsu, at Indraprastha, invites Krishna to go with him to the banks of the Yamunā, and adds: "We will return in the evening."[5] The river must therefore have flowed near Delhi then, as it does at present.

According to the Harivansa the Yamunā flowed by Mathra when Krishna in his youth amused himself upon its banks, and when Baladeva dragged the river out of its course by digging an irrigation canal.[6]

It seems, therefore, that when the Mahābhārata was put together the Jumna joined the Ganges as it does now, while, from the coupling of the names Gangā and Yamunā in the Rig Veda, it is most probable that in Vedic times also, the Jumna took the same course.

It seems, further, that no change in the course of the Jumna can have carried off the waters of the Hakra, which,

[1] Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, iv. 335.
[2] Muir, ii. 342.
[3] Ramayana II. xlii.
[4] Manu, Haughton, ii. 21.
[5] Mahābhārata, Adi, Kandavadaha Parva.
[6] Harivansa, Langlois, i. 437.

indeed, according to tradition, was a flowing stream after the time of the Moslem invasion.

As regards the Sutlej, however, there is evidence of changes quite sufficient to explain the disappearance of the Saraswatī in the sands; the drying-up of the Hakra; and the transformation of a once fertile region into desert.

There can be little doubt that this river, instead of turning nearly due west on leaving the hills, as at present, anciently took a more southerly direction, and that the Hakra is its former bed.

It would seem that the Sutlej has changed its course from time to time, until at last it joined the Beas, and the two streams flowed in the same channel.

One of the hymns of the Rig Veda (iii. 33) has been supposed to allude to a junction between these rivers at a very remote period. The rishi Viswamitra is represented as fording, with a waggon and a chariot, a stream called Chhutudri and the Vipasa near their confluence.[1]

That one of the rivers mentioned in this passage was the Beas is evident; but that the other was the Sutlej is more than doubtful.

There is nothing in the context to show that the latter river is intended. Elsewhere in the Rig Veda, as well as in the Nirukta, the name given to the Sutlej is Śatudri, which, in the Mahābhārata and later writings, is rendered Satadru; but the stream here referred to, as joining the Vipas, is called Chhutudri. This name is applied to the river, not only in the hymn itself, but also in the Nirukta, and by the comparatively modern commentator Sāyana, without any remark to show that the Śatudri is indicated.

Again, the rivers are described as rushing from the sides of the mountains; the scene must therefore have been near the foot of the Himālaya, and very far from any possible point of junction between the Sutlej and Biyas.

Further, the Biyas is addressed in the hymn as much the most important of the two streams, and is called "the

[1] Muir, i. 338.

broad and beautiful Vipas," no such epithet being bestowed upon the Chhutudri, although, had this been the Sutlej, its volume must have been nearly twice as great as that of the Beas.

It appears most probable that the Chhutudri was not the Sutlej, but the river now known as the Chukki, which joins the Beas shortly after that stream enters the plains.

Variations in the names of the rivers are generally carefully noted in the Nirukta. Thus we learn that the Beas acquired the name Vipasa after, and in consequence of, the attempted suicide of Vasishtha; the stream having been previously called Uranjira and Arjikia.[1]

From Uranjira was probably derived the Saranges of Arrian, the ancient name of the Vipasa being mistaken for a separate stream.

It is most likely that the legend related in the Mahābhārata, of the Satadru having separated into a hundred channels when Vasishtha threw himself into it, was founded upon some great changes in its course.

The traditions current throughout the tract between the Sutlej and the Saraswatī all agree that, until Mahommedan times, the Sutlej flowed in the Hakra channel, and that, till then, the country upon its banks was fertile and populous.

The legends referred to are strongly supported by the physical aspect of the country, and by the signs of its former prosperity, while they are confirmed by the fact that several of the old river-beds, which combine to form the Hakra, have been traced to within so short a distance of the Sutlej, that they could not possibly have belonged to any other stream.

The Hakra is formed by the union, near Wallur, on the borders of Bikanir and Bhawulpur, of two large branches. Each of these arises from the junction of several channels, most of them dry, or only containing a little water in the rainy season. In some of them, however, streams still flow for some distance.

[1] Muir, i. 417 and ii. 342.

Of these old river-beds, the breadth of which varies from one to five or six miles, those towards the east meet near Bhatnair to form the eastern arm of the Hakra. They are called in our maps Gaggar, and Wah, Sonamwal, or Sirhind Nadi.

The western arm of the Hakra is formed by three branches, each of which is known as Naiwal. These meet near Kurrulwala (Lat. 29° 33′, Long. 73° 52′).

All these old channels diverge from the direction of Rupar, where the Sutlej enters the plains, and each is said to have been in turn the bed of that river. On the banks of each are towns which, though now more or less decayed, were once places of importance.

Near Bhatnair the eastern arm of the Hakra is joined by a dry river-bed, marked in our maps as Chitrung. If the Jumna ever joined the Hakra it must have been by this channel, which however is only traceable for a short distance. It is supposed to have once been continuous with the Chitrung stream, which has been identified with the Drishadvati. This, which was connected with the Jumna by Sultan Firoz Shah,[1] is now the Hansi branch of the western Jumna canal.

Between Sirsa and Bhatnair, the Saraswatī or Gaggar meets the old river-bed now called Wah or Sirhind Nadi, and with it forms the eastern arm of the Hakra.

The Wah, in which a small hill stream still flows, is traceable upwards, past the old towns of Sonam and Sirhind, to within a few miles of Rupar, where the Sutlej enters the plains, and, according to tradition, it was once the bed of that river.

This channel was converted into a canal in the fourteenth century by Sultan Firoz Shah, who turned into it the waters of the Sirsa torrent, which joins the Sutlej just before it leaves the hills. In later times this canal was connected with the Sutlej itself by Mirza Kandi, one of the governors of Sirhind. Neither of these works seems to have been very

[1] Ferishta (Dow's ed.) i. 305.

successful. What they attempted has, however, now been accomplished by the Sirhind canal.

When the Sutlej changed its course to the westward, and abandoned the eastern arm of the Hakra, the Saraswatī, which had been a tributary, was left in possession of the deserted channel, in the sands of which its waters were swallowed up.

It is of course impossible to fix any period for this change, but it may be presumed that it took place between the Vedic period and that of Manu, when we first hear of the disappearance of the Saraswatī in the sands.

It seems at least probable that the great drought and famine, lasting for twelve years, when the rishis wandering in search of food lost the Vedas, was caused by this change in the course of the Sutlej.[1]

Such results would certainly be produced in an almost rainless district by the complete stoppage of irrigation, which must have followed a change like this in the course of the river.

The western arm of the Hakra, in which the Sutlej next flowed, is formed by the junction of three wide channels, each called Naiwal.

The centre one of these is known as the Battinda Naiwal, from the celebrated fortress of that name, which was built upon its banks. This has been traced upwards, past Lissara to Chamkour, on the old left bank of the Sutlej valley. This place is ten miles from Rupar, where the Sutlej enters the plains.

The eastern Naiwal is traceable to within a few miles of the same place, and probably joined the channel just mentioned.

The Western Naiwal is said by the people living upon its banks to have come from near Māchiwarra, an ancient town upon the south bank of the Sutlej valley, and twenty miles below Rupar. It is referred to in the Settlement Report of the Ludiana district[2] as traceable from a short distance south of Māchiwarra to near Tulwandi. From the village

[1] Mahābhārata, Salya, Gudāyuddha Parva.
[2] Ludiana Settlement Report, 1851.

of Arkara, six miles from Tulwandi and twenty miles south-west of Ludiana, it has been surveyed and found to be a wide clearly defined channel, taking a south-westerly direction to the ancient fortress of Abohar. Thence it extends to Kurrulwala, where it is joined by the other branches which have just been described.

Here commences the western arm of the Hakra, which, passing by Tartarsir and Guneshgurh, joins the eastern or Bhatnair arm near Wallur, on the borders of Bikanir and Bhawulpur.

We have seen that these old river-beds diverged from the immediate neighbourhood of the opening in the sub-Himālaya, through which the Sutlej enters the plains, two of them being still traceable to the old left bank of that river. We have seen, too, that they all terminate in one channel. There can be little doubt, then, that the same stream flowed in each of them.

In addition to this, however, the survey for the Tehara canal[1] shows that between the village of Arkara and the present course of the Sutlej are two other old river-beds, coming from the same direction as the Naiwal. These, one of which is only between two and three miles from the Naiwal at Arkara, join a wider channel, which meets, at Faridkot, the Dhunda or left bank of the valley of the Sutlej and Beas. It is evident that the same river must, at different times, have flowed in these channels and in the Naiwal, and that this could have been no other than the Sutlej.

It was probably by the channels just mentioned that the Sutlej entered the Beas valley, when it deserted the Naiwal, and the Hakra ceased to flow.

Great changes in the course of the Sutlej have occurred in comparatively recent times. Indeed, only a century ago, the river deserted its bed under the fort of Ludiana,[2] which is five miles from its present course, and ten feet above its present level.

[1] Report on Proposed Tehara Canal, 1847.
[2] Cunningham's Ladākh, 135.

From the junction of its eastern and western arms near Wallur, the Hakra traverses the territories of the Nawab of Bhawulpur. It here loses the name of Sotra and acquires that of Wahind (river of Hind).

It seems that the river, in one of its changes, joined the Indus near Uch. The original channel is however distinctly traceable onwards into Sind. On its banks, about twenty-five miles from the Sind border, is an ancient Hindu temple called Pattan Ki Mundra, or sometimes Pattan Ki Minara, pattan being the common Panjābi term for a ferry.[1]

After entering Sind the Hakra turns southward, and becomes continuous with the old river-bed generally known as Narra. This channel, which bears also the names of Hakra or Sagara, Wahind, and Dahan, is to be traced onward to the Rann of Kach.

All the old river-beds, which have been referred to, are more or less filled up, especially in the upper part of their course, by the deposit of soil and debris which has been going on for centuries. From the constant abrasion of the hills, and the much heavier rainfall, this process is very much more active in the sub-montane tract than in the dry and level plains.

A striking proof of the great changes of level, in the country near the Himālaya, was furnished during the excavation of the Sirhind canal, near Rupar. Old graves and trunks of trees were then found at a depth of more than twenty feet below the present surface.

As the Hindus burn their dead, this change of level must apparently have taken place since Mahommedan times, or say within eight hundred years at most.

Near the desert the drifting sand and dust have tended to fill up these old channels, as also has the soil washed into them by the rain which occasionally falls. In some of them, too, tributary streams have continued to flow, and have formed a deposit of clay or loam.

[1] This temple is built of brick without lime. The bricks are beautifully fitted and carved.

The current of the Sutlej is rapid, especially where it first leaves the hills, and the soil through which it passes is light and sandy; the stream has therefore cut deeply into it. Owing to this, and to the effects of the filling-up process already alluded to, the present bed of the river is much below the level of these old channels. This difference is, for the reasons already given, most marked near the mountains, and diminishes very considerably as the distance from them increases. Indeed, below Uch, irrigation canals have been carried from the Sutlej into the bed of the Hakra.

As regards the present bed of the Sutlej, to the effects of the changes already mentioned must be added those caused by the cataclysm of A.D. 1762. The river was then dammed up for some weeks by a landslip in the hills; and, before the barrier gave way, its waters rose to a height of 400 feet above the ordinary level.[1]

The scouring effect of such a rush of waters as then occurred must have been very great.

I may here observe that the waters of the Beas and Sutlej, just below their confluence, are some twenty feet lower than those of the Ravi at a point immediately opposite.[2]

The mean low-water level, too, of the Jumna at Kurnāl, fifty-four miles from where the river leaves the hills, has been found to be six inches higher than that of the Sutlej at Ludiana, only forty-two miles from the hills.[3] This would give nearly the same difference as in the case of the Ravi, but the coincidence may be accidental.

It has been said that the Hakra could not, from its want of depth, have contained the waters of the Sutlej, but it must be remembered that this channel has been for many centuries subject to the obliterating effects of the processes just referred to. The wonder is, therefore, not that it should be shallower than the present bed of the Sutlej, but that, after such a lapse of time, it should be so plainly marked as it is.

[1] Cunningham's Ladâkh, p. 132.
[2] Bari Doab Canal Report, p. 46.
[3] Report on Projected Canals in Delhi Territory, sheet ii.

The Hakra varies in different parts of its course from about two to six miles in width, which is sufficient for a very large river.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the volume of the present Sutlej is augmented by the waters of the Beas, which did not flow in the Hakra.

The part of India in which these great changes have taken place had already been devastated in the deadly struggle between Hindu and Moslem, when the drying-up of the river came to complete the desolation.

Few of the traditions which remain amongst the scanty population of this inhospitable region furnish landmarks by which dates may be fixed. The allusion to the Musselmans, however, seems to show that the final drying-up of the Hakra, with the great famine and the exodus of the people, occurred after the establishment of the Mahommedan power.

These events are accounted for by the following legend:—

"In the time of the great raja Sulwān (Salivāhana) the Sutludra (Sutlej) flowed southwards from the Himalāya, through the lands of Nair and Kadāl, and onwards, through Sind, to the sea. Puran, the son of Sulwān, who had become a religious ascetic, for some reason invoked a curse upon the river, and ordered it to leave its bed and go to join the Ravi. The stream, in consequence, changed its course more and more towards the west, until, six hundred and fifty years ago, it entered the Beas valley, and flowed in the channel known as Dhund, or Dabanda, near Ferozpur.

"This was attended by a terrible drought and famine in the country on the banks of the Hakra, where numbers of men and cattle perished. The survivors then migrated to the banks of the Indus, and the country has ever since been desert."

The western, or Abohar, branch of the Naiwal, which was at that time deserted by the stream, was the last of these channels connected with the Hakra, in which, therefore, the waters of the Sutlej then finally ceased to flow.

This would be about A.D. 1223, as the legend was related in 1873.

The tradition goes on to say that the Zemindars (land-holders) on the banks of the Dahunda, afraid that the river would soon leave their lands, as it had already left those further to the eastward, besought the intercession of the holy Shaik Farid-ud-din Shakar Gunge.

This great apostle of Islām, having prayed, commanded the stream not to move beyond five kos (seven miles) from the bed in which it was then flowing. This injunction the river obeyed.

Puran, son of Sulwān, is the hero of many legends in the Panjāb. His date is supposed to have been about A.D. 78. The legend does not, however, say that the final changes took place in his time.

The account of the intervention of Baba Farid is probable enough. The good offices of holy men are still sought, when changes occur in the course of the rivers, or the village lands are washed away by floods.

Shaik Farid died in A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261) at the age of 77, or, according to another version, at the age of 95. His memory is still held in the greatest veneration throughout the Panjāb. His tomb at Ajodhān, now called Pāk Pattan, was visited by Sultan Firoz Shah in A.D. 1391,[1] and by Taimur in A.D. 1398.[2] It is still a place of pilgrimage, both for Moslems and Hindus.

In A.D. 1223 Shaik Farid would have been about fifty or sixty years of age, and it is probable that the final drying-up of the Hakra did take place about the time assigned to it in the legend.

This is confirmed by a passage in the Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, in which it is said that when Uch was beseiged by the Monguls in A.H. 643 (A.D. 1245) the army sent to relieve the city was unable to march by the direct route, by way of Sarsuti and Marot, in consequence of the drought on the banks of the river.[3]

The only river near Marot was the Hakra, on the banks

[1] Elliot, iii. 282.
[2] Elliot, iii. 421.
[3] Elliot, ii. 364.

of which it was built. The drought, therefore, must have been that referred to in the legend as caused by the drying-up of the Hakra.

This fortress is now in the heart of the desert, but then the high road from Delhi to Multan passed under its walls, and followed the course of the Hakra from Sarsuti to near the city of Uch.

We find, further, that, after this period, armies marching between Delhi and Multan took the longer road by Abohar and Ajodhān; although the more direct way, by Marot, was occasionally taken by travellers for some time later.

Colonel Tod, in his Annals of Rajasthan, mentions that, near Bhatnair, he heard an old man recite a couplet to the effect that the country on the banks of the Hakra became waste, through the river drying-up, in the time of Rai Hamir, Sodha, of Dhāt.[1]

This country included the eastern part of Sind and a considerable portion of the desert of Marū, but not the lands on the upper part of the Hakra.

A powerful chieftain, named Hamir, was ruler of Dhāt in S. 1100 (A.D. 1044).[2] Another Hamir, according to the Muntakhat-ut-tawarikh,[3] was the last of the Sumra dynasty which ruled in Sind, and was overthrown by the Sammas in or about A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).[4]

It is probable, however, that the first Hamir is the chieftain referred to in the legend; and that the change in the course of the river was that which carried the waters of the Hakra, or Sutlej, into the Indus near Uch, as already alluded to.

This diversion of the stream dried up the lower part of the Hakra, and so left without water a great portion of the lands of Dhāt.

The change just mentioned must of course have taken

[1] Annals of Rajasthan, ii. 187.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] Elliot, i. 485.
[4] Elliot, i. 494.

place before the final drying-up of the Hakra, which is the event ascribed by tradition to the middle of the thirteenth century.

When the Sutlej abandoned the western Naiwal, and entered the Beas valley, the combined streams were known as Beāh.

The application of the name Sutlej to these rivers, below their confluence, is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings, Hindu or Mahommedan. The united stream of Beas and Sutlej was never known as Satadru or Satludra.

Thus, in the ancient chronicles of the Bhattis of Jessulmer, who were lords of the country on both its banks, the river is always called Beah.[1]

In the Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri we find that in A.D. 1245 an army of Moguls under Mangu Khan besieged Uch, but when the Sultan Ala-ud-din marched with an army to the banks of the Beāh, the infidels raised the siege.[2] Here, although the allusion is to the united streams, the Sutlej is not mentioned, that river having become merged in the Beas.

The same authority says that in A.D. 1257, Malik Kishlu Khan Balban came from Sind to the banks of the Beāh, and from thence marched to Samāna.[3] Here again the river called Beāh is the combined Beas and Sutlej.

We are told also in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi that in A.H. 667 (A.D. 1268) the Mogul horse crossed the Beāh, but were driven back by armies from Multan, Samāna, etc.[4]

In each of these instances the river called Beāh is that shown in our maps as Sutlej or Garrah.

This is no clerical error, as the same term is never applied to the Sutlej above the confluence. Thus, according to the Tarikh-i-Alai, in A.H. 695 (A.D. 1296), the Tartar chief Kādar came with an army from the Jud mountain (Salt

[1] Annals of Rajasthan, ii. 262.
[2] Elliot, ii. 344.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 356.
[4] Elliot, iii. 112.

Range), and crossed the Jhelam, Beāh, and Satlāder.[1] This invader was defeated near Jalandhar, and crossed the latter rivers above their junction.

Again, in the Tarikh-i-Mobarik Shahi, it is said that in A.H. 796 (A.D. 1395), Sarang Khan crossed the Satlāder near Tehāra.[2] And, further, that in A.H. 823 (A.D. 1420) the rebel Tughan Rais, with an army, crossed the Satlāder at Ludianha.[3] These towns are above the meeting of Beas and Sutlej. The same authority applies the term Beāh to the rivers below the confluence.[4]

To this day, the river below Firozpur is known to the boatmen as Beāh or Garrah. All this seems to show pretty clearly that the Sutlej is an interloper, and the Beas the original stream. Had it been otherwise, the greater river must have retained its name throughout its course.

More than this, however, an old river-bed still exists a few miles north of the present course of the combined rivers. This is known, not as the old Sutlej, but as the old Beas, and it joined the Chenab between Multan and the present Sutlej. In this position the Beas is described as joining the Chenab by Arrian, and other ancient writers. And local tradition asserts that this was the course of the former river in the time of the Mahommedan saint Shaik Bhawal Huk, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century.

Since the junction between the Beas and Sutlej many changes have taken place in the course of the stream, and every part of the wide valley is furrowed by the numerous channels occupied at different times.

In the Ain-i-Akbari the rivers are said to unite near Firozpur and then to divide into four streams, called Har, Hari, Nurnai, and Dhund, which again unite near Multan.

It is impossible that the Sutlej and Beas could, for any length of time, have flowed as separate rivers in the

[1] Elliot, iii. 70.
[2] *Ib.* iv. 29.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 53.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 33.

same valley. There was no watershed to keep them apart, and the land is so low, and is intersected in every direction by such a network of old channels, that their waters must have mingled at every flood.

The historians of Alexander's invasion ignore the Sutlej entirely. This they could scarcely have done, had this river joined the Beas, especially as the confluence, had it existed, must have been very near the spot at which Alexander erected his altars.

In addition to this, Arrian, Strabo, and other classical writers, in their descriptions of Alexander's voyage, omit all mention of the Sutlej when describing the tributaries of the Indus.

From this it would appear that these two rivers were then flowing in separate channels to the Rann of Kach, as they were at the time of the Arab invasion ten centuries later.

Arrian's description of the four branches of the Indus is very clear. He says that Alexander, after leaving the Hydaspes and entering the Akesines, "had not sailed far before he arrived at the confluence of the Hydraotis and Akesines, for the Hydraotis, flowing into the Akesines, there loses its name. Then sailing down the Akesines he came to the place where it falls into the Indus. For these four large and navigable streams at last discharge their waters into the Indus, though they do not preserve their individual names until that time. The Hydaspes falling into the Akesines loses its name there, the Akesines takes in the Hydraotis and also the Hyphasis, and retains its name until it falls into the Indus."[1]

Here we have four large and navigable rivers, affluents of the Indus. Of these, the first three are the Jhelam, Chenab, and Ravi. The fourth, from its name (Hyphasis) and its position with regard to the others, could only have been the Beas (Vipaśa), and we find that this joined, not the Sutlej, but the Chenab.

[1] Anabasis, vi. 14.

Where, then, was the Sutlej? Had any such river at that time joined either Chenab or Indus, it could not have escaped the notice of so many and acute observers as were in Alexander's fleet, nor of the army marching along the banks. But the Sutlej, flowing through Rājasthan, and the unknown country beyond the Hyphasis, would be included amongst those "other rivers," which, as Arrian says, "discharge their waters into the ocean on this side the Ganges."[1]

Strabo, after describing the same rivers, and in the same order, says, "All the rivers which have been mentioned, the last of which is the Hypanis, unite in one—the Indus."[2]

Here again there is no allusion to any stream corresponding to the Sutlej.

Ptolemy's description of the tributaries of the Indus is very confused. He makes the Sandabal (Chinab) and the Adris (Ravi) flow into the Bidaspes (Jhelam). The combined rivers he makes flow into the Zaradrus (Sutlej), near Kaspira (Kāsyapapura, or Multan). The Zaradrus he represents as flowing into the Indus, and the Hypanis as joining the Zaradrus near the Himālaya.

In Lat. 29° 30′, however, Ptolemy represents a large river, without a name, as joining the Indus from the eastward. This, to which he applies the term "ἐκτροπή," which he also applies to the Kophen or Kabul river,[3] can only have been intended for the Hakra.

It seems that Ptolemy must have heard of this river, but that his information was somewhat vague and indefinite.

In the Chuchnama, a translation of an old Arabic account of Sind, and of the first Moslem invasion of India, no mention is made of the Sutlej, although the Beāh, or Beas, is frequently referred to. The translator of this work lived at Uch, near the junction of the Chenab and Indus, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He must, therefore,

[1] Anabasis, v. 6.
[2] Geog. xv. 1.
[3] Ptolemy (McCrindle), p. 95.

have been well acquainted with the position of all the rivers in that part of the country.

From this authority we learn that Chuch, King of Hind and Sind, in the seventh century, prepared an army to march to the borders of his kingdom which adjoined the Turk.

The astrologers having fixed an auspicious time, he set out from Aror (on the left bank of the Indus, near Bakhar), and, after many marches, reached the fortress of Pabiya, on the south bank of the Beāh. This place was taken, and Chuch then crossed the Beāh and Ravi and took Multan.[1]

Here nothing is said of the Sutlej. The rivers intervening between Aror and Multan are the Beas and the Ravi, which latter flowed formerly to the south of Multan.

The same writer in describing the route of Mahomed Kāsim, the Arab conqueror of Sind (A.D. 712–13), says: "He then marched from that place (Aror) and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yabiba, on the south bank of the Beāh." And we find that "Mahomed Kasim left the fort, crossed the Beāh, and reached the fort of Askalund." After this he crossed the Ravi and took Multan.[2] There is no mention of the Sutlej.

Al Bilādari, who lived some three centuries earlier than the translator of the Chuchnama, in describing the march of the Arab army, mentions no river between Aror and the Beas.

Al Biruni, writing in the eleventh century, says, in describing the tributaries of the Indus: "The river Biyatta, known as Jailam, from the city of this name upon its west bank, and the river Chandrāha join each other nearly fifty miles above Jahrāwar and pass along west of Multan. The river Biyah flows east of Multan and joins afterwards the Biyatta and Chandrāha. The river Rawa is joined by the river Kaj, which rises in Nagarkot (Kangra) in the mountains of Bhātal. Thereupon follows the fifth, the river Satlāder. After these five rivers

[1] Elliot, i. 142

[2] Elliot, i. 203–205.

have united below Multan, at a place called Panchanāda, they form an enormous water-course."[1]

There is some confusion here. The Ravi and Beas appear to have changed places, as the latter is mentioned before the former, and the Kaj or Gaj, which rises in the mountains of Bhātal, joins the Beas and not the Ravi. It is clear, however, that the Beas flowed into the Chenab direct, and not into the Sutlej. And that the latter river joined, separately, the Indus or Panchanāda.

In fact the old bed of the Beas, as already mentioned, joins the Chenab, between Multan and the present Sutlej.

Al Biruni died in A.D. 1048. How much of his description of the rivers is derived from contemporary information, and how much from old Hindu writings is uncertain. It is probable, however, that at the time he wrote the Sutlej had ceased to flow through Sind, and had joined the Indus near Uch.

Al Biruni further says: "This stream (Panjnad) after passing Audor (Aror), in the middle of Sind, bears the name of Mihran."[2]

The Panjnad therefore was the Indus, from the confluence of the Chenab to Aror, so that the five rivers were complete without the Sutlej.

Again, the same writer says: "In the same way as at this place (Aror) they called the collected rivers Panjnad (five rivers), so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, where they unite and form the river of Balkh, are called the 'seven rivers.'"[3]

The Tārikh-i-Hafiz Abru, written in the fifteenth century, but compiled from older writers, says of the Beāh: "This is also a large river, which rises to the east of the mountains of Kashmir. It flows into the country of Lahawar, and to the neighbourhood of Uch. It falls into the sea in the country of Kambaya."[4]

[1] Al Biruni, Sachau, i. 260.
[2] Elliot, i. 48.
[3] *Ib.* i. 49.
[4] Elliot, iv. 4.

This account, taken from some ancient work, evidently refers to the Sutlej flowing to the Rann of Kach. This river had, long before the time of Hafiz Abru, joined the Beas, and the united streams had become known as Beāh. Hence the confusion.

The Emperor Taimur mentions that on his making enquiry in Kashmir as to the rivers of the Panjāb, he was told that "when this river (Jhelam) passes out of Kashmir it is named after each city by which it flows, as the river of Dandāna, the river of Jamd. It passes on and joins the Chenab above Multān. The united waters pass below Multān and there join the Ravi. The river Beas comes down through another part and joins them, and the united rivers fall into the Sind or Panjāb, and this river falls into the Persian Gulf near Thatta." [1]

This information is probably derived from some old Hindu work.

Here, as elsewhere, the Sutlej is not mentioned, and the Panjāb is the Indus below the confluence with the Chenab.

Again, Ibn Batuta, in describing his journey to Delhi, says: "On the first of the sacred month of Moharram, H. 735 (A.D. 1333), we arrived at the river Sind, the same that is called Panjāb, a name signifying five rivers." [2]

In each of these instances the Sind is one of the "five rivers" and the Sutlej is not.

We have seen that the Hakra, on entering Sind, becomes continuous with the old channel called Narra. This is generally supposed to have been once the bed of the Indus, and it is probable that, at some remote period, it was so.

There is nothing in history or tradition to show when the Narra was abandoned by the Indus. It seems, however, tolerably certain that, after this occurred, the waters of the Sutlej continued for centuries to flow in the deserted channel, just as the Saraswatī flowed in the old bed of the Sutlej.

[1] Elliot, iii. 476.
[2] Elliot, iii. 587.

The name Hakra, which is the local pronunciation of Sagara, or Sāgara, and is, as we have seen, given to the old bed of the Satlej in the Panjāb, is also applied to the Narra, as far as the Rann of Kach, so that the whole channel is known by this name, from Bhatnair to the sea.

It has been considered by some authorities that the Narra, or Hakra, was the course of the Indus so late as the time of Alexander, and that it was down this channel that the Greek fleet sailed to Pātala and to the ocean.

As the Hakra did not form a Delta this appears impossible, unless, indeed, the head of the Delta was above Aror, and that city was Pātala. This, however, would not agree with the descriptions of Alexander's voyage. The distance from the confluence with the Chenab would be too small; and that from the head of the Delta to the sea would be too great.

Sir A. Cunningham and others have considered that Pātala occupied the site of the present city of Haiderabad; and the evidence in favour of this view is very strong.[1]

Nearchus seems to have reached salt water at 130 stadia from Pātala,[2] which he could not have done had he started from Aror.

Haiderabad is three miles east of the present course of the Indus, which stream, owing to the high land to the west, could never have flowed much further in that direction than it does at present.

If, therefore, Haiderabad occupies the site of Pātala, the present course of the river must, at this point, represent the western boundary of the Delta. From the left bank of the Indus, above Haiderabad, several old river beds, which are much silted up in places, take a south-easterly direction. These converge and join the Dhora Puran (ancient channel), also called Sankra, which is to be traced onwards to the Rann of Kach.

Upon the east bank of the Dhora Puran are the ruins of Brahmanabad, one of the ancient capitals of Sind, and on

[1] Ancient Geog. Ind. 279.
[2] Arrian Indica, xxi.

the west was built its famous successor, Mansura. Upon the ruins of this city was founded (in the fourteenth century) the still later Nāsirpur, which in a very decayed state still exists.

This, then, was probably the eastern arm of the Indus down which Alexander sailed, and of which Arrian says: "When he had sailed far down the left branch, and was near the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake formed either by the river spreading wide over a flat country, or by other streams flowing in from the adjacent lands, making it appear like a bay of the sea. Abundance of sea fish are found there of a much larger size than our seas produce. Steering to a creek, to which his pilots directed him, he left there Leonatus with many of the soldiers and all the long galleys; but he, with some biremes and triremes, passed out at the mouth of the river and sailed into the ocean."[1]

If then the Delta, in Alexander's time, was formed by the branching of the river above Haiderabad, the two channels just mentioned must have been its boundaries.* The Indus consequently must then have flowed to the west of Aror, and not in the Hakra.

Rashid-ud-din describes the eastern, or greater arm of the Mihran, as branching off from above Mansura to the east—to the borders of Kach.[2] This is the course of the Dhora Puran, which channel was also the Mihran of the Arab conquerors of Sind, and was then the main stream. The western branch is mentioned by Al Bilādari as a river on this (western) side of the Mihran,[3] which was crossed by Mahomed Kāsim before he reached Nirun (Haiderabad). After he had occupied this place, he collected boats, and made a floating bridge across the Mihran. When he had crossed the latter river, and made several marches, Mahomed Kassim came to Jaipur on the banks of another stream

[1] Anabasis, vi. 20.
[2] Elliot, i. 49.
[3] Elliot, i. 121.

called, by the Arab writers, Wadhawah or Dadhawah.[1] Rai Dahir was killed between the Mihran and this river.[2] This was evidently the Hakra, which was also called Wandan and Dahan, the addition wah meaning a stream.

The fortress of Rawar, the residence of the King of Sind, was upon the banks of this river, which was navigable both above and below it. For the Arab commander ordered Nuba bin Daras to hold the place and keep the boats ready, and, if any boat coming up or down the river was loaded with men or arms, to take them and bring them to the fort.[3] And he placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of Ibn Ziyad-ul-Abdi.[4]

Thus it appears that, at the time of Alexander's invasion, the Indus flowed to the west of Aror, and did not divide into its two branches, which enclosed the Delta, until a short distance above Pātala or Haiderabad.

It appears also that the same conditions existed at the time of the first Moslem invasion, early in the eighth century. And that, according to the Arab geographers, the course of the eastern and principal branch of the river had changed but little in the tenth century. For Mansura, the Mahommedan capital of Sind, is described by Ibn Hankal as then flourishing upon its banks.[5]

During all this time, however, a navigable river was flowing in the channel now known as Narra or Hakra, and discharging its waters into the Rann of Kach.

All this strongly confirms the traditions, which have been already referred to, that the waters of the Sutlej flowed in the Hakra to the sea, and to the south of the Mer country, at a place called Kāk (Kach), spread out into a great lake.

It is not difficult to understand the formation of the Rann, if it be considered as the former embouchure of three

[1] Elliot, i. 172.
[2] *Ib.* i. 172.
[3] *Ib.* i. 172.
[4] *Ib.* i. 189.
[5] Elliot, i. 34.

important rivers (the Indus, Sutlej, and Luni), of which the two first and greatest have long abandoned it.[1]

The traditions of all the tribes bordering upon it agree that this expanse of salt and sand was once an estuary. And, as noticed by Burnes[2] and others, places still exist upon its shores which once were ports.

In the Rann we may recognize the great lake, at the mouth of the eastern arm of the Indus, described by Arrian, as well as the lake Ash Sharki, upon which, according to Al Bilādari, the fleet of Jaishya, son of the King of Sind, was destroyed by the Arab commander Junaid.[3]

The mention of Bala, King of Ash Sharki, having been killed by Musa bin Yahya, one of the successors of Junaid, confirms the identity of the lake, as Balika Rai (the Balhara of the later Arab writers) was the title of the rulers of the country upon the eastern shores of the Rann.

The course of the "lost river" has now been traced from the Himālaya to the Rann of Kach.

And, although direct historical references may be few, and dates uncertain, there the old river-bed remains.

Sufficient evidence has, I think, been brought forward to show that the Hakra did not dry up from diminished rainfall, or from any failure of its source, but that its waters, having ceased to flow in their ancient bed, still find their way by another channel to the sea.

We have also seen that the Vedic description of the waters of the Saraswatī flowing onward to the ocean, and that given in the Mahābhārata, of the sacred river losing itself in the sands, were probably both of them correct at the periods to which they referred.

[1] In a paper read before the Geological Society, Mr. A. Rogers, of the Bombay Civil Service, pointed out that from the geological formation of the country bordering on the Rann, it appeared that the drainage of the Panjāb once flowed into it (Journal Geological Society, February, 1870).

[2] Travels in Bokhara, iii. 323.

[3] Elliot, i. 125.

ART. IV.—*Observations on the Gupta Coinage.* By VINCENT ARTHUR SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service (N.W.P. and Oudh). With three Plates. Read before the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892.

CONTENTS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A.A.	H. H. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua.
A.C.	Cabinet of Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., etc., London.
Æ.	Copper.
A.G.	Cabinet of Alexander Grant, C.I.E.[1]
AR.	Silver.
Arch.Rep.	Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, volumes i.-xxiii., written or edited by Sir A. Cunningham.

[1] Mr. Grant's gold Gupta coins are now in the Ermitage Impérial at St. Petersburg.

A.S.B.	Cabinet of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
AV.	Gold.
B.	Cabinet of Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Barstow.	Cabinet of H. C. Barstow, B.C.S. (retired).
B.M.	British Museum.
Boys.	Cabinet of H. S. Boys, B.C.S. (retired).
C.	Cabinet of H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., I.C S.,[1] India.
Diam.	Diameter in decimals of an inch.
E.C.B.	Cabinet of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I., Ascot.
G.E.	Gupta Era, of which year 1 was A.D. 319-20.
H.	Cabinet of J. Hooper, I.C.S., India.
Ind Ant.	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
I.O.	Cabinet of India Office, in B.M.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.Bo.Br.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
l.	Left of reader, when used to denote position on coin; proper left, when used to denote parts of the body.
Lane.	Cabinet of Wilmot Lane, B.C.S. (retired).
M.	Marsden's Numismata Orientalia.
Mon.	The so-called monogram, or monogrammatic emblem.
Obv.	Obverse.
P.E.	Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, ed. Thomas (London, 1858).
Proc.A.S.B.	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
r.	Right of reader, when used to denote position on coin; proper right, when used to denote parts of the body.
Rev.	Reverse.
S.	Cabinet of J. Sykes, Barrister-at-law, Lucknow.
Taylor.	Cabinet of R. Taylor, B.C.S., Stroud.
Temple.	Cabinet of Major R. C. Temple, S.C., Rangoon.
Wt.	Weight in English grains.
W.T.	Cabinet of W. Theobald, Esq., Budleigh Salterton, Devon.

[1] Gold coins now in Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Part I.—General Observations.

Since the publication, in January, 1889, of my monograph on the Gupta Coinage,[1] I have kept by me an interleaved copy of that work, in which I have noted from time to time all miscellaneous information bearing on the subject which happened to come to my notice, and descriptions of coins submitted for my inspection. I am especially indebted to my friend Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., for placing in my hands the whole of his splendid collection of gold Gupta coins, which includes several novelties, and many fine and rare specimens.

Mr. Rapson's examination of the rich Bodleian cabinet, and of Mr. Wilmot Lane's collection, has enabled him to supplement and correct my account of the Gupta coinage in various particulars.[2] The discovery of the seal of Kumâra Gupta II. at Bhitarî, bearing a long genealogical inscription, has shown that the direct line of the imperial Gupta dynasty continued to hold royal rank for a period much longer than had previously been supposed, and has added several interesting details to our knowledge.[3] Dr. Bühler's criticisms have proved that Mr. Fleet's opinions concerning the chronology of the dynasty are not correct on certain points.[4] This accumulation of new material has induced me to make an effort to correct and bring up to date my systematic treatise by the observations now offered for the consideration of the Congress and of the Royal Asiatic Society. These observations are unfortunately of such a miscellaneous and desultory character that they are

[1] Journal of Royal Asiatic Society for 1889, pp. 1–158, with five plates; referred to in this paper as 'Catalogue.'

[2] "Notes on Gupta Coins." (*Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xi, third series, pp.* 48–64, with one plate.)

[3] "Inscribed Seal of Kumâra Gupta II." (*J. As. Soc. Bengal for* 1889, *vol. lviii, part i. By Dr. Hoernlé and V. A. Smith.*) An electrotype facsimile of the seal has been placed in the British Museum.

[4] "On the Origin of the Gupta-Valabhî Era." (*Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. v, part* 3).

likely to be thought dry reading, even by the few students who care for Indian numismatics. But this defect will, I trust, be forgiven as being unavoidable. The amount of new matter at my command is not sufficient to render the re-writing of my monograph necessary, and it is impossible, except by re-writing it, to give my notes an agreeable literary form. An attempt to minimize the difficulty of dealing with disjointed notes has been made by discussing topics of more general interest in the first part, and relegating minute numismatic details to the second part of this communication. Many readers who may not care for such details may be warmly interested in watching every step that is taken in the slow process of disinterring the long buried and forgotten ancient history of India. Recent researches have convinced me that my Historical Introduction, which was based on Mr. Fleet's work, requires considerable modification.

The following Synoptic Table, constructed in accordance with the combined testimony of coins and other contemporary records, as now interpreted, expresses in a concise and easily intelligible form the outline of the history of the Gupta dynasty, and the chronological arrangement which seems to me to be best supported by the evidence.

This is not the place for a full discussion of the authorities on which the table is based. I give merely such explanations as are absolutely necessary to make it intelligible, and to justify the extent to which it differs from the less complete table published by me in 1889.

I have accepted the view recently supported by Dr. Bühler, that the era used by the Gupta kings was really a Gupta era, established by Chandra Gupta I. on his accession. Mr. Fleet's rival theory that the era was introduced from Nepâl must, I think, be given up.[1] The year of the Gupta era appears, according to the most recent calculations, to have been A.D. 319–20.

[1] The opinion that the Gupta era dates from the accession of Chandra Gupta I. has been held by Sir A. Cunningham for many years, and was published by him in 1879 (*Archæol. Survey Rep. vol. ix, p. 21*).

I have adopted Mr. Rapson's suggestion that Kâcha, or Kacha, was not, as I formerly supposed, identical with Samudra Gupta, but was in all probability his predecessor and brother. The scarcity of Kâcha's coins, and their occurrence in only one type, indicate that his reign was brief. The existence of this king is known to us solely by means of his gold coins, which are found with, and are closely related to, those of Samudra Gupta. The omission of his name from the genealogical inscriptions is fully explained by the supposition that he left no son who succeeded to the throne, and that his name was therefore left out of the dynastic lists as being irrelevant. In the same way, the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted from the Bhitarî Seal inscription of Kumâra Gupta II., who records himself to be the grandson of (?) Sthira Gupta, son of Kumâra Gupta I. We know from inscriptions recorded before the decease of Skanda Gupta that that prince also was a son of Kumâra Gupta I., and that consequently (?) Sthira Gupta and Skanda Gupta must have been brothers, if they were not identical, which latter alternative is possible.

The variant spellings Kâcha, or Kacha, beyond all doubt occur on the coins, which will be more particularly noticed subsequently.

I formerly described the Lichchhavi tribe or clan, into which Chandra Gupta I. married, and in the alliance with which he and his successors evidently felt such pride, as being "of Nepâl." I must confess that it was rash of me to adopt so definitely Mr. Fleet's hypothesis. There is really no proof that the Lichchhavi clan with which Chandra Gupta I. intermarried was that of Nepâl. Dr. Bühler holds that the Lichchhavi father-in-law cannot have been ruler of Nepâl, which has always been an insignificant state, an easy prey to our Indian dynasty after another. He suggests that the Lichchhavi royal family, which gave Chandra Gupta I. his queen, was that of Pâṭaliputra. "If that was so, the importance attached to his marriage is easily explained. For Chandra Gupta himself appears to have been king of Pâṭaliputra."

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Serial No.	Rank.	Personal Name.	Title on Reverse of Coins.	Son of.	Name of Queen.	Coins.	Approximate Date of Accession.	Remarks.
1	Mahârâja	Gupta (S'rî Gupta) [1]		Unknown	Unknown	None	A.D. 290	
2	,,	Ghaṭotkacha		No. 1	,,	,,	305	
3	Mahârâjâdhirâja	Chandra Gupta (I.)		No. 2	Kumâra Devî (of Lichchhavi tribe)	Gold	319	Year 1 of Gupta Era was 319-20.
4	(?) ,,	Kâcha *or* Kacha	*Sarvarâjochchhettâ.*	(?) No. 3	Unknown	,,	340	Not mentioned in inscriptions.
5	,,	Samudra Gupta	*Râjâ*; *Apratiratha*; *Parâkrama*, and its compounds; *Kritânta paraśu*.	No. 3	Datta Devî	,,	350	
6	,,	Chandra Gupta (II.)	*S'rî Vikrama*; *Ajita vikrama*; *Kramâjita*; *Siñha vikrama*; *S'rî Siñha vikrama*; *Vikramâditya*; *Vikramâñka*; *Paramabhâgavata*.	No. 5	Dhruva Devî	Gold, silver, and copper	380	
7	,,	Kumâra Gupta (I.)	*S'rî Mahendra*; *Ajito* (or *Ajita*) *Mahendra*; *Mahendra Kumâra*; *S'rî Mahendra Siñha*; *Kumâra Guptadhirâjâ*; *S'rî Pratâpa*; *S'rî aśvamedha Mahendra*; *Parama bhâgavata* (*mahâ*) *râjâdhirâja S'rî K. G. Mahendrâditya*; *Vijitâvanir avanipati K. G. deva*.	No. 6	Ananta Devî	Gold, silver, and copper	414	Some silver coins bear dates.

[illegible]	dhirâja	[illegible]	[illegible] *rata* (*mahârâjâdhirâja*) *S'ri S. G. Kramâditya*, or *Vikramâditya*, or *Paramâditya*; *Vijitâvanir avanipati S'ri S. G. Deva*	No. 7	Unknown	Gold, silver, and (?)copper	452	Some silver coins bear dates.
9	,,	(?)Sthira[2] Gupta	(?) *S'ri Prakâśâditya.*[3]	No. 7	Vatsa Devî	(?) Gold	480	
10	,,	Nara Siñha Gupta	*Bâlâditya.*	No. 9	(?) Mahâ Devî	Gold	490	
11	,,	Kumâra Gupta (II.)	*Kramâditya.*	No. 10	Unknown	,,	520	
12	,,	Budha Gupta (in Central India)	*Vijitâvanir avanipati S'ri B. G. Deva.*	Unknown	Unknown	Silver	480	Coins dated 174 G. E.
13	,,	Krishṇa Gupta (in Eastern Magadha)		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	480	

[1] I use the form *Gupta*, instead of *S'rî Gupta*, for the name of the first king, in deference to Mr. Fleet's authority, and the arguments adduced by him. But there is certainly a difficulty in taking the past participle *gupta*, 'protected,' as a name by itself. *S'rî Gupta*, 'protected by S'rî' or 'Lakshmî,' gives good sense, and Sir A. Cunningham tells me that he still thinks that this is the correct form of the name. "The gift of the merchant Siri guta (S'rî-gupta)" is mentioned in one of the Sânchi inscriptions (*Bühler*, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii. p. 102). In the compound names Mr. Fleet always writes *-gupta*. I write the word *Gupta* separately with a capital letter, because it is frequently written separately on the coins.

[2] The reading of this name is doubtful. Dr. Hoernlé and Mr. Fleet agree in reading *Pura*; Dr. Bühler tells me that, after very careful examination, he thinks that the correct reading is *Sthira*; and Sir A. Cunningham is inclined to accept this reading. He rightly points out that the name preceding the word *Gupta* should, in order to give sense, and to correspond with the designations of the other kings, be the name of a deity. Dr. Bühler observes that Sthira is an alternative name of the god Skanda, and that it is possible that Sthira Gupta and Skanda Gupta were identical. I am disposed to accept the reading Sthira as being most probably correct, but, on the whole, I consider the probabilities in favour of the supposition that Sthira Gupta and Skanda Gupta were brothers. I have come to a similar decision in the case of Samudra Gupta and Kâcha.

[3] See remarks *post* on the gold coins of Prakâśâditya.

It is satisfactory to find the myth of "the Guptas of Kanauj" at last beginning to be disbelieved.[1]

The coins of Chandra Gupta I. are rare. I know of only about seventeen specimens, which all belong to one type. In the absence of any other evidence, these facts indicate a rather short reign. I have assigned Chandra Gupta I. at a guess twenty years, and his (?) son Kâcha (or Kacha) ten years. The number of known coins of Kâcha is about equal to that of Chandra Gupta I., and, like his, the coins all belong to a single type.

The inscriptions and dated coins of Kumâra Gupta I. and his son Skanda Gupta, combined with the dated inscriptions of his father, Chandra Gupta II., fix the dates of the beginning and end of the reign of Kumâra Gupta I., almost with precision. He certainly reigned for about forty years, or very nearly for that period, from about A.D. 414 to 452 or 455. Assuming then that the Gupta era dates from the accession of Chandra Gupta I., and that the reigns of Chandra Gupta I. and Kâcha were short, the period covered by the reigns of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. must necessarily have been long. I have taken it as 64 years, from A.D. 350 to 414. It is known that Chandra Gupta II. was reigning in the year 82 of the Gupta era, that is to say about A.D. 401, but the date of the beginning of his reign cannot at present be fixed with accuracy. I have assumed A.D. 380, which cannot be very far wrong. Samudra Gupta is thus assigned thirty, and his son thirty-four years, a perfectly reasonable result. This result too is not only a reasonable one in itself, but is in complete accordance with the numismatic evidence, which more especially concerns me. The only gold Gupta coins which can be considered at all common are those of the

[1] I am sorry to find "the Guptas of Kanauj" still appearing in the article on the Coins of India, by Prof. Percy Gardner and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, in 'Coins and Medals, their place in History and Art,' 2nd edition, 1892, page 180. This article seems not to have been very carefully revised. It speaks of "the Sah dynasty" (p. 181), and describes the Gupta coinage as "money of almost pure Indian style" (p. 180), which much of it certainly is not. The misreading of *Sâh* for *Siṁha* was corrected years ago.

Javelin type of Samudra Gupta, and the Archer type (Class II., Lotus-seat reverse) of Chandra Gupta II. I know of more than fifty specimens of the Javelin type of Samudra Gupta, and the specimens of the Archer type of his son are past counting. The greater abundance of the son's coins indicates that his reign was longer than that of the father, and the great variety of the types of the coinage of both kings is good evidence that both enjoyed long reigns. If any change should have to be made hereafter in the figures now suggested it will probably take the form of a shortening of the reign of Samudra Gupta, and an extension of that of Chandra Gupta II., during whose sway the Gupta empire appears to have attained its greatest glory. Kumâra Gupta I., as above observed, reigned about forty years, which undoubted fact is also fully in accordance with the numismatic evidence. The fact of his long reign is established directly by inscriptions and dated coins, and is further numismatically confirmed by the existence of Kumâra's money in all three metals, by the great abundance of his silver currency both in Western and Northern India, and by the variety of his gold types, which rival in number those of his father.

The name of Kumâra Gupta's queen, Ananta Devî, is known from the Bhitarî seal only. The name of Skanda Gupta's queen has not yet been discovered, and is probably not on record, inasmuch as he left no son to succeed him. The Bhitarî seal inform us that his brother (?) Sthira Gupta married Vatsa Devî, whose son, Nara Siñha Gupta married a lady, whose name is probably Mahâ Devî,[1] whose son was Kumâra Gupta.

The date of Skanda Gupta's accession is known with approximate accuracy, but it is impossible at present to fix exactly the dates of his successors. I have given figures which seem probable, and differ little from Dr. Hoernlé's.

[1] The letters are damaged. They have been read as *Mahâlakshmî devî*, *Mahâdevî devî*, or *Mahâdevî*.

No coins bearing the name of (?) Sthira Gupta are known, but I accept as plausible the conjecture that the heavy coins of *suvarṇa* standard bearing on the reverse the title Prakâśâditya should be assigned to (?) Sthira Gupta. Unluckily, not a single specimen of these coins, with the obverse legend in good order, has yet come to light.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the Nara Siñha Gupta of the seal is the Nara Bâlâditya of the coins. There is reason to believe, as Dr. Hoernlé has pointed out, that the word Gupta really occurs outside the spear on the obverse of the coins. It seems to be legible on figure 22 of plate xviii. of the Ariana Antiqua, and there are, perhaps, traces of the word on the British Museum coin photographed in my Plate III. Fig. 11 (*J.R.A.S.* for 1889).

I agree with Mr. Rapson that the heavy Kumâra Gupta Kramâditya coins should be assigned to Kumâra Gupta II., rather than to Kumâra Gupta I. Skanda Gupta was probably succeeded directly, in or about the year A.D. 480, by Budha Gupta in Central India, by Krishṇa Gupta in Eastern Magadha, and by (?) Sthira Gupta in the Gangetic valley. (?) Sthira Gupta was certainly either brother of, or identical with, Skanda Gupta, but we know nothing about the genealogy of Budha Gupta and Krishṇa Gupta. I conceive that (?) Sthira Gupta, Nara Siñha Gupta, and Kumâra Gupta II., the direct descendants of the main line of the dynasty, each ruled only a comparatively small territory in the Gangetic provinces.

It is more likely that the headquarters of these princes were at Ajodhya, or some city in that neighbourhood, than so far east as Pâṭaliputra. The western conquests of Chandra Gupta, which carried his arms to the coast of Guzerat, must have produced a tendency to shift the capital westward. I feel no doubt that Pâṭaliputra was ordinarily the capital of Chandra Gupta I., Kâcha, Samudra Gupta, and of Chandra Gupta II. in his earlier years. But, after the annexation of Surâshṭra (Kâthiâwâṛ) and the intervening countries, during the reign of Chandra Gupta II., Pâṭali-

putra lay inconveniently far to the east, and there are consequently indications (as I have already pointed out) that Ajodhya became at times the headquarters of the Gupta Empire. In discussing the question of the site of the Gupta capital, it must be remembered that the term capital has not in this case exactly the same connotation as when we say that London is the capital of England. Under an Oriental despotism the capital is the place which the sovereign chooses for his headquarters. In the reigns of Akbar and his successors Fatehpur Sikrî, Agra, Lâhor, Delhi, and other cities, may all claim to have been from time to time the capital of Hindustan, and, even now, the honours of the capital are shared between Simla and Calcutta. It is possible that Pâṭaliputra may have continued to be one of the royal residences in the time of Skanda Gupta's successors, but I do not think it probable that the centre of their power lay in that city.

In column 4 of the Synoptic Table, the titles of each king as recorded on the reverses of the coins are given. The reverse legends are commonly short, and in better preservation than the obverse legends, many of which are still very imperfectly known. My table, therefore, gives only the titles on the reverses. Chandra Gupta I. put nothing on the reverse of his coins, except the word *Lichchhavayaḥ*, 'the Lichchhavis,' in allusion to his alliance with the Lichchhavi princess, Kumâra Devî. The use of the nominative plural in this detached position is very odd, and I do not quite understand why the legend assumed such a curious form, though it is partly explained, as Prof. Cowell observes, by the fact that the Lichchhavi tribe or clan is always referred to in literature as "the Lichchhavis." The reverse legend on the coins is usually a royal epithet or title. Kâcha calls himself *sarvarâjochchettâ*, 'the exterminator of all Râjâs,' and this title or epithet does not again occur on the coins. No historical documents exist to enable us to judge what foundation of fact existed for its assumption by Kâcha. Samudra Gupta assumed the same title in inscriptions, and appears to have fairly

earned it. The variety of the titles and epithets of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta I. is noticeable.

M. Ed. Drouin has justly remarked that my work on the Gupta coinage would be much improved by the addition of a plate giving facsimiles of the various legends, and a comparative alphabet.[1] I should be very glad to add such a plate if I could, but, unfortunately, its preparation would require more time and labour than I can devote to it, dependent as I am on cabinets which are not often accessible to me. The defect has been supplied by the diligent zeal of Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum, who has prepared the beautiful and accurate copies of the Gupta coin legends shown in Plate II. My statement that "the nasal in the word *Siṅha* is always written as the guttural nasal, and not as *anusvâra*," has been doubted, and it is, of course, contrary to the ordinary grammatical rules that *h* should be immediately preceded by the guttural nasal. But there is no doubt whatever that, on nearly all the coins, the correct reading is ङ्ह, *ṅh*. The spelling ङ्घ, *ṅgh*, seems to be used on the unique Retreating Lion coin of Chandra Gupta II., and, perhaps, on one or two other pieces. The reading *ṅh* is beyond dispute on several of Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac's coins with the legend *Siṅha Vikrama*. The nasal has its ordinary form of a rectangle open to the right, the same as occurs in the word Vikramâṅka on the silver coins, and the conjunct sign is certainly *h*, and not *gh*. I am now enabled by Dr. Hoernlé's courtesy to prove that the spelling *ṅh* was used in literature during the Gupta period. "That old MS. of Lieutenant Bower" (he writes), "which he brought from Central Asia, and which is written in Gupta characters of the fifth century, affords numerous instances of the spelling *ṅh*, e.g. in the word बृङ्हणा, *briṅhaṇa*, spelt thus promiscuously, or बृंहणा, *briṁhaṇa*, but never बृङ्घणा, *briṅghaṇa*.

[1] Revue Numismatique for 1889, Bulletin Bibliographique, page 142.

The two spellings with हं, *ṁh*, and ङ्ह, *ṅh*, are optional, though हं, *ṁh*, is more usual."[1]

When describing the at present unique Standing King copper coin of Kumâra Gupta I. in the Bodleian cabinet, of which an autotype has since been published by Mr. Rapson, I remarked that the legend is noticeable for expressing long *â* by a stroke behind the *m*, as in the modern alphabet. Dr. Bühler notices in the Jain inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period from Mathurâ "the occurrence of a number of cursive and modern-looking forms side by side with archaic ones." Three forms of medial *â* occur in the inscriptions, viz. (1) a short horizontal stroke, as in Asoka's edicts; (2) a curve, or a straight line, rising upwards towards the right; and (3) an almost vertical downward stroke, resembling the form found in the inscriptions of the seventh and later centuries.[2]

All three forms occur on the Gupta coins. No. 2 is the commonest. No. 3 has been observed only on Kumâra's copper coin, and No. 1 is rare; in fact, I can cite but one instance of it, the final vowel of the word *sarvarâjochchhettâ* on a coin of Kacha in Mr. Rivett-Carnac's cabinet.

When discussing the imperfect obverse legend of Kumâra Gupta's Horseman to Left type I read one word as *mala*, observing that "the character on both these coins which I have rendered *l* looks like that letter, but ought apparently to be an *h*." The correct reading is undoubtedly *h*, and my difficulty is explained by the following passage: "Bhau Dâjî . . . read *bâlhikâ* . . . But, that the *akshara* is *hli*, not *lhi*, is certain, because *l* can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period [*scilicet*, about A.D. 400], *h* was formed, sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right."[3]

[1] Dr. Bühler suggests that the Gupta form of the guttural nasal may prove to be a variant of an ancient form of the *anunâsika*, which was written as a curve open to the right. But I doubt this.

[2] Epigraphia Indica, vol. i, p. 371.

[3] Fleet, Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii, p. 141, note 5, with reference to the Mehrauli (Delhi) Iron Pillar inscription.

The letter *h* has, in the coin legends, at least three forms, viz. (1) the ordinary form opening to the right, (2) the same form opening to the left, in the legend above noticed, and (3) a cursive form, consisting of a single line, wavy, or curved to the left. (See my Catalogue, Plate II. 5, for a not very clear example of this form.)

The coin legends of the earlier kings of the Gupta dynasty possess a special interest for palæographers on account of the scarcity, or rather absence, of other inscriptions which can be assigned to the same period. The reigns of Chandra Gupta I., Kâcha, and Samudra Gupta extended, according to my reckoning, from A.D. 319 to about 380, and it so happens that no stone or copper inscriptions belonging to this period of sixty years have yet been found in Northern India. "It is a matter for regret," observes M. Senart, "that, for the period which follows, I mean the 250 years which extend from the commencement of the third to the middle of the fifth century, we are still worse provided. The absence of materials is here almost complete. We shall see, when we explain the linguistic importance of this epoch, how much this is to be regretted. We are hardly entitled to include in this period the inscription of Banavâsi or those of the Jaggayapeṭṭa Stûpa, for they so closely follow the time of Siriyaña Satakaṇi that they really belong to the preceding group. Towards the end of the fourth century, the series of Gupta inscriptions opens with that of Allâhâbâd, engraved in honour of Samudra Gupta, and with the dedications of Udayagiri and Sâñchi, contemporary with his successor Chandra Gupta [II.], and dated in the years 82 and 93 of that era, say 401 and 412 A.D. They are followed by the inscriptions of Skanda Gupta at Girnar (138 G.E., *i.e.* 457 A.D.), and by others more recent. From this period the series of monuments is prolonged in a fairly sufficient number of specimens.

"But, between the commencement of the third century and the first year of the fifth, I know of no inscription which has been dated with certainty. Even those of the palæographical character, which would probably place

them in this interval, are of great rarity. Amongst the numerous dedications of the caves of the west, there are very few which appear to belong to it."[1]

The Gupta coin legends and inscriptions are also of literary interest as furnishing some of the earliest dated examples of grammatical, classical Sanskrit. Dates are so scarce in the history of the Sanskrit literature and language that none of the few available can be safely neglected. The "first known inscription in perfectly correct Sanskrit" is that of the Satrap Rudradâman at Girnâr, the date of which falls between A D. 155 and 160.[2]

Concerning the find-spots of Gupta coins a few items of additional information deserve record.

"Large hoards of ancient Hindu coins, comprising Buddhist punch-marked and cast silver bits, Indo-Baktrian, Indo-Skythian, and Gupta copper, silver, and gold coins are constantly dug out by the villagers during their search for bricks" at the great mound of Sanchâṅkoṭ, or Sujâṅkoṭ, on the Sâî River, in the Unao District of Oudh.[3] Dr. Führer identifies this site with the Sha-chi of Fa Hian, and the Sâketa of Hindu literature.

"Several hoards of Gupta gold, silver, and copper coins have been unearthed at Bhitarî" in the Ghâzîpur District, midway between Benares and Ghâzîpur.[4]

"Mr. Capper discovered some very fine gold coins of the Skanda Gupta series at Baksar" on the Ganges.[5]

"Gold coins of the Gupta series have repeatedly been picked up in Bhûrwâra and Koṭwâra," near the ruins at Fateh Kara, on the tenth mile north-west of Lakhîmpur.[6]

"Two other Buddhist mounds at the north-west corner of the great bastion [of Ahichhatra, or Râmnagar, in the Barelî District], close to the Konwâru Tâl, were excavated

[1] "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi; the Language of the Edicts and the linguistic history of India." By E. Senart (*Indian Antiquary for July*, 1892, *vol. xxi, page* 209).

[2] *Ibid.* page 244 (August, 1892).

[3] Führer, 'Monumental Antiquities of N.W.P. and Oudh,' p. 275.

[4] *Ibid.* p 230. The seal of Kumara Gupta II. was found at this place.

[5] Oudh Gazetteer, article on Râi Barelî District, vol. iii, p. 219.

[6] *Ibid.* article on Kheri District, vol. ii, p. 268.

by the Survey party of these Provinces in Feb. 1888, and yielded a beautifully carved pilaster, whose four faces are divided into different panels decorated with elaborate sculptures of Buddha's life, and numerous coins of the Mitra and Gupta dynasties, with well-preserved legends. These objects have been deposited in the Lucknow Museum."[1]

Prinsep has recorded that Mr. Tregear, of Jaunpur, found a variety of 'Cock and Bull' coins of different sizes, bearing in beautifully distinct characters the names of Satya, Saya, and Vijaya Mitra, in company with coins of the Gupta dynasty.[2]

Bâbû P. C. Mukharjî's collection, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, included "6 copper Guptas."

Since the publication of my Catalogue, in which the seven Gupta copper coins then known to exist in the Bodleian cabinet were described, Mr. Rapson has "found nearly twenty additional specimens hidden among the miscellaneous coins," and including one new type.[3]

Many of the coins in Mr. Rivett-Carnac's cabinet, besides those already published, were obtained at Ajodhya.

A correspondent of the *Pioneer* newspaper (Allahabad, Nov. 19th, 1883) made the following communication:—"I may here mention the curious fact that the copper coinage of Chandragupta (Sandracottus), who defeated the Greek general Seleukos, was actually in circulation eight years ago, so far south as Zillah Bhagulpore. The coins were discovered by the Subdivisional Officer of Mudhepurah in a native shop in a village of his district, where they were being used as copper pice. Coins of Alexander the Great are said to have been found at Durbhunga, but of this I am not certain."

I have tried without success to verify the fact alleged. Of course, if the coins seen really bore the name Chandra

[1] Führer, 'Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of N.W.P. and Oudh,' page 29.

[2] Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. i, p. 418. The Mitra coins have recently been described by Sir A. Cunningham in his 'Coins of Ancient India,' but require further investigation.

[3] Numismatic Chron., vol. xi, third series, p. 59.

Gupta, they must have belonged to Chandra Gupta II. of the Gupta dynasty, and not to the contemporary of Seleucus, who lived some seven centuries earlier. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* is not the only person who has confounded the two.

The particulars now collected, and those previously published, abundantly prove that Gupta coins are nowhere so frequently found as in the province of Oudh and the surrounding districts. It is also evident that some types of the Gupta copper coinage are by no means so rare as was at one time supposed. I fully expect that other specimens of Kumâra Gupta's northern copper coins will soon come to light. Some probably exist in private collections, but have been overlooked. Mr. Rivett-Carnac has, I believe, a few copper Guptas, but I have not seen them. He has submitted to my examination the whole of his splendid gold series, which has recently been bought by the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The set consists of nearly 100 pieces, including several novelties, which will be noticed in due course.

The results of my examination of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coins, and all the other corrections in detail, additions, and miscellaneous notes, which I have been able to make during the last three years, are incorporated in the following observations, which are arranged for the sake of convenience, so far as possible, in the order of my Catalogue, as printed in 1889. The corrections and additions are too many for enumeration, but it may be advisable to warn readers that the descriptions of certain types of gold coins in the Catalogue should be considered as cancelled, the descriptions given in this communication being substituted for them. These types are (1) Chandra Gupta II., Combatant Lion; and (2) Kumâra Gupta I., Archer. The heavy Archer coins formerly shown under Kumâra Gupta I. are now separately described, and assigned to Kumâra Gupta II. The account of the Combatant Lion (Tiger) type of Kumâra Gupta I. has been largely modified. The attribution of the 'heavy' gold coins generally has been

discussed at considerable length, and the problem suggested by the copper coins, which correspond in legend and device with the silver coinage, has been further examined.

I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Rapson, not only for the plate of coin legends, which adds so much to the value of this communication, but also for many useful hints and criticisms.

PART II.—ADDITIONS TO CATALOGUE.

GOLD COINS.

CHANDRA GUPTA I.

KING AND QUEEN TYPE. (*Page* 63.)[1]

The Carnac collection contains several specimens of both varieties. The British Museum has lately acquired an example of variety β, with reverse lion to l. The Bodleian specimen of the same variety, wt. 118, has been described and figured by Mr. Rapson.

The queen's name on the obverse of both varieties is variously written, as कुमार देवी, '*Kumâra devi,*' or कुमार देवी श्रीः, '*Kumâra devi Śriḥ,*' or श्री कुमार देवी, '*Śri Kumâra devi.*' Mr. Rapson, who has noted this detail, observes that "it would seem from a common formation of Indian names in the period preceding the Guptas, that the postposition of श्री is earlier than its use as an 'honorific' prefix."

On one of the Carnac coins the reverse legend seems to be spelled '*Lichchhivayaḥ*' instead of '*Lichchhavayaḥ.*' I believe the same variation of spelling occurs in the inscriptions.

The description in the Catalogue omits to mention that there is a crescent between the heads of the king and

[1] The pages referred to are those of the Catalogue printed in the J.R.A.S. for 1889.

CHANDRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

queen, though the crescent is clearly shown in the autotype, and has been observed on other specimens.

Some examples have a cluster of dots, either three or four in number, between the feet of the king and those of the queen.

The monogram on Mr. Lane's coin (wt. 111·5), which Mr. Rapson thought to be a new one, namely, "a large circle with line and four dots above it," is really only a slight variety of my No. 5. The monogram 3*a* on one of the Carnac coins is noticeable for having five uprights instead of the normal four.

The Bodleian specimen of variety *β* shows that the king holds in his upraised right hand an object, which seems to be a flower.

KÂCHA (OR KACHA).

STANDARD TYPE. (*Page* 74.)

I have already intimated that I accept Mr. Rapson's suggestion that Kâcha (or Kacha) was not identical with Samudra Gupta, but actually reigned for a short time, leaving no direct heir, and was probably the brother and predecessor of Samudra Gupta. The arguments adduced by me (p. 75) to prove that Samudra Gupta and Kâcha were identical hold good, for the most part, on the supposition that they were brothers.

I have to withdraw the statement that "the better preserved specimens show beyond all doubt that the name under the king's arm is Kâcha, with the long vowel." The statement is perfectly true of most specimens, but not of all. On a fine coin of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's (weight 115·6, figured in J.A.S.B. vol. lix. part 1, plate vi, figure 2) the reading is Kâcha, but on another specimen in the same cabinet the reading is equally certainly Kacha, with the short vowel in both legends, that is to say, the marginal legend and the name under the arm. The name is written under the arm, and on the margin. In both

KÂCHA (OR KACHA)—*continued.*

places the word is in perfect preservation, and no vowel mark ever existed over the *Ka* in either. On the reverse the long vowel *â* is expressed by a short horizontal stroke to the right, thus ट्टा -'*ttâ.*'

The British Museum acquired at the Da Cunha sale a new specimen of the type, weight 108·5, monogram 2*a*.

My conjecture (*page* 76) that the rayed banner on the obverse symbolizes the sun is illustrated by the following observation of Tod:—"At Udaipur the sun has universal precedence . . . As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disk of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole."[1]

The form of the name Ghaṭotkacha, by which the second Gupta Mahârâja is known, suggests that the family was of foreign origin, and its members may well have brought with them some foreign customs. There is no reason to suppose that the names Ghaṭotkacha and Kâcha (or Kacha) have any etymological connexion.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

TIGER TYPE. (*Page* 64.)

When my paper was published, the British Museum specimen (weight 116·6) was believed to be unique. Mr. Rapson has since found a second example of the type, "in a poor state of preservation," weight 112·1, in the collection of Mr. Wilmot Lane.

Very few 'unique' coins are now left in the Gupta series.

The obverse legend '*vyâghra* [*parâ*]*kra*[*ma*]' recurs on the coins of the Combatant Lion (or, more properly, Tiger) type of Kumâra Gupta I., which will be noticed in due course.

[1] Tod, Annals of Râjasthân, ed. 1829, vol. i, p. 565. The crimson banner or "sacred standard" alluded to is depicted in the frontispiece.

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Aśvamedha Type. (*Page* 65.)

The Aśvamedha coins, or rather medals, continue to be rare. The two specimens in the Carnac collection belong to the commoner variety *a*, without the pedestal. No further progress has been made in deciphering the obverse legend. The reverse (?) goddess of one of the Carnac coins holds a small object in her l. hand. The female on the reverse, whether she should be called a goddess or not, seems to be the attendant on the obverse horse.

When the Catalogue was published, I overlooked the fact that the obverse device of these Aśvamedha medals occur on a much older silver coin of Vishṇu Deva, which was described by Prinsep, and is now in the British Museum.[1] Prinsep's engraving of this coin is not quite accurate, and I therefore give a better figure of it (Plate III, 1).

Prinsep fancied that the "line of double curvature" in front of the horse on Vishṇu Deva's coin might be intended for a lotus stalk, but it is clearly intended for the same thing as the object on Samudra Gupta's coins, which is a bent pole carrying streamers. Nothing seems to be known about Vishṇu Deva, but the characters in which his name is written are of a very early form, differing little, if at all, from those of Aśoka's inscriptions. The reverse of his coin displays the sacred tree and other Buddhist symbols, and so differs widely from Samudra Gupta's issue, but the obverse device of the more ancient piece can apparently mean nothing else than that Vishṇu Deva, whoever he was, claimed the glory of having performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, entitling him to take rank as Lord Paramount of Northern India.

The fact that Samudra Gupta actually performed this solemn rite is vouched for by the inscriptions, as well as by the reverse legend of the medals. It seems also to

[1] Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. i, p. 115, plate vii, 1.

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

be commemorated by a very curious sculpture preserved at Lucknow. This is the life-size figure in stone of a small horse, which was dug up some years ago near the ancient fort of Khairîgaṛh in the Kherî District, on the border between Oudh and Nepâl. Khairîgaṛh was evidently a place of importance in ancient times, and Gupta coins are found in the neighbourhood.[1] The stone horse bears on the right side of its neck in faintly incised and partly defaced Gupta characters an inscription of which the letters "——*dda Guttassa deyadhamma*" are legible. The first word must clearly be restored as *Samudda*, and the three words must be translated as "the pious gift of Samudra Gupta." The sculpture, which stands in the open air at the entrance of the Lucknow Museum, is accordingly labelled as being the sacrificial horse of Samudra Gupta.

The artistic merits of the work, as will appear from the accompanying Plate I., prepared from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Führer, are contemptible. The letters of the inscription are so faintly engraved that they are barely discernible in the original photograph, though the reading appears to be quite certain. All other Gupta inscriptions are in pure classical Sanskrit, and it is curious that this brief record should be in Prâkrit. I do not think that the word *deyadhamma* is found in any other Gupta record.

The Gupta kings were Brahmanical Hindus, as is clearly proved by the coins struck under their orders. Vishṇu Deva's coin is an indication, if it cannot be called a proof, that Buddhist Hindus practised the *aśvamedha* rite as well as the orthodox sects. I may remark, in passing, that the contrast often drawn between Buddhists, or Jains, and Hindus is not quite in accordance with reality. Buddhism and Jainism are merely sects of Hinduism, and to this day parts of certain castes are Jain and parts Brahmanical.

[1] Führer, 'Monumental Antiquities of N.W.P. and Oudh,' p. 295; Oudh Gazetteer, vol. iv, p. 128.

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

For example, the important caste of Agarwâla Baniyas in Northern India includes a large Jain section, as well as a large Vaishnava one, and, until quarrels occurred a few years ago, these two sections freely intermarried, and regarded themselves as members of one brotherhood. Even still, though intermarriage has been checked, the distinction between the two sections is that of Vaishnava and Jaina, not that of Hindu and Jain. Both parties are reckoned as Hindus.

Buddhists, as well as Brahmanists, seem to have indulged in horse statues. A mutilated life-size figure of a horse was exhumed from a field near the village of Dalâlganj, a quarter of a mile to the west of the Allahabad Fort. The upper part of the body of this statue is incised with a large number of so-called "Buddhist symbols," such as the *svastika*, *śrivatsa*, and *nandavarta* marks, which indicate, in Dr. Führer's opinion, that the work belonged to the Buddhist period of Prayâga.[1] I greatly doubt the propriety of this phrase "the Buddhist period." Buddhism, so long as it lasted in India, existed side by side with Brahmanical Hinduism. The Gupta kings were Brahmanists, and yet had plenty of Buddhist and Jain subjects. It would be very difficult to say when "the Buddhist period of Prayâga" began or ended, and it is not easy to give the phrase any definite meaning. In reality no Buddhist period, as distinguished from a Hindu period, ever existed in India. The real landmarks of history are dynastic. The religion of kings varied from time to time, and from place to place, as did that of their subjects, and no one form of worship or belief ever obtained exclusive possession of the country.

[1] Führer, 'Monumental Antiquities of N.W.P. and Oudh,' p. 310. The *śrîvatsa* is a Vaishnava mark (Monier-Williams, 'Religious Thought and Life in India,' London, 1883, p. 103).

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Lyrist Type. (*Page* 67).

To the nine specimens of variety *a* enumerated in my Catalogue two can now be added, namely, one in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a fine example, without monogram, obtained from Alwar in Râjputâna, by Mr. Rivett-Carnac.

The same gentleman had the good fortune to procure, also from Alwar, an excellent example of variety *β*, hitherto known only from the India Office specimen. Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coin weighs 120·35, and has monogram 8*a*. The obverse legend is, on right margin, '*Mahârâjâdhirâja Srî—*,' and on left margin '[*Gu*]*ptaḥ.*' So far as appears, therefore, the legends of both varieties are identical. The obverse legend of the India Office coin is illegible

With reference to the mysterious syllable '*Si*' on the obverse of the Aśvamedha and Lyrist variety *a* coins, Mr. Rapson observes that "isolated letters or syllables of the kind occur on other Gupta coins, e.g., भ, '*bha*,' on the heavy coins assigned to Chandra Gupta (*Smith*, p. 82, *Pl. II*, 2), and are very common on the gold coins of the later Indo-Scythians." At one time I was inclined to think that these letters might express dates, but the guess is not a very probable one.

Javelin Type. (*Page* 68).

To the 39 specimens of variety *a* enumerated in my Catalogue ten more can now be added, viz. British Museum, from Da Cunha sale, 3, wts., 121, 115·6, and 115·4; Mr. Rivett-Carnac, 3, wts. ranging from 114·75 to 120·5; and Mr. Wilmot Lane, 4, wts. ranging from 114 to 117·9. I have also seen several other specimens. Coins of this variety are sufficiently common to render further detailed enumeration of examples superfluous.

Mr. Rapson has studied this type, especially the Bodleian specimens, minutely, and observes that a mark ⅄ appears on the reverse of some specimens above the cornucopiæ.

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

A similar mark is also found on some of the Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II.[*] One of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coins has in the same position the mark △, and another has ∴ . These signs may be mint marks.

Mr. Rapson has come to the conclusion that the obverse legend presents the following varieties :—

1. *a.* **समरशतवितत विजयो**, 'victorious in a hundred mighty battles.' (**B. No. 686.**)

   β. **°विजयो जितारिः**, 'victorious in a hundred mighty battles, having conquered his enemies.' (In the case of **B. No. 690** the words **विजयो जितारिः** are separate, on **No. 687** they are perhaps one compound, **विजयजितारिः**).

2. **स° श° वि° वि° जितारिपुरो**, 'victorious in a hundred mighty battles, having conquered his enemies' city (or cities).' (**B. No. 689.** This legend seems complete, there being no room for more.)[1]

3. Similar to No. 2, but with the addition **ऽजितो देवो जयति**, the whole being translated 'victorious in a hundred mighty battles, the destroyer of the city of his foes, the unconquered Lord doth triumph.' (**Nos. 689 A. and 691.**)

My account of the obverse legends requires to be modified accordingly.

Dr. Hoernlé has observed that this variety *a* has two sub-varieties, one with, and one without, a staff to the standard. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a specimen of each.[2]

The same sub-varieties exist in variety *γ*, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal has one each of these also. Mr. Rivett-Carnac's example of variety *γ*, from Mathurâ, is composed of very pale gold. The legible words of the obverse legend

[1] Mr. Rapson notes that the compound **विजितारिपुरः** occurs in Raghuvaṁśa, I. 59.

[2] On some new or rare Hindu and Muhammadan Coins (J.A.S.B. vol. lix. (1890), part i, pp. 171, 179, with a plate).

SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

are—'*vijayajitâripura*,' part of either form 2 or form 3. The monogram [monogram] differs slightly from any hitherto published. I did not notice whether the staff of the standard was wanting or not. It is wanting in the two variety *a* specimens, and present in the variety γ specimen published by me (Catalogue, Plate I. 7, 8, 9).

ARCHER TYPE. (*Page* 71.)

A well-preserved specimen from Ajodhya, in Mr. Rivett-Carnac's cabinet, has a crescent over the Garuḍa standard, as also has the coin in my plate (Catalogue, Plate I. 10), though I failed to notice the fact in my description of the type.

Another worn specimen of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's has no crescent, but the deficiency is probably due to wear or accident.

This type is characterized by the epithet *apratiratha*, 'unsurpassable,' which occurs both on the obverse and reverse of variety *a*.

Compare the epithets *apratihata chakra* and *apratichakra*, with the same meaning, on the coins of the Satrap Rajubula.[1]

BATTLE-AXE TYPE. (*Page* 72.)

The Rivett-Carnac collection contains a good specimen of variety *a*, wt. 113·7, which has been published by Dr. Hoernlé in J.A.S.B. vol. lix, part i, plate vi, 3.

Compare the battle-axe of this type with Siva's trident, having attached battle-axe on the coins of Râjâ Dhara Ghosha Odumbara and on those of Zoilus.[2]

Note the title *râjâdhirâja*, not *mahârâjâdhirâja*. Possibly these coins may have been struck during the lifetime of Chandra Gupta I.

[1] Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 86.
[2] Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 68, plate iv.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

COUCH TYPE. (*Page* 76.)

Until very recently this type was known only from the British Museum specimen, which was brought home towards the close of the last century.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac has been fortunate enough to acquire another example of the type, and in better preservation. The metal of this coin is pale alloyed gold, and the devices are executed in low relief. Wt. 118 3. Mon. 3*a*, the same as on the **B.M.** coin. The obverse device of this piece agrees with the description in the Catalogue, except that the king holds in his r. hand a flower, which is not visible on the **B.M.** coin, and that his l. foot rests on an obliquely placed footstool, instead of on the ground. The marginal legend runs all round the coin, but the only legible words are '*Deva Śrî mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Chandra.*' These words are all, except the last character, on the l. margin. The next following word of the legend, '*Guptasya,*' in the genitive case, is supplied by the **B.M.** coin. Mr. Rapson kindly pointed out to me that my published reading '*Guptaḥ,*' in the nominative case, is erroneous, and I have satisfied myself by re-examination of the coin that '*Guptasya*' is the correct lection. The rest of the marginal legend is quite lost on both coins.

The **B.M.** coin has two or three obscure characters below the couch. On the new specimen these characters are quite plain, and read रूपकृती, '*rûpa kṛiti.*' Dr. Hoernlé suggests that this epithet should be interpreted as meaning 'skilled in dramatic composition,' and this interpretation is plausible, though it cannot be regarded as certain, *rûpa* being a word of many meanings. The words *rûpa kṛiti* do not seem to be part of the marginal legend.

The reverse of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coin agrees with the description given in the Catalogue, except in the particulars that, on the new specimen, the r. hand of the goddess is held out open and empty, and that the *k* in the word

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Vikramaḥ is doubled. On the B.M. coin the goddess holds a fillet in her right hand, and the *k* is not doubled.

A full description of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coin was published by Dr. Hoernlé in the Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1891, p. 117.

ARCHER TYPE. (*Page* 80.)

The numerous coins of this type have been discussed by Dr. Hoernlé and Mr. Rapson, and many, which passed through my hands, have been carefully examined by me. These investigations have brought out a few points before unnoticed.

Mr. Rapson agrees that my main division of this type into two great classes, the 'Throne' reverse and the 'Lotus-seat' reverse, is "the best possible," and that there can be no doubt that coins having the 'Throne' reverse are, as a general rule, older than those with the 'Lotus-seat' reverse. He adds the new, but true, remark that the distinction of reverse is accompanied by a distinction of obverse. The dress and attitude of the king in each class differ in detail from those of the other class. One of these differences in detail is that on the 'Throne' coins the king's right hand is always turned down, while on the 'Lotus-seat' coins it is always turned up. (See figures 14 and 15 of my Plate I., Catalogue.) Mr. Lane's cabinet, and the coins acquired by the British Museum from the Da Cunha collection, offer examples of transitional forms of obverse device.

The Throne coins, Class I., continue to be very rare. A specimen of variety *a* from Alwar has been added to the Rivett-Carnac cabinet.

Dr. Hoernlé points out that the common *a* variety of the 'Lotus-seat' Class II. form comprises three sub-varieties viz. (1) with Lakshmī's left hand raised, (2) with it resting on her hip, (3) with it hanging down over her knee. These sub-varieties appear to exist in the other varieties as well as in *a*.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

It is also to be noted that the king's figure is represented in two quite distinct ways. One form is upright, and fairly well executed; the other, probably of later date, is squat and bent-backed, as in Kumâra Gupta's coinage.

A specimen of variety *a* in the **Rivett-Carnac's** cabinet, from Ajodhya, is remarkable, because it has no name under the king's arm. That portion of the coin is in good preservation, and the name has not been rubbed away. A specimen of the common *a* variety in Mr. **Barstow's** collection has been re-struck on a coin of Samudra Gupta's[1] (Plate iii., 2).

A specimen of variety γ, with a crescent over the king's shoulder, in the **Asiatic Society of Bengal's** collection, belongs to sub-variety 2, as above defined. Mr. **Barstow's** cabinet also included an example of variety γ, which is of rare occurrence. Another of Mr. **Rivett-Carnac's** coins establishes a new variety, ζ. The king holds an arrow in his right hand, and the word '*Gupta*' is outside the arrow on the left margin.

The heavy coins of the *suvarna* standard continue to be a puzzle. Mr. Rapson is "inclined to think that none of the heavy coins can be assigned to any monarch earlier than Skanda Gupta, and that during his reign the standard was changed from the *stater* (about 135 grains) to the *suvarna* (about 146 grains)." His reasons for this opinion are (1) that the heavy coins attributed to Chandra Gupta II. may, even if the name Chandra really occurs on them (which he doubts), belong to some later monarch of that name, at present unknown to us from other sources; (2) that the heavy coins are debased in style and impure in metal; and (3) that the heavy coins of Kumâra can be assigned with probability to Kumâra Gupta II., who began to reign about A.D. 525.

These arguments have some force, but are not altogether convincing. The name under the king's arm in the coins

[1] Mr. H. C. Barstow, late of the Indian Civil Service, possesses a considerable number of gold Gupta coins, which I had the pleasure of inspecting in August, 1892, at the British Museum, where they were deposited for examination.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

attributed to Chandra is sometimes badly formed, but in the better specimens it certainly seems to me to be च *Cha* न्द्र *ndra*, and nothing else. Some of the very coarse base metal coins are probably, as I remarked in my previous essay, posthumous imitations. The supposition that there was a later Chandra, of whom nothing is known, is a pure guess. The degree of degradation in style and impurity of metal varies much. The most debased specimens may certainly, I think, be taken as being of late date, but some of the better pieces still seem to me to be most likely eastern issues of Chandra Gupta II., probably struck late in his long reign. Mr. Rapson, when contending that all the heavy pieces are subsequent in date to Skanda Gupta, has forgotten the fact published by himself that the unique specimen of variety *β* of the Horseman to Left type of Chandra Gupta weighs 140·5 grains; though the two Bodleian examples of variety *a* of the same type are of normal weight, viz. 119·5 and 120 grains respectively. This coin is also in the Bodleian Library, and was described by me, but I had no opportunity of weighing it. Mr. Rapson gives a photograph of it, and there is nothing in the style of the coin to prevent its ascription to a late period of the reign of Chandra Gupta II. He assigns it himself to that reign. The reverse legend is *Kramâjita*, and the obverse legend is illegible, except the word *vajata* (*vijita*). I observe that this same word *vijita* occurs in the obverse legend of the Horseman to Left coins of Kumâra Gupta I., and it is just possible that the coin in question may belong to that king. But the absence of the peacock from the reverse device is against that supposition. The coin is somewhat worn, and, as it now weighs 140·5 grains, it cannot have been struck to the Roman modification of the *stater* standard of weight, as the coins of variety *a* were struck, and, whether it was issued by Chandra Gupta II. or by Kumâra Gupta I., it is certainly earlier than the time of Skanda Gupta. On

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

the whole, the balance of evidence is in favour of the opinion that the coin was struck by Chandra Gupta II., and, if it was, the result necessarily follows that Chandra Gupta II. used both the *stater* and *suvarṇa* standard.

In this connection the mention of both *dînârs* (=*staters*) and *suvarṇas* in the Gaṛhwa inscription, probably executed in the reign of Kumâra Gupta I.,[1] is a relevant fact. I formerly quoted this inscription to prove that both standards of weight were in simultaneous use, but I have since read passages in the law books, which at first sight seem to imply that the terms *dînâra* and *suvarṇa* must have been used in the Gaṛhwâ record as absolute synonyms. The dicta of Bṛihaspati and Nârada on the subject are as follows. Bṛihaspati says:—"14. A Nishka is four Suvarṇas. A Paṇa of copper is a Kârshika (having the weight of a Karsha). A coin made of a Karsha of copper has to be known as a Kârshika Paṇa.

15. It is also called an Aṇḍikâ. Four such are a Dhânaka. Twelve of the latter are a Suvarṇa. That is also called a Dînâra (denarius)."

Nârada says:—"Appendix. 57. A Kârshâpaṇa is a silver coin in the southern country; in the east, it is an equivalent for (a certain number of) Paṇas, and is equal to twenty Paṇas.

58. A Mâsha should be known to be the twentieth part of a Kârshâpaṇa. A Kâkaṇî is the fourth part of a Mâsha or Pala.

59. By that appellation, which is in general use in the Punjâb, the value of a Kârshâpaṇa is not circumscribed here.

60. A Kârshâpaṇa has to be taken as equal to an Aṇḍikâ. Four of these are a Dhânaka; twelve of the latter are a Suvarṇa, which is called Dînâra otherwise."[2]

[1] Fleet, Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii, p. 266, No. 64, and Smith, Gupta Coinage, p. 43.

[2] Minor Law Books; Nârada and Bṛihaspati, ed. Jolly, vol. xxxiii, pp. 317, and 231 (Sacred Books of the East). The appendix to Nârada is found in a Nepalese MS. only, and seems to be written from a Nepalese point of view.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Both lawyers agree in saying that the *suvarṇa* is also called a *dînâra,* while the inscription uses the two terms to describe two gifts in a way that implies some difference between them. It seems to me unreasonable to suppose that the two terms were wantonly used in the inscription when one would have served. An English legal document could hardly speak in one clause of a gift of ten pounds, and in the next of a gift of twenty sovereigns It is possible to explain the apparent discrepancy between the law-books and the inscription by supposing that the former primarily intended to explain the native scale of weights and coins, headed by the *suvarṇa.* But the foreign term *dînâra* had also come into use, and coins were current under both names. The lawyers accordingly declare that twelve *dhânakas* make a *suvarṇa,* and also make a *dînâra, i.e.* that a *suvarṇa* and a *dînâra* have the same subdivisions. The *dhânaka* of a *suvarṇa* scale would be $\frac{146}{12} = 12{\cdot}166$ grains, and the *dhânaka* of a *dînâra* scale would be $\frac{134{\cdot}4}{12} = 11{\cdot}166$ grains. The *suvarṇa* weight coins and the *dînâra* or *stater* weight coins certainly existed together, one being usually nearly twenty grains heavier than the other, and they were both used in the same way, and naturally would have had the same subdivisions. There must have been some way of distinguishing them in speech.[1]

The problem of the 'heavy' Gupta coins is not yet solved. The foregoing remarks are all that I can offer at present towards its solution.

[1] Mr. Head takes 135 grains as the normal weight of the Attic or Corinthian *stater,* but, as Sir A. Cunningham observes (*Coins of Ancient India,* p. 10), the figures 134·4 are much more convenient for calculation. The Gupta coins followed Roman models, and the weight of the Gupta *dînârs* is generally much below 134·4. The heavy coins approach more closely to the *suvarṇa* standard of 146 grains, and the divergence in weight of existing specimens of the two classes of Gupta coins consequently approaches twenty grains. The divergence is, I think, too regular in amount to be explained, as has been suggested, by the supposition that the greater weight of the heavy coins is merely compensation for baseness of metal. Some of the heavy coins do not seem to be composed of metal inferior to that of some of the ordinary weight, but no chemical analyses have been made.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Horseman to Right Type. (*Page* 84.)

Seven or eight specimens of this rare type are enumerated in my Catalogue.

The weight of the coin belonging to the **Asiatic Society of Bengal** is there stated as 130·92, in accordance with the entry in the Proceedings. Dr. Hoernlé has since informed me that the coin is from Hûglî (Hooghly), and weighs 119·78. My remark that the high weight of this coin is noticeable must, therefore, be cancelled.

The **British Museum** has acquired an example of the type from the Da Cunha collection, weight 119·5, and there is one, without monogram, in the **Rivett-Carnac** cabinet. Mr. **Barstow's** collection included two examples. The total number of specimens at present known to exist is, consequently, eleven or twelve.

Horseman to Left Type. (*Page* 85.)

Twelve specimens of variety *a* of this type are now known, six having come to light since the publication of the Catalogue. Of these, three belong to Mr. **Rivett-Carnac**, two to Mr. **Wilmot Lane**, and one to Mr. **Barstow**. A poor example in the Carnac cabinet came from Ajodhya, and has mon. 10*b*. On a better specimen in the same collection the words *paramabhâgavata* and *Guptaḥ* in the obv. legend are legible. On Mr. Barstow's coin the syllable **वि**, *vi*, below the horse, is probably part of the word **विजित**, *vijita*.

Kittoe read the epithet *paramabhaṭṭâraka* instead of *paramabhâgavata* on one of the Bharsar coins, which he described as being "a very perfect specimen." It is likely, as suggested in the Catalogue, that Kittoe was mistaken in this reading, but it is to a certain extent confirmed by the fact that the title *paramabhaṭṭâraka* is actually given to Skanda Gupta in line 3 of the Indor copper plate inscription. (Fleet, *Corpus*, p. 70.)

On some specimens of this type no trace of the bow carried by the king can be discerned.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

The **Bodleian** example of variety *β*, which is still unique, and weighs 140·5, has been already discussed in the observations on the heavy coins of Archer type.

Lion-Trampler Type. (*Page* 87.)

All four varieties of this type are rare. The **British Museum** possesses one specimen of variety *a* only, and I was, in consequence, unable to give figures of any other variety in 1889. The **Bodleian** examples of varieties *γ* and *δ* have since been figured by Mr. Rapson, as well as the specimens of variety *a* in the same cabinet. This last differs in minute details from the **B.M.** specimen. The reverse lion of both these coins is to the l.

The specimen of variety *a* in the **Carnac** collection may be regarded as forming a new sub-variety, inasmuch as the reverse lion is turned to r. This coin is broad, wt. 120·7; mon. 4*e*. On l. obv. margin the legend ends with [? घृत्य]वस, '[*ghritya*]*vasa*,' the last two letters being certain. The r. obv. marginal legend seems to be '*narendra Chandra pra.*' The *Cha* is blurred, but the other characters are distinct enough.

When my Catalogue was published, variety *β* was known only from one worn coin belonging to the late Sir **E. C. Bayley**. The **Carnac** collection contains two examples of this variety, namely :—

No. 1. Small coin. Wt. 117·4. Attitude of king much less energetic than in variety *a*, although he is trampling on the lion's belly. No obv. legend. Rev. lion to l. Goddess astride, as described in Catalogue.

No. 2. Wt. 122. On obv. '*nare*' legible. Figures of these coins, which are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, should be published to complete the illustration of the type.

The **Bodleian** specimen of variety *γ*, which has been figured by Mr Rapson, is still unique.

The **Bodleian** specimen of variety *δ* is a broad coin, and has also been shown in Mr. Rapson's plate. The words

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

jayati and *siṅha vikrama* in the obv. legend are certain. The word following *vikrama*, which looked like *narata* when I examined the coin, must apparently be read *narendra*.

The Catalogue mentions one specimen belonging to Mr. **Rivett-Carnac**, on the obv. of which *narâ* (legendum *nare*) was legible. The same gentleman has since acquired a second specimen, of which the obv. legend is quite gone. A poor specimen belonging to Mr. **Wilmot Lane**, wt. 120, is mentioned by Mr. Rapson.

The above details show that the word *narendra* forms part of the legend on the obverse.

COMBATANT LION TYPE. (*Page* 89.)

When the Catalogue was published only three examples of this type were known. A fourth was noticed in the Addenda. The additional specimens now available show that several varieties must be distinguished. I must therefore ask my readers to be good enough to consider the description in the Catalogue as cancelled, and to substitute for it the following—

Obv. King, wearing waistcloth, standing, holding bow, and shooting lion in mouth, but not trampling on its body. Long marginal legend, imperfectly deciphered.

Rev. Goddess, holding fillet in r., and lotus in l. hand, seated, facing front, on back of couchant lion. Legend **सिङ्ह विक्रमः**, *Siṅha Vikramaḥ*. The **क**, *k*, is sometimes doubled.

References and Remarks.—Variety a. Obv. King to r., with bow in l. hand; rev. goddess cross-legged on lion to l.

B.M. **Swiney, No. 4.** Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 111·4 (Catalogue, Plate II., 5).

E.C.B. Six or seven illegible characters on l. obv. margin. On r. obv. margin **रत न्द्र**, *-rata Chandra*, doubtfully read. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 120·9.

A.G. Long obv. legend of about twenty characters. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 117·4. From Oudh.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Barstow. Obv. l. marginal legend begins with त्य, *tya*, which is followed by four characters not read, which are followed by सिङ्ह विक्रम, *sinha vikrama.* On r. obv. margin traces of two or three characters. *k* in rev. legend doubled (Plate iii., 3).

C. No. 1. Obv. marginal legend illegible.

C. No. 2. On obv. margin घ्र, *ghra*, legible.

C. No. 3. On l. obv. margin घ्र, *ghra*, legible, and above king's l. arm ह, *h.* Mon. 8*b*. From Sîtâpur in Oudh.

C. No. 4. Described and figured by Dr. Hoernlé (*J.A.S.B.* vol. lix, part i, page 172, plate vi, 5), and briefly noticed in Addenda to Catalogue. The legend सिङ्ह घ्नाभिज्ञ, *sinha ghnâbhijña*, 'clever in the slaying of lions,' is, if correctly read, very peculiar. I have not seen the coin, and do not believe this reading is correct. It certainly cannot be made out from the plate. The coin seems to be a duplicate of **Barstow** above.

Variety β. Obv. as in variety a. Rev. lion to r. Attitude of goddess slightly different from that seen in variety a.

Lane. Wt. 122·5. (*Rapson*, pages 11, 17.)

Variety γ. King to l., with bow in r. hand, shooting lion on l. margin. Rev. lion to l.

C. Mon. 4*c*. From Ajodhya.

RETREATING LION TYPE. (*Page* 90.)

The fine specimen in the **British Museum**, obtained at Kanauj nearly sixty years ago, is still the only example of this type.

The legends present some peculiarities. The long *â* in the obverse legend seems to be expressed in two ways, namely, as usual, by a mark above the line (*râ*), and also by a vertical line behind the consonant (*hâ* and *jâ*), as on the copper coin of Kumâra Gupta I. (Catalogue, p. 143). The coins of Samudra Gupta present examples of the use of two forms of *m* on the same piece, so that the simultaneous use

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

of two methods for expressing a long vowel need not excite surprise.

The word सिङ्घ, *siṅha*, on the reverse, looks as if spelled with घ, *gh*; unless this appearance is due to the shaft of the axe between the legend and device. The character preceding the rev. legend *siṅha vikramaḥ* must apparently be read as *Śrī*, but it is slightly peculiar in form, and different from the undoubted *Śrī* on the obv.

UMBRELLA TYPE. (*Page* 91.)

My Catalogue describes five coins of variety *a*, with rev. goddess standing l. on a pedestal, and three specimens of variety *β*, with rev. goddess standing, facing to front, on an obscure object, perhaps intended for a marine monster.

The **Carnac** collection possesses two additional examples of each variety, namely :—

Variety a.

No. 1. Oval coin of pale gold. Traces of the words (?) *Vikramāditya . . . sucharati* in obv. legend. Rev. goddess stands on a curved line, and not on a distinct pedestal as on the **B.M.** coin. Mon 4*c*.

No. 2. Smaller coin, nearly circular, of very impure gold, and very coarsely executed. Legends almost completely obliterated. Mon 4*c*.

Variety β.

No. 1. The umbrella holder is a male. Obv. legend on r. margin is distinctly विजितविजयः प्र, '*vijitavijayaḥ pra-*,' which does not apparently agree with the legend of the **B.M.** and **B.** coins. Nothing below the feet of the reverse goddess. Wt. 118·75.

No. 2. On obv. grains of incense distinctly shown, umbrella complete. '*Vikramāditya*' legible on l. margin. An indistinct object under feet of rev. goddess. Mon. a slight modification of 19*e*.

I have retained the division into two varieties *a* and *β*, characterized by the posture of the rev. goddess, but the details above given show that other variations occur. There

CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

is no doubt about the correctness of the **B.M.** and **B.** coins of the published obv. legend *Vikramâditya kshitim avajitya sucharati,* and the legend *vijita vijayaḥ pra-* is equally certain on the **Carnac** coin **No. 1** of variety *β*. Probably both legends are parts of a long inscription, for the whole of which there is not room on any one piece.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I. (MAHENDRA SIṄHA).

SWORDSMAN TYPE. (*Page* 93.)

No new specimens of this type have been discovered; it continues to be known from two coins only. The British Museum example was published by me. That in the Bodleian cabinet has been published by Mr. Rapson. Its weight is 124·5. My remark that both the coins were probably struck from a single die must be withdrawn. Minute differences show that separate dies were used. The **B.M.** specimen is rather the better of the two for the reverse, and the **B.** specimen for the obverse. I am now disposed to think that the correct reading of the obv. legend may be **क्षितिमवजित्य°**, *kshitim avajitya,* etc., and not **गामवजित्य°**, *Gâm avajitya,* etc. The character **क्षि**, *kshi,* is altogether wanting in the **B.M.** coin, but is present, though imperfect, on the l. margin of the **B.** coin. I formerly took it for a **ज**, *j.* The character which I then read as *gâ* may be really *ti,* the *t* being of the square headed form, which again occurs in the conjunct *tya,* and closely resembles *g.* On the **B.M.** coin the vowel mark of this character is wanting; on the **B.** coin it is present, and looks like *â,* but may be read as *i.* It differs little from the mark over the *j* in *jitya.* If this correction be accepted, the words *kshitim avajitya sucharati* are identical with those on the Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II. The extant legend is probably imperfect. Mr. Rapson still prefers to read **गाम**, *gâm.* See Plate II.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I. (MAHENDRA SINHA)—*continued.*

ARCHER TYPE. (*Page* 95.)

It is impossible as yet to effect a thoroughly satisfactory arrangement of this puzzling type, but some progress has been made.

In the Catalogue the coins are divided into two main divisions, namely A, of the *dînâra* standard, and B, heavy coins of the *suvarṇa* standard.

The heavy coins are probably, as Mr. Rapson suggests, the coinage of Kumâra Gupta II., and it is more convenient to treat them provisionally as his. Consequently only the A coins of the Catalogue will now remain under Kumâra Gupta I. The division of these into Class I., with bowstring inwards; and Class II., with bowstring outwards, and *Kumâra* vertically outside string, still holds good.

The first four varieties, α, β, γ, δ, of Class I. in the Catalogue were distinguished only by their legends. These legends were then, and still are, imperfectly known, and it is difficult to say to what extent they may be fragments of one long legend. In all these so-called varieties the initial syllable कु, *Ku*, with a crescent over it, is generally found under the king's arm, but it is sometimes wanting. Considering the imperfection of the readings, and admitting the existence of as yet undefined sub-varieties, I think it is better to group varieties α, β, γ, δ together as a single variety, 1. Variety ϵ, consequently, becomes variety 2, and the doubtful variety ζ becomes variety 3. Class II. remains as before.

The amended description and arrangement of the type, including new specimens, will therefore be as follows:—

ARCHER TYPE.

Obv. King standing to l., head bare, hair curly, r. hand extended across bird-standard, holding arrow; l. hand either resting on tip of bow, with string turned inwards (Class I.), or grasping middle of bow, with string turned outwards (Class II.). Under king's arm, in Class I., either no legend,

KUMÂRA GUPTA I. (MAHENDRA SIṄHA)—*continued*

or *Ku* with crescent, or *Kumâra* vertically. *In Class II., *Kumâra* vertically, outside string.

Marginal legend not fully read, and seems to vary: see details below.

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî) seated cross-legged on lotus-seat, usually holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand.

Legend श्री महेन्द्रः, *S'rî Mahendraḥ*.

Mon. rarely omitted.

References and Remarks.

Class I. Bow-string inwards.

Variety 1. Either no legend under king's arm, or कु, Ku, *with crescent.*

B.M., **etc.**, as detailed in Catalogue under varieties *a*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*.[1]

C. No. 1. No name or initial under king's arm; the surface is entire, and no character ever existed. On l. obv. margin [*Ku*]*m*[*â*]*ra Gupta;* on r. margin remains of *adhirâj*. Mon. 8*a*.

C. No. 2. In obv. legend only *j* legible. On rev. the fillet is represented by three dots above a line curved to l. Mon. a modification of the very rare form 25. Wt. 125·3.

Barstow. No name or initial under king's arm. Obv. l. marginal legend *S'rî Kumâra Guptaḥ*, r. margin *paramarajadhir* (vowel marks wanting). (Plate III. 4.)

Variety 2. Kumâra vertically under king's arm.

S. Obv. marginal legend of about eight illegible characters. Mon. 8*b*.

C. No. 1. Obv. marginal legend, *Mahârâja*. Obtained at Benares. The king's figure differs in pose from that on the commoner variety. Wt. 123·7. Mon. 10*b*.

C. No. 2. *Gupta* legible on l. obv. margin. Obtained at Benares. Wt. 123·85.

[1] The following corrections in detail are necessary:—

B. Nos. 714, 715 718. Wts. are 125·5, 124, 125.

Variety *β*. · **A.S.B.** Strike out the words "a character between king's feet, and *h* before his face." For xxxix. *read* xxix.

Variety *δ*. Coin from Mahanada in Bengal. *Add* "now in A.S.B."

KUMÂRA GUPTA I. (MAHENDRA SIṄHA)—*continued.*

C. No. 3. ℞. marginal legend *Mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî* recognizable. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 126.

Lane. Obv. marginal legend *Mahârâjadhirâja S'rî.* Wt. 123·7. (*Rapson*, p. 11.)

Variety 3.

Freeling. Obv. legend said by Thomas to be [*de*]*va vijitâvanir avanipati. Kumârô Gupto*, as in Fantail Peacock silver coins. Wt. 125. (*Records*, p. 50.) If this exceptional coin be genuine, the word *deva* should be read as the last word of the legend, so far as extant. Compare the legend of the Horseman to Right type of Kumâra Gupta I.

Class II. Bow-string outwards, and Kumâra vertically outside string. Rude coins.

B.M., **etc.** 8 or 9 coins as in Catalogue.[1]

A.S.B. One specimen.

Barstow. On r. obv. margin *Gup*[*t*]*a S'rî Mahe*[*ndra*] *pa-*. (Pl. III. 5.)

C. No. 1. Mon. 7*b*.

C. No 2. Mon. 19*b*.

C. No. 3. With loop attached, in very poor condition.

By piecing together the fragmentary inscriptions of the coins **B. 714**, **Kotwâ**, **C. No. 1**, **A.S.B.**, and **Barstow**, the conclusion appears safe that one form of the obv. marginal legend of Class I., variety 1, is

Jayati Mahendra paramarâjadhirâja Śrî Kumâra Guptaḥ.

The fragment *jatara* (? *ajita râjâ*) on the **A.G.** coin seems to belong to some other form of legend.

The **Mahânada** coin gives the legend

Śrî mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Kumâra Gupta.

The legend of variety No. 2 seems to be the same as this last, the known words being

mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî . . . Gupta.

The use of the title *paramarâjâdhirâja* on two coins is noticeable.

[1] The wts. of the Bodleian coins are 118·6, 115·5, 120·5.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I.

HORSEMAN TO RIGHT TYPE. (*Page* 100.)

The arrangement of the three varieties of this type as given in the Catalogue holds good, and no new varieties have been discovered.

The obverse legends have not yet been quite completely made out, but some further progress has been made in their decipherment, and some errors in the printed readings require correction. The recently discovered specimens of the type are as follows:—

Variety a.

C. No. 1. The letters on the l. obv. margin look like . . *p d r j* . ., but may be the remains of *Gupta devo jayati*; on r. obv. margin *kshitipatira pâ* . . . . The character *kshi* is, as usual, over the horse's head. Wt. 123·75. This seems to be the specimen, C, Dr. Hoernlé's description of which is quoted in the Catalogue, *page* 101. Dr. Hoernlé finds *m h r j p t* (the vowel marks being lost) on the l. margin; *kshi* between the king and the horse's head; and *tipati rathîpâda* on r. and lower margin. I could only make out the letters which I have given above.

C. No. 2. Obv. legend *kshitipati pa* . . *d*. Wt. 124·5.

C. No. 3. Same legend as No. 2. Wt. 125·5.

C. No. 4. Obv. l. marginal legend *Kumâra Gupto deva jayati*; r. margin *kshitipati*.

Variety β.

The Catalogue mentions only two specimens of this variety, namely, **B. No. 731**, the wt. of which has since been determined as 125·5, and **E.C.B.**, wt. 126·5. A third specimen has since been discovered, namely,

C. About one third of the obv. legend legible, that is to say, the words *prithivî talâm para*[*ma*]. The l. hand of the rev. goddess is not empty, as it seems to be in the other two specimens, but holds a cloth or fillet behind her back. I have seen this coin twice, and it has been noticed by Dr. Hoernlé (*Proc.A.S.B.* for 1891, p. 119).[1]

[1] *Talâm*, as Mr. Rapson reminds me, is not correct; *talam* or *tale* would be correct. I can only say that the word seemed to me to be *talâm*, but *talam* is probably the right reading. Mr. Rapson also suggests that the "uncertain object" near the hand of the goddess may be an ill-executed attempt at the peacock of variety *γ*. This is probably the case.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

Variety γ.

Fourteen or fifteen examples of this variety are described in the Catalogue. The new specimens are :—

C. No. 1. Only *kshitipati* legible in obv. legend.

C. No. 2. Obv. legend illegible.

C. No. 3. Obv. legend *kshitipatir ajito vi*[*jaya Kumâra*] *Gu*[*pta*]. (See Hoernlé's account in *Proc.A.S.B.* for 1891, p. 119.) I have examined the coin twice, and agree that the reading given above is correct. The letters in brackets are restorations. The words *vijaya* and *Gupta* are certain. The intervening word may have been either *Kumâra* or *Mahendra.*

Barstow. Obv. l. marginal legend *ajita Mahendra*, r. margin *Gupta* (*kr p n m ś t . .*) *tya.* The characters in the bracket look like the letters named, but some of them must be wrongly read (Plate III. 6).

In the Catalogue (*page* 100) I proposed to restore one form of the marginal legend as **अजित विक्रम महेन्द्र गुप्त देवजनित क्षितिप राजति विजय कुमार**, *ajita vikrama Mahendra Gupta devajanita kshitipati râjati vijaya Kumâra.* This attempt at restoration was not a happy one. Mr. Fleet (*Ind. Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 225) correctly pointed out that the reading *deva janita*, to which I had been induced to consent by the authority of Mr. Thomas, was clearly wrong, and that the correct reading must be *devo* (*deva*) *jayati.* I have since found out that the word **राजति**, *râjati* is also erroneous. Dr. Hoernlé and I in adopting that reading made the mistake of wrongly dividing the words **क्षितिपतिरजितो**, *kshitipatirajito* into *kshitipati râjati.* Dr. Hoernlé, in his reading **रथीपाद्**, *rathîpâda* on the coin, C. No. 1 of variety *a*, has repeated the latter mistake. The **र**, *r*, belongs to *kshitipatir*, and the word *rathîpâda*, with its fantastic meaning 'chariot-man,' is quite imaginary, so far as the coin is concerned. The syllable **पा**, *pâ*, seems certain, but the syllable on each side of it is not distinctly legible.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

So far as I can make out from the fragments preserved, the legends do not seem to vary in correlation with the varieties in the reverse device. More than one form of obv. legend appears to have been used, but the variation in legend is apparently independent of the variation in device.

One form of the legend certainly included the words विजयक्षितिपतिरजितोमहेन्द्रगुप्तदेवो जयति, *vijaya kshitipatir ajito Mahendra Gupta devo jayati,* arranged in that order.

C. 4 of variety *a* reads *Kumâra Gupta devo jayati,* the name *Kumâra* being substituted for *Mahendra.*

Another form of legend seems to have been परम भागवत [? श्री] महाराजाधिराज श्री महेन्द्र गुप्तः, *parama bhâgavata* [*Śrî*] *mahârâjâdhirâja Srî Mahendra Guptaḥ.* The first *Śrî* is said to occur on the A.S.B. coin, but I think this observation must be a mistake. This legend, which is probably not complete, is a copy of that of the Horseman types of Chandra Gupta II., which read *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Chandra Guptaḥ.*

The legend of the C. coin of variety *β*, which reads *prithivî talâm para,* would seem to have begun with *parama* and ended with *prithivî talâm.*[1] The words *bhâgavata maharâjâdhirâja Srî Mahendra Gupta* may have intervened, and *jitya,* or some participle or verb of similar meaning, is also required.

The reverse legend of all the specimens which I have recently examined is *ajita-Mahendraḥ,* and not *ajito M.,* as stated in the Catalogue.

HORSEMAN TO LEFT TYPE. (*Page* 103.)

About fourteen coins of this type are enumerated in the Catalogue, and I am not able to add to the number. The legends are either identical, or very nearly identical, with those of the Horseman to Right type, and, like them, have not been fully deciphered.

Dr. Hoernlé read on the A.S.B. No. 1 coin the obv. legend as [*a*] *dhirâja kshitipati râjati vijaya Kumâra* [*Gupta*]. The

[1] See footnote *ante,* p. 118.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

correction made in the readings of the Horseman to Right type must also be applied here, and *kshitipatirajito* must be substituted for *kshitipati râjati* as given in the Catalogue.

The word *kshapra* which I read on three coins cannot be right. The legend probably included the name *Mahendra.*

The Catalogue mentions two **A.S.B.** coins, viz.:

No. 1, from Midnapur, and **No. 2**, respecting which no details were given. I now understand that there is only one specimen of the type in the **A.S.B.** cabinet, which came from Hûglî, and weighs 126·31.

PEACOCK TYPE. (*Page* 105.)

The new specimens which I have seen are as follows :—

Variety a.

C. No. 2. From Ajodhya. Obv. legend quite illegible.

Taylor. No. 1. A fine specimen. Obv. marginal r. legend of at least eleven characters, none of which are certainly legible. Wt. 128·6 (Plate III. 8).

Taylor. No. 2. Wt. 128·6. Obv. marginal legend illegible.

Variety β.

C. No. 2. Obv. legend seems to include the words *S'rî Kumâra,* like the Bharsar coin.

Taylor. No. 1. Obv. marginal legend illegible. Wt. 127·7.

Taylor. No. 2. Obv. marginal r. legend . जयति [सुर्यको . म]र्द्र . ., 13 characters. The word *jayati* and the character *rd* are certain. All the rest is very doubtful (Plate III. 9). This coin has a ring attached. Including the ring, the wt. is 132·8.

"With regard to the Kumâra Gupta gold coins of the 'peacock type' (Mr. Smith's 'Coinage,' p. 105)," writes Dr. Hoernlé, "it may be worth noting that on the specimens of the variety *a* there are two peacocks on the obverse, whom the king is feeding, and not only *one*, as all the descriptions which I have hitherto seen would seem to imply. On a specimen in my own collection the forepart of the bodies of both birds is quite distinct, and, even in

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

the autotype figure published by Mr. Smith (pl. iii, fig. 1), the head of the second bird is quite distinct behind the front one. In the specimens of variety *β*, however, there appears to be only one bird."[1]

This observation of Dr. Hoernlé is, I believe, mistaken. The published descriptions are quite correct. The C. and **Taylor** examples of variety *a* noticed above have certainly only one bird each on the obv. On some specimens the upturned tail of the peacock, viewed sideways, looks very like the neck of a second bird, and this appearance has misled Dr. Hoernlé. But the object is the tail of one bird, and not the neck of a second bird.

LION-TRAMPLER TYPE. (*Page* 106.)

The **A.G.** and **W.T.** specimens of variety *β*, in which the rev. goddess has r. hand extended open and empty, and l. hand raised, holding lotus-flower, are still the only ones known.

The Catalogue enumerates four examples of variety *a*, in which the rev. goddess holds a fillet in her r. hand, her left hand either resting empty on her hip, or holding cornucopiæ. I was unable to give a figure of this variety, because there was no specimen of it in the British Museum. I have since seen two good examples of this variety, but they both differ from the typical description in so far that the king is not actually trampling on the body of the lion. They are:—

C. Obv. lion on hind legs near r. margin, with long tail and well-defined mane. Two or three characters of obv. legend partly legible. Rev. legend **श्री महेन्द्र सि[ह्ह]**, *S'rî Mahendra Si*[*ṅha*]. From Ajodhya. The letters *hendra Si* are partly defaced, and misled me when I examined the coin, which probably bears an erroneous label in the Indian Museum in consequence.

Barstow. A similar piece. Of obv. legend, **क्षद**, *kshad*, legible. Rev. lion to r. Mon. 8*a*. (Plate III. 7.) Wt. 126·5.

[1] J.A.S.B. vol. lix, part i, p. 179.

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

TIGER (COMBATANT LION) TYPE. (*Page* 107.)

The description of this type by Dr. Hoernlé and myself, as given in the Catalogue, require considerable amendment. The fact that there is a crescent above the syllable *ku*, which occurs under the king's arm on some coins, has been omitted from my description, and my remark concerning the B.M., I.O. coin (Catalogue, Plate III, 3) that "the obverse legend includes मत्य, and क्र or कु, *matya* and *kra* or *ku*" is incorrect. Dr. Hoernlé is mistaken in supposing that the words कुमार गुप्तस्य, *Kumâra Guptasya*, in the genitive case, should be restored on the obverse, and also in reading कुमार गुप्ता धिराज्ञो, *Kumâra Guptâdhirâjño*, in the genitive case on the reverse.

A fine specimen, obtained by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, at or near Ajodhya, has enabled me to make these corrections. On this coin the l. obv. marginal legend is श्री, Śrî, and the r. marginal legend is व्याघ्र . . पराक्क्रम, *vyâghra* . . *parâkkrama*. The two intervening characters, which I have not transliterated, are obscure, but seem to be intended for शत, *śata*. There is no doubt whatever about the words *vyâghra* . . *parâkrama*. The doubling of the *k* is unimportant. On re-examining my Plate III, 3 (Catalogue), I find that the legend there too is the remains of *vyâghra* (? *śata*) *parâkra*[*ma*]. The *r* of *kra* is expressed by a horizontal line turned to the left, the *u* of *ku* on the reverse is indicated by a curve open to the left. The two characters are quite distinct and different. The correct reading of the reverse legend, both on Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coin and in my plate, is कुमारगुप्तो धिराजा, *Kumâra Guptodhirâjâ*, in the nominative case. The vowel *o* is quite plain, and proves that the mark attached to the *j* must be read as *â*. The initial *a* of *adhirâjâ* has been correctly elided, but the sign of elision is not inserted. I am now able to give a figure of a fine specimen brought by Major Temple recently from

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

Buddha Gayā, which closely resembles the C. specimen, but differs in that it has not कु, *Ku*, under the king's arm. The king is trampling with his right foot on the body of the tiger. The obv. legend to l. is श्री म, *Śrî Ma*, and on the r. margin, हेन्द्र, *hendra* (damaged), followed by five illegible characters. The rev. legend is in perfect preservation, and is exactly the same as on the C. coin. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 127·3 (Pl. III, 10). The fact that the king on this coin is shown trampling on the tiger renders the name "Combatant Lion" unsuitable for the type, as distinguished from the "Lion-Trampler." The two types are sharply distinguished by the reverse legends.

Sir A. Cunningham read the obverse legend on a coin in his collection as *Śrî Mahendra siṅha parâkrama*. Accepting this reading as doubtless correct for that coin, the legend, so far as known, is *Śrî Mahendra siṅha vyâghra* (? *śata*) *parâkrama*, 'Śrî Mahendra Siṅha, with the might of [? a hundred] tigers;' but it probably included other words also. I have in the Catalogue drawn attention to the use by Kumâra Gupta of Samudra Gupta's favourite word *parâkrama*. The phrase *vyâghra parâkrama* is a reminiscence of the Tiger type of Samudra Gupta, and in future the type under discussion had better be designated as the Tiger type of Kumâra Gupta I. Like Samudra Gupta, Kamâra Gupta I. struck an Aśvamedha medal, and he is thus proved to have imitated the coinage of his grandfather in at least three particulars. The undoubted reading of *parâkrama* on Kumarâ's Tiger type renders practically certain the hitherto doubtful reading of the same word on Samudra's Tiger type.

The use of the simple title *adhirâjâ*, instead of the usual *mahârâjadhirâja*, is an indication, though not a proof, that the type under discussion was struck at an early period in the long reign of Kumâra Gupta I. It may, perhaps, also be presumed that the types of Kumâra Gupta I., which imitate those of his grandfather, are of an earlier date than those which are more characteristic of the issuer. For the

KUMÂRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

reasons given in the Catalogue the Swordsman type is to be placed early in Kumâra's reign. I am now inclined to think that that type, with the Tiger (or Combatant Lion) and the Aśvamedha types, should be grouped together as the three earliest issues of the reign. Of course neither certainty nor accuracy in the chronological arrangement of the types is attainable.

The syllable *Ku* on the obv. of the **B.M. I.O.** coin figured in my plate above referred to has a square superfluous character, like the remains of स, *sa,* across it, and I suspect that the coin has been double struck on a piece of Samudra Gupta's, like the Archer coin of Chandra Gupta II. already noticed.

SKANDA GUPTA.

Archer Type. (*Page* 111.)

I have nothing to add to my published account of the coins of *dînâra* weight forming Class A.

Mr. Rapson has noted the wts. and mon. of the four Bodleian examples of the heavy Class B coins as follows :—

No.	*Wt.*	*Mon.*
684	138	8*b*.
727	141·5	—
728	131·5	8*a*.
730	141·5	—

On a specimen of this class belonging to Mr. Barstow the word *vikrama* is legible in the obv. legend. The various fragments of the legend, which have been preserved, indicate that the full epigraph included the words *parama vikrama Śrî* [*Skanda Gup*]*ta deva.*

—PRAKÂSÂDITYA.

Lion and Horseman Type. (*Pages* 114–117.)

The coins bearing on the reverse the title *Śrî Prakâśâditya* still continue to be a puzzle. All analogy shows that the

—PRAKÂŚÂDITYA.—*continued*

word *Prakâśâditya* is merely a secondary title, and not a primary personal name. The similar titles, terminating in *-âditya*, which occur in the Gupta series are as follows:—

1. *Vikramâditya.* Used by Chandra Gupta II. in gold, silver, and copper; also by Skanda Gupta in silver only (Catalogue, *page* 129).
2. *Kramâditya.* Used by Kumâra Gupta [? I. or II.] in heavy gold coins, and by Skanda Gupta in silver.
3. *Mahendrâditya.* Used by Kumâra Gupta I. in silver, according to Fleet (*page* 125).
4. *Parâditya.* Used by Skanda Gupta in silver (*page* 129).
5. *Bâlâditya.* Used by Nara [Siṁha] Gupta in gold.

We may be assured that the obverse marginal legend of the *Prakâśâditya* coins contained the proper personal name of the king who issued the coins, but, unluckily, no specimen with the name well preserved has yet come to light. When my Catalogue was published, the only fragments of the obverse legend which had been read consisted of the words *deva jayati.* I have since examined four unpublished specimens in the cabinet of Mr. Rivett-Carnac, namely, two from Hardoî in Oudh, one from Shâhjahânpur in the North-western Provinces, and one from the Râmpur State in Rohilkhand. One of the Hardoî coins (mon. 10*a*, wt. 146) is the best preserved example of the type which I have seen, and raises, though, unfortunately, it fails to satisfy, hopes of deciphering the legend. The legend on the l. obv. margin is वस . देवं जयति, *vasa . devaṁ jayati.* The character below the horse, is, as usual, ƺ, which seems to mean initial *u*, but may stand, perhaps, for *ru.* It also resembles some of the forms of *h.*

The Râmpur coin (wt. 140) preserves exactly the same portion of the obv. marginal legend, though the word *jayati* is not so distinct as on the Hardoî coin; in fact, the word looks like *jarmata,* and seems to have been blurred. Perhaps the coin was re-struck. On both pieces the final *anusvâra*

—PRAKÂSÂDITYA.—*continued.*

of *devam̃* is distinct. The same spelling, or mis-spelling, of *devam̃* for *devo* occurs on the Fantail Peacock silver coins of Kumâra Gupta I. and Skanda Gupta (Catalogue, *pages* 126, 133).

The stereotyped formula of the Fantail Peacock silver coins of several kings, *vijitâvaniravanipati X. Gupto devo jayati,* raises a presumption that the word immediately preceding *devo* on the coins under discussion must be the king's proper name.

But this presumption is rebutted by the gold Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta, on which the epithet *jitâripura* immediately precedes the words *devo jayati.* On the coins of Prakâśâditya, therefore, the word in the corresponding place may be either the king's name or an epithet. It certainly is not *Gupto.*

So far as I can make out from the Hardoî and Râmpur specimens, and the B.M., R.S. coin (Catalogue, Pl. III, 9), the extant portion of the legend reads **वसवो देवं जयति,** *vasavo devam̃ jayati.* The letters *vasa* are fairly certain, though there may be a vowel mark over the *s.* The letter following the *s* has a vowel mark, which should mean *o,* and the letter itself may be read as **व**, *v,* **ब**, *b,* or **च**, *ch,* not being well preserved in any example. I cannot discover any meaning for the word *vasavo,* if that be the correct reading.

Mr. Rapson follows Dr. Hoernlé in thinking that Prakâśâditya is probably the title of the king mentioned in the Bhitarî seal, who was son of Kumâra Gupta I. and father of Nara Siṁha Gupta, and whose name is variously read as Sthira, or Pura.[1] The date thus obtained is suitable for the coins of Prakâśâditya, and the suggestion is plausible, but at present no more can be said. A coin in good condition may be expected to turn up soon and settle the question.

[1] The reading *Pura* is certainly untenable, and must be given up. Mr. Rapson agrees with Dr Bühler and Sir A. Cunningham that the word is "certainly not *Pura,*" and may be *Sthira.* See *ante* note to Synoptic Table.

NARA (SIṄHA GUPTA) BÂLÂDITYA.

ARCHER TYPE (SUVARṆA STANDARD). (*Page* 117.)

The revelation by the Bhitarî seal inscription of the existence of King Nara Siñha Gupta, reigning about A.D. 500, son of (?) Sthira Gupta, and father of Kumâra Gupta II., makes it almost certain that the coinage of Nara Bâlâditya must be ascribed to him.[1]

In the Catalogue (*page* 118) I have observed that "in my former catalogue (*scil.* of Gold Coins, published in 1884), I erroneously wrote Nâra for Nara, and, following Mr. Thomas, added the cognomen Gupta, for which there is no authority." But there is some reason to think that the above corrections may be, to some extent, mistaken. Dr. Hoernlé (*J.A.S.B.* for 1889, vol. lviii, part i, p. 93, note) points out that the word *Gupta* seems to be legible in figure 22 of plate xviii. of Ariana Antiqua, and on looking again at my autotype figure of the **B. M.** **Yeames** coin I see that there is something outside the bow which may be the remains of a letter. It is quite possible that some specimens may have the word *Gupta* on them.

So on the **Rânaghaṭ** coin, Dr. Hoernlé read the name as Nâra, with the long vowel (*Proc.A.S.B.* for 1886, p. 65), and it is possible he may have done so correctly, although other coins offer the form Nara, with the short vowel. Compare the variants Kâcha and Kacha. If the word *Gupta* really occurs on the obverse of the coins of this type, we may feel certain that they were struck by Nara Siñha Gupta of the seal genealogy, but none of the specimens which I have seen show the word *Gupta* clearly. There are three in the Rivett-Carnac collection, the weights of which are 144, 145·2, and 170. The weight of the last must be due to an attached loop or ring. The weights of the six Bodleian specimens, as determined by Mr. Rapson, range from 142·5 to 147. The obverse marginal legend has not yet been read on any coin.

[1] Sir A. Cunningham has always held that Nara Bâlâditya was Nara Gupta.

KUMÂRA GUPTA II. (KRAMÂDITYA).

ARCHER TYPE. (*Pages* 95–100.)

The existence of Kumâra Gupta II., the son of Nara Sinha Gupta, and great-grandson of Kumâra Gupta I., has been disclosed by the Bhitarî seal inscription. In all probability the heavy and coarse gold coins, with the title *Kramâditya*, should, as Mr. Rapson suggests, be assigned to the second Kumâra, and I have, therefore, decided to treat these coins separately. Their technical description is as follows:—

Obv. King standing to l., head bare, hair curly, r. hand extended across bird-standard, holding arrow; l. hand resting on tip of bow, with string turned inwards. Sometimes a wheel over king's r. shoulder. Under king's left arm *Ku*, with crescent above. Marginal legend imperfect.

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî) seated cross-legged on lotus-seat, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand. Legend श्री क्रमादित्यः, *S'rî Kramâdityaḥ*. Mon.

Coarsely executed coins. King's figure with an awkward bend. Mean weight about 146 grains.

References and Remarks.

B.M. R.P.K. The letters हर, *hara*, seem to be legible in obv. legend. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 148·7. (Catalogue, Pl. II, Fig. 12.)

B.M. Yeames. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 143.

B.M. Marsden, mlii. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 147.

B.M. Marsden, mliii. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 146·5.

A.S.B. One specimen.

A.C. Two specimens.

Kâlîghâṭ hoard. Figured in A. A. pl. xviii. 23. Supposed by Cunningham (***Arch. Rep.*** vol. iii. p. 137) to be a coin of the later Kumâra Gupta of Magadha.

The reverse legend was wrongly given both in my Catalogue of Gold Coins, published in 1884, and in the general Catalogue, published in 1889. The correct reading is *Śrî*

KUMÂRA GUPTA II. (KRAMÂDITYA)—*continued.*

Kramâdityaḥ, as read by Sir A. Cunningham. I am indebted to Mr. Rapson for pointing out to me that this reading is not exceptional, as I supposed, but is the reading of every specimen.

Besides the coins enumerated above, which may be fairly assigned to Kumâra Gupta II., there are eleven specimens of base metal in the B.M. collection, which have the syllable *Ku* on the obv., and more or less closely correspond to the description of the type. The weights of these coins, which are very coarsely executed, are 151; 150·6; 150·3; 150·2 (*bis*); 149·2; 147·8; 147·2; 147; 146·8; 146.

It is impossible to say who issued base coins of this kind. They are clearly imitations of the coins struck in tolerably good gold, and are doubtless somewhat later in date. A.D. 600 may be taken as an approximate date. Coins of this class bear other initial syllables as well as *Ku*, and seem to have been struck by sundry local rulers during the disturbances caused by the Hûṇa invasions. There is no reason to suppose that it will ever be possible to assign such barbarous pieces definitely to particular princes. Some of them, probably, were issued from the rude mints of the invaders, who could not invent types of their own, and were obliged to imitate as best they could the various coinages of the countries which they ravaged or subdued.

VÎRA[? SENA, OR SIṄHA] KRAMÂDITYA.

BULL TYPE. (*Page* 118.)

The three coins collected by Mr. Rivett-Carnac still remain the only known examples of this type. The weights of these three pieces are 162·3, 162·5, and 169. In the Catalogue I called attention to these exceptional weights, and remarked that the coins may possibly have been struck to the 100 *ratí* standard of 182·5 grains, but that it is more probable that they were struck to the Persian standard, the unit of which weighs 84 to 86 grains. The coins

VÎRA[? SENA, OR SINHA] KRAMÂDITYA—*continued.*

in question date from about A.D. 500–600, and, on re-consideration, I do not think it likely that the recollection of the Persian standard survived so long. I would now refer them to the 100 *rati* standard of 182·5 grains, if the *rati* be taken as weighing 1·825 grains, or of 180 grains, if it be taken as weighing 1·8 grain. Either value is substantially correct, and convenient for calculation, but, of the two, the value 1·8, now adopted by Sir A. Cunningham, is rather the more convenient. A gold coin of 180 grains, moderately worn, should weigh about 160–170 grains, as these coins do. Many of the early coins of India were struck to the standard of 100 *ratis*, or 180 grains. Among these are the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, the double die copper coins of Taxila, the Mitra coins with incuse square, and the large copper Yaudheya coins, which last are referred to the period of about A.D. 300. All these classes of coins are described in Sir A. Cunningham's recent work, "Coins of Ancient India." He considers (*page* 80) that the 100 *rati* piece can be most conveniently regarded as equal to a 1¼ *paṇa* (or *suvarṇa*), the *paṇa* or *suvarṇa* weighing 80 grains. He calls the 100 *rati* piece a "heavy *paṇa*," and gives the scale of its multiples and sub-divisions as follows:—

1	"heavy *paṇa*"	=100	*ratis*	=180 grains.
1½	" "	=150	"	=270 "
½	" "	= 50	"	= 90 "
¼	" "	= 25	"	= 45 "
⅛	" "	= 12½	"	= 22½ "

The 180 grain weight was long afterwards adopted by Humâyûn and Akbar, who copied from Sher Shâh, as the weight of the silver rupee, and it is the familiar *tola* of the Anglo-Indian scale of Indian weights.[1] I think it would be more convenient to use the name *tola* for the 100 *rati* pieces than the awkward term "heavy *paṇa*."

[1] On this subject see "The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan Illustrated by their Coins." By Stanley Lane-Poole, Westminster, 1892, p. lxxvi, and the discussion in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi," pp. 403 *seqq.*

SILVER COINS.

(*Pages* 119–138.)

Very little can at present be added to the information about the silver coins as printed in the Catalogue.

If Prinsep was not mistaken, the copper type which I have designated by the name 'Chandra Head' occurs also in silver. He says in a footnote, which I overlooked until lately;—

"Since finishing my plate I have received a drawing of a small silver coin from Mr. Tregear, found at Jaunpur, having a head on one side, and on the other a bird with outspread wings, under which, in clearly defined characters, is चन्द्र गुप्त, *Chandra Gupta.*"[1]

I suspect that in this passage the word 'silver' is a clerical error for 'copper,' but it is possible that the coin described was really a silver one.

The coins of Toramâṇa (*page* 136) have been discussed by Mr. Fleet. He is quite certain that the two known silver coins are dated in the year 52, and suggests that the date is a regnal one, expressed in an era beginning at the accession of Toramâṇa to the throne of the Pañjâb about A.D. 460.[2]

Dr. Hoernlé has shown good reason for believing that certain Indo-Sassanian coins, which are palpably imitations of the coinage of the Sassanian king Fîrûz of Persia, were issued by some chief of the White Huns, and conjectures plausibly that Toramâṇa may have been that chief.[3]

The same writer has elsewhere dealt with the copper coinage of Toramâṇa and his son Mihirakula.[4] My remark (*page* 11) that "of Toramâṇa we possess only two silver coins, but the copper coinage of his son Mihirakula is tolerably

[1] Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. i. p. 281 note.

[2] 'The Coins and History of Toramâṇa,' Ind. Antiquary, vol. xviii. pp. 225–230.

[3] Proc A.S.B. for 1889, p. 229. Sir A. Cunningham is now engaged on the study of the Hûṇa coins; and a paper on the subject by him was read at the International Congress of Orientalists in London in September, 1892.

[4] Proc. A.S.B. for 1885, pp. 4–7, with a plate.

abundant" lacks accuracy. Many copper coins of Toramâṇa are known, and, according to Mr. Rodgers, those of one type are common.[1] He describes one in the Lahore cabinet as follows: "*Obv.* Seated figure to right (जय). *Rev.* Standing figure to left, श्री तो . . ." In this description the terms obverse and reverse have been wrongly used. The side of the coin which bears the king's personal name should always be called the obverse.

According to Sir A. Cunningham, the date on the rare silver coins of Îśâna Varmâ (*page* 136) is 55. Dr. Hoernlé reads it as 245.[2]

The silver coins of the Trident type ascribed to the kings of Valabhî were briefly referred to in my Catalogue (*page* 137), with the remark that they require more exhaustive examination than they have yet received. They still require that examination. Dr Bühler thinks that they are wrongly ascribed to the Mahârâjâs of Valabhî. He writes "I may add that I do not believe in a Valabhî coinage, of which Sir A. Cunningham gives some specimens (*Arch: Survey Rep.*, vol. ix. pl. v.). I cannot make out from his facsimiles the name read by him, nor have I ever seen any piece on which they can be read."[3]

I am not in a position to give an opinion on the issue thus raised.

COPPER COINS.

(*Pages* 138–144.)

Mr. Rapson's researches at the Bodleian Library have unearthed some interesting facts. My Catalogue described seven Gupta copper coins, namely, six of Chandra Gupta II. and one of Kumâra Gupta I., in the Bodleian cabinet, two of which had been picked out from the miscellaneous

[1] Catalogue of Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore, compiled by Chas. J. Rodgers, M.R.A S. Calcutta, 1891, p. 54. This work has been reviewed by me in the Indian Antiquary for June, 1892 (vol. xxi. p. 191).

[2] J.A.S.B. for 1889, vol. lvii. part i. note to Chronological Table facing p. 105.

[3] 'On the Origin of the Gupta-Valabhî Era,' p. 7 *note*.

coins, and I remarked that the correspondence showed that some specimens were missing (*page* 62). Mr. Rapson, having more time at his disposal than I had, was fortunate enough to discover "nearly twenty additional specimens hidden among the miscellaneous coins," including one new type.

He gives autotype figures of two specimens of the Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II., which prove that this type was issued in two sizes. His fig. 14, diameter about ·9, represents the large size, as published in my Catalogue, which may be intended for a *paṇa*. Fig. 13, diameter about ·6, B. No. 752, represents the smaller size, of the same dimensions as the larger coins of the Standing King type, which may be intended for half a *paṇa*. The copper coins of Chandra Gupta II. were issued of so many different denominations, that it is clear that the coinage was of considerable volume. It is unfortunate that Mr. Rapson omitted to weigh the Bodleian specimens, some of which are in good preservation. The few recorded weighments are nearly all those of ill-preserved coins, and do not afford sufficient materials for the satisfactory determination of the weight standard and the denominations of the Gupta copper coinage.

When describing the Vikramâditya Bust type (*page* 140), I should have noted that a snake is twined round the neck of Garuḍa. It is distinctly shown in the autotype (Catalogue, Plate IV, 13). The snake is equally distinct on the Bhitarî seal of Kumâra Gupta II.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses specimens of the Chandra Head type of various sizes (*page* 141), but I have not been furnished with any detailed description of them. Mr. Rivett-Carnac also has some Gupta copper coins, probably of this type, which I have not seen.

The new type discovered by Mr. Rapson among the unclassed Bodleian coins may be conveniently named the 'Chandra' type. In place of the head of the Chandra Head type, the obverse is quite occupied with the name चन्द्र, having over it a crescent, while on the reverse appears

Garuda with the inscription गुप्तः." This type agrees in the obverse with the 'Chandra coins' described in my Supplement (*page* 143, Plate IV, 16), but differs in the reverse, which in the case of those coins is occupied by a vase, without legend. The new Bodleian discovery raises to five the number of types of copper coinage certainly issued by Chandra Gupta II., namely, (1) Umbrella, (2) Standing King, (3) Vikramâditya Bust, (4) Chandra Head, and (5) Chandra.

If Dr. Hoernlé's suggestion be correct, a sixth type of the copper coinage of the same king exists. "To the Gupta class," he writes, "I am also disposed to refer the coin of which I publish three figures in plate vi. fig. 9, 10, 11, and which, I believe, is a quite new type. There are three specimens, all of copper, and all in rather poor condition. One side is utterly unrecognizable in all three; on the other side (the obverse?), they all show three figures standing, a king with two attendants, dressed in tunics or armour. The king, in the middle, facing front, holds up something in his right hand. The attendant to his proper left holds the royal umbrella over him; the attendant to his proper right holds a spear or standard in his right hand. In fig. 11 the king and the attendant to his left can be seen, while in fig. 10 the king and his attendant to the right are seen, also the umbrella over the king. Fig. 9 shows all these figures together, but they are difficult to distinguish. I would attribute these coins to Chandra Gupta II., of whom coins of the 'umbrella' type, both in gold and copper, are known to exist."[1]

The figures of these ill-preserved coins are so dim that it is difficult to make out on the plate the devices above described, and I have not had an opportunity of seeing the coins. I have, however, no doubt that Dr. Hoernlé's description of them is quite correct. The legends having, apparently, disappeared altogether, it is impossible to de-

[1] J.A.S.B. vol. lvi. part i. p. 171. These coins formed part of the collection gathered for the Indian Museum by Bâbû P.C. Mukharji.

termine with certainty the attribution of the coins. But they may safely be assigned to the Gupta period, and probably either to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. or to that of his son Kumâra Gupta I. The presence of the umbrella favours the attribution to the former, while the grouping of the figures recalls the device of the Two Queens type of the latter king.

This new type may, for convenience of reference, and in default of a better name, be called the 'Trio' type.

If, as is possible, the little 'vase' coins, bearing the name '*Chandra*' (Catalogue, *page* 143), were struck by Chandra Gupta II., yet one more must be added to the long list of his types of coinage.

Whether or not the 'Trio' and 'Vase' types belong to the reign of Chandra Gupta II., it is certain that he issued copper coins of five distinct types, and that at least three of these types (namely, Umbrella, Standing King, and Chandra Head) comprised more than one denomination of value. It follows that the copper coinage of Chandra Gupta II. must have been issued in considerable quantity, and during a series of years. No king ever issues a large variety of coins in one metal during a very brief period. I am convinced that the copper coins of Chandra Gupta II. will, when systematically looked for, be found in no small number. Proof has already been obtained that they are not nearly so rare as was supposed some years ago. The copper issues of Chandra Gupta II. can never have rivalled in volume those of the early Indo-Scythian princes, which have been preserved in immense numbers, but it is now clear that they were a real currency, and to some extent took the place of the more abundant Indo-Scythian copper coinage, which seems to have alone been current in earlier reigns.

The Umbrella type in gold is assigned, though on rather slight grounds, to a late period in the reign of Chandra Gupta II., and it may be conjectured that the copper coinage invented by him, and including the same 'umbrella' device, belongs to the later, rather than to the earlier, years of his rule.

At *page* 144 of the Catalogue an ancient copper forgery of the gold Archer type of Chandra Gupta II. is noticed. Mr. Rodgers possessed a similar forgery of a gold coin of Samudra Gupta.

The one copper coin certainly known to have been struck by Kumâra Gupta I., viz. **B. No. 751**, of the Standing King type, was fully described in the Catalogue (*page* 143), and an autotype of it has since been published by Mr. Rapson (fig. 15 *of his plate*). In the Catalogue I have stated positively that there is "no legend" on the obverse, but the autotype shows traces of five characters on the right margin, and also, I think, of कु, *Ku*, under the king's l. arm.

It is surprising that other specimens of Kumâra Gupta's undoubted copper coinage do not turn up.

COPPER COINS OF KUMÂRA GUPTA I. AND SKANDA GUPTA, AGREEING IN DEVICE AND LEGEND WITH THE SILVER COINS. (*Pages* 144–146.)

In the Supplement to the Catalogue (*pages* 144–146) I discussed the copper Gupta coins which resemble the silver coinage in device and legend, and observed that "they may all be ancient forgeries, but, if they are, it is odd that such a considerable number of them should be found. The question of their genuineness deserves fuller examination than I have been able to give it. Some are certainly forgeries."

The coins noticed in the Catalogue are as follows:—

(1) Four Gupta copper coins of Skanda Gupta, presented by the Thâkur of Morvi, and described by Mr. Newton.

(2) Twenty Gupta copper coins, presented by the Chief of Wallâ, the ancient Valabhî. Some of these were coated with a thin film of silver.

(3) Fifteen small copper coins, also dug up on the site of Valabhî, and believed to be from the same hoard as the twenty above noticed. Legend read as *Parama bhâgavata râjâdhirâjâ Kumâra Gupta Mahendrasya.*[1] Five of this batch were in

[1] The correct reading is probably *Mahendrâditya.*

pretty good preservation, and Captain Watson, who submitted the coins, had eight more of the same kind.

(4) Several specimens in the British Museum, all in bad condition, and apparently of Trident type. Legend on one *Gupta Mahendrâd*[*itya*]. Copper of good colour, and no signs of plating.

Two similar coins, "portions of which are still well covered with silver," were collected at Kanauj, in the Farrukhâbâd District of the N.W.P., and have been deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1] No details have been given, and I cannot say what device is on the reverse of these specimens from the N.W.P.

At the very ancient town of Jâis, in the Râi Barelî District of Oudh, I obtained a single specimen of this coinage of the Fantail Peacock type, and probably belonging to the reign of Kumâra Gupta I. This coin has no trace of plating.

Dr. Bühler has recently made known the source of the British Museum examples. He writes: "It seemed to me evident from the silver and copper coins found at Valabhî and in the neighbourhood, that the Mahârâjas of Valabhî had been vassals of the Guptas. These coins, of which I myself have collected on the spot many hundreds, all show the names of Skandagupta and Kumaragupta (*sic*). In 1876 I bought at Sihor, close to Valâ (*i.e.* Valabhî), a hoard of minute copper coins, which together weighed five pounds. The authorities of the British Museum selected a number of them, and it is apparently to some of these specimens that Mr. V. A. Smith refers in his essay on the Coinage of the Guptas, p. 146. None of these pieces have been issued by the Guptas themselves. They are clearly ancient imitations, and the find-spots show that they were current in Valabhî.

"I may add that I do not believe in a Valabhî coinage, of which Sir A. Cunningham gives some specimens (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. ix. plate v.). I cannot make out from

[1] J.A.S.B vol. lix. (1890), part i. p. 171.

his facsimiles the names read by him, nor have I ever seen any piece on which they can be read."[1]

The facts above enumerated prove very clearly that the copper coins resembling the silver were struck ordinarily, if not exclusively, at Valabhî, in Surâshṭra (Kâṭhiâwâṛ), and that they are only found occasionally and exceptionally in Northern India. It is also established that the coins in question were issued in large quantity, and that many of them were coated with a thin film of silver. The only names which have been recognized on them are those of Kumâra Gupta (I.) and Skanda Gupta.

Several questions are suggested by these coins. Firstly, Do they constitute a real coinage struck by authority, or are they merely private forgeries of the silver coinage? Secondly, Were they issued during the reigns of the kings whose names they bear, or are they of later date? Thirdly, Were they issued by authority of Kumâra Gupta I. and Skanda Gupta, or by Mahârâjas of Valabhî, or someone else?

I think it must be admitted that these coins are not the work of private forgers. They have been found in such numbers at Valabhî that they must have been issued by some public authority, and must have served as an authorized coinage. The circumstance that many of them are coated with silver, and were, therefore, intended to pass as silver, raises no presumption that they were the work of non-official rogues. The issue by authority of copper coins plated, or thickly coated with silver, was an ancient practice, not of uncommon occurrence both in the Greek States and in the Roman Empire, and Indian rulers would not be slow to adopt a financial expedient supported by such respectable authority.

The coins of Amyntas the Second of Macedon[2] are "almost all plated." Those of Pausanias, king of the same country,[3]

[1] 'On the Origin of the Gupta-Valabhî Era,' p. 7 *note*, of the reprint from the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. v. part iii.

[2] B.C. 392-390.

[3] B.C. 390-389.

are almost invariably found to be of copper, plated with silver, and it cannot be supposed that they were all executed by private forgers. The Roman Emperor Caracalla (A.D. 211) is recorded by Suetonius to have issued plated coins, and "plated coins of Claudius and of Domitilla are so frequent, and so much exceed the number which are of good metal throughout, that it may be conjectured either Claudius, or his officers of the mint, were the forgers. Indeed, there can be but little doubt that spurious coins were issued from the public mints, whenever the necessities of the state were pressing."[1]

In the Catalogue (*page* 146) I suggested that the copper coinage of the Satraps Nahapâna, Chashṭana, and Jayadâmâ, must have been the model of the copper coins bearing the names of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, if these latter are not merely forgeries of the silver coins. The fuller information now accessible enables me to develop this suggestion in more detail.

Concerning the coins of Nahapâna the Kshaharâta, the first of the Western Satraps, whose known dates range from 41–46, probably equivalent to A.D. 119–124, Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî writes as follows:—"I used to possess four silver coins of Naḥapâna; but one of these, which I obtained from Nâsik, was spoiled in cleaning. I heated the coin, and a silver coating came off from each side, leaving only a piece of copper. The face of the obverse of all my coins was so well executed as to fairly indicate the age of the king at the time of striking. . . . . The symbols on the reverse are an arrow and a thunderbolt. The occurrence of these symbols on some copper coins, which are found in the coasting regions of Gujarât and Kathiâwâḍ, and also sometimes in Mâlwa, make it probable that these were also struck by Nahapâna. These copper coins bear on the other side the Buddhist symbols, a standing deer and a *dharmachakra*, and also show traces of inscriptions which have not hitherto been deciphered."

[1] Akerman. "The Forgeries of Public Money," being the substance of a lecture delivered before the Numismatic Society, London, 23rd April, 1843.

This passage proves that Nahapâna struck certain coins purporting to be silver, but in reality only coated with silver, and also that certain copper coins were issued during the same period which agreed in reverse device with the silver coins, but differed in obverse device.

Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî does not distinguish the copper from the silver coins of Chashtaṇa, but this prince struck coins in both metals. The description of a copper coin of his is quoted in the Catalogue.[1] The obverse and reverse devices of this coin agree with those of silver coins of the dynasty.

The son of Chashṭana was Jayadâman, *circa* A.D. 136–141. "I have not yet been able," observes the Pandit, "to obtain an undoubted specimen in silver of this prince; but I think it probable that the specimen given in the Plate [figure 3, a circular coin] is a coin of Jayadâman, although the name and the greater part of the legend cannot be read. The coin is in many respects like those of Nahapâna; both style and letters are similar, and the beginning of a legend in Bactrian Pâlî is clearly legible. The symbols are, however, those inaugurated by Chashṭana, and the word *Kshatrapasa* is beyond doubt. It cannot possibly be a coin of Nahapâna.

The copper coins of Jayadâman are well known. They are square, and bear on the obverse an Indian bull facing right, and in front of it a trident and axe combined. Around the obverse are Greek characters—probably the remains of the name of some overlord. The reverse bears the usual symbols and the inscription within a circle."

Of the next Satrap, Rudradâman, the Pandit was not able to find any copper coins. He possessed nine specimens of this ruler's silver coinage, all of which were made of superior metal and well executed. No further mention of copper coins is made in the Paṇḍit's paper.[2]

Though the information collected above is scanty, it is

[1] The British Museum possesses no specimen of the copper coinage of Chashtana.

[2] "The Western Kshatrapas," by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, Ph.D., M.R.A.S., edited by E. J. Rapson, M.A., M.R.A.S. (J.R.A.S. Vol. XXII. New Series, pages 641-647).

yet sufficient to show that the copper coinage of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta agreeing in type with the silver coinage was no new phenomenon. It was quite in accordance with local precedent. Nahapâna, like Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, struck plated coins, and Chashṭana, like them, issued copper coinage of the same type as the silver. Jayadâmâ struck copper coins in considerable quantity, but it is doubtful whether or not he issued any silver, and consequently doubtful whether his silver and copper coins agreed in type or not. The reverses, both of the silver coin attributed to him and of his undoubted copper coins, bear the symbols which are common on the silver coinage of the dynasty.

On the whole, I have come to the conclusion that the copper coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, which resemble in device and legend the silver coins of those kings, were for the most part a real copper coinage, and not merely forgeries of the silver coinage. Some copper coins coated with silver were issued in accordance with the precedent set by Nahapâna and many other sovereigns, but these should be regarded as a debased portion of the silver currency. It is not reasonable, I think, to suppose that all the numerous copper coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta were originally silver coated.

I do not quite understand why Dr. Bühler should positively assert that "none of these pieces have been issued by the Guptas themselves." I see no reason why they should not have been issued by Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, whose names they bear. The coins, like copper coins generally, are seldom in fine condition, but their mechanical execution is about equal to that of the similar silver coins, and exhibits no degradation. Dr. Bühler proceeds: "They are clearly ancient imitations, and the find-spots show that they were current in Valabhî." In my view the silver-plated coins are a debased issue of the silver coinage, probably struck during a period of financial pressure, and the coins which show no signs of plating are not imitations of the silver coinage. I regard

them rather as a genuine copper coinage, struck on the same type as the silver coinage, and the legitimate descendants of the copper coinage of the early Satraps. They may, of course, have been actually struck at the mints of the Maharâjas of Valabhî, feudatories or viceroys of the Gupta kings, but, inasmuch as they bear the names of the Gupta sovereigns, I think they should be regarded as the coins of those sovereigns. I do not perceive any indication of later date.

Full descriptions of good specimens of this copper coinage of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta are not available. The Sihor specimens in the British Museum seem to have a trident on the reverse, and thus to resemble certain Western types of the Gupta silver coinage. The coins found at Sihor and Valabhî were no doubt minted either at Valabhî or in the neighbourhood. The Fantail Peacock copper coin, which I obtained in Oudh, seems to be one of Kumâra Gupta's, and resembles the silver type of the northern provinces. It is possible that a Northern copper coinage, agreeing in type with the silver, may also have existed.

The only substantial reason why the whole of the copper coins in question should be supposed to be either forgeries or imitations of the silver coinage, is that a good many silver-coated pieces have been found. That reason has, I imagine, been sufficiently disposed of by the foregoing argument. The agreement in device and legend between the silver and copper coinage is no ground for denying the latter an independent legal status. Chandra Gupta II. used the Umbrella device, both for his gold and copper coins, and, if Mr. Thomas' note on the Freeling coin be accepted, Kumâra Gupta I. used on a gold Archer coin the legend of his Fantail Peacock pieces. So, in our own time, the almost absolute identity between certain of the gold and silver dies of the Jubilee coinage is a familiar and inconvenient fact.

Remembering the extreme rarity of the undoubted copper coinage of Kumâra Gupta I., and assuming that some, at

any rate, of his copper coins which resemble the silver ones are to be regarded as a genuine local copper coinage, it is interesting to find an exactly parallel case in Muhammadan India some nine centuries later.

Muhammad bin Tughlak, Sultân of Delhi (A.D. 1324–1351), issued, as is well known, for a space of about three years (A.H. 730–732), a forced token currency mainly composed of brass pieces, but including a few copper ones. The sovereign wished that these brass and copper tokens should be accepted as equivalent to the corresponding silver coins. Sometimes the silver values attributed to the tokens were inscribed on their surfaces, "but in many cases the equivalents of the current money have to be discovered from the approximation to the old standards, in form or weight, given to the representative brass tokens."

This issue of a token currency, however, did not prevent the issue of a real copper currency also during the same years. "There are very few specimens of the exclusively copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak; the copper currency *proper* seems to have been confined to the three examples quoted below (Nos. 209, 210, 211), but in many cases dies intended for the small silver coins, and the less marked and declaratory legends of the forced currency, seem to have been employed to stamp copper, which, in the fulness of its weight, carried its own value in the market, irrespective of any especial superscription."[1]

This case seems to me to be very closely similar to that under discussion. The silver-coated coins of Kumâra Gupta I. and Skanda Gupta may be compared with the forced currency of the Sultan, and the employment of dies originally intended for the small silver coins to stamp copper, circulating as copper, appears to be common to both cases.

MISCELLANEOUS COINS.

I take this opportunity of bringing together notices of certain miscellaneous coins, which are not well known in

[1] Thomas, "The Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi," pp. 243-253.

Europe. They are all closely related to the coinage of the Gupta dynasty, and are referable approximately to the Gupta period.

I. Chandra.

Mr. C. J. Rodgers submitted to me in 1890 a coin of which I recorded at the time the following description:—

Obv. King standing to l., casting incense on altar; trident with fillet on stem above altar; king's l. arm raised, and passed through loop of spear. Legend arranged vertically; under arm च *Cha*, and outside spear (?) गु Gupta.
न्द्र *ndra* प्त

But of this latter word only the character प, *p*, seemed distinct. Mr. Rodgers was inclined to read the word षक, *Shaka*.

Rev. Throned goddess, carrying cornucopiæ; her body attenuated and wasp-like. No legend. Mon. 19*a* or 19*b*. Wt. 118·75. Metal pale gold. In good condition. Cost sixteen rupees.

In spite of the name 'Chandra,' and the doubtful reading of 'Gupta,' it appears impossible to ascribe this piece to the Gupta dynasty. It was obtained at Haripur in the Panjâb, and its style indicates that it was struck in that part of the country. It resembles in general appearance the well-known Indo-Scythian coins with legends in old Nâgarî, or, as Mr. Thomas expressed it, "with Hindî legends."

Sir A. Cunningham has a somewhat similar coin bearing the name 'Samudra.'

I am inclined to believe that the coins of this class are a little earlier than the Gupta coinage, but very little is really known about them.

II. Basana.

Mr. Rodgers describes a coin in the Lahore Museum as follows:—

Obv. King in armour, standing to r.; l. hand grasps a staff, r. hand is making an offering at an altar. Above r. arm is a *triśûl* with fillet. Under l. arm *Pasana*, or *Pasata*;

letters one above the other, as on Gupta coins. To r. ग्न (?) indefinite.

Rev. Female seated on throne, holds cornucopiæ in l. hand, and in r. a wreath, as on Gupta coins. To l. a monogram, not well defined. Wt. 113·2.[1]

Mr. Rodgers showed me a similar coin, made of brass, or very debased gold. Its weight was said to be 65·65.

When reviewing Mr. Rodger's Catalogue in the Indian Antiquary (1892), I read the name as *Pasata*; I am indebted to Sir A. Cunningham for pointing out that it really is *Basana*. I have since seen specimens with a dealer in London, which leave no doubt as to the reading.

But I am unable to say who *Basana* was. The name is probably that of a foreigner, and his coins belong to the series of Indo-Scythian coins with old Nâgarî legends.

III. Doubtful.

A coin of the 'elephant-rider' type described in Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1882, pp. 91, 104.

Dr. Hoernlé has since suggested that this coin may be assignable to the reign of Kumâra Gupta (I.). The figure gives me the impression that the coin dates from the sixth century.

IV. Narendra.

A curious piece, certainly belonging to the later Gupta period, is incorrectly described and very badly figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1852 (vol. xxi. p. 402, pl. xii. 11).

Sir A. Cunningham possesses a rough sketch of the coin, but it is impossible to describe it accurately from the materials available in England. I hope Dr. Hoernlé will publish the piece properly. It was found in the Jessore district of Bengal, in company with a coin which may be one of Śaśâñka (fig. 12), and "specimens of the silver coinage of Chandra Gupta, Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Gupta."

[1] Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore, p. 53, Nos. 5–8. No. 5, the coin described in the text, is the only specimen at all distinct.



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The published description is as follows:—

"No. 2, fig. 11, appears likewise to be a Gupta coin, and is evidently an unique specimen of its kind. On the obverse it has the râjâ seated on a stool, with a nimbus round his head, and attended by two females standing by his side; above his left hand is an indistinct monogram. On the reverse is a standing female figure holding branches of lotus in her hands; before her is a peacock, and to the left the letters श्री नरेन्द्र (गुप्त ?), (Gupta ?) in the Gupta character."

The plate shows that the king is squatted on his throne or stool, facing front, with his feet tucked up. The character over his left shoulder is the letter ह, *h*. The reverse female does not hold the lotus-stalks, she is between them.

Dr. Hoernlé has suggested that this may be a coin of Nara Siñha Gupta, who is probably the Nara Bâlâditya known from coins. This may be the case.

According to Sir A. Cunningham (*Reports*, vol. ix. p. 157) king Śasâñka (A.D. 600) bears the title Narendra Gupta in certain Jain books, but the passage in the books has not been textually quoted.

It is impossible at present to say who struck the coin in question.

V. S'ASÂÑKA.

BULL TYPE.

Obv. King, facing front, mounted on recumbent bull, which is to l.; king's r. hand, or elbow, on bull's hump, his l. hand raised, holding a flower; his l. knee tucked up, his r. leg hanging over bull's side. Disk over bull's head. Below bull सक, *Saka*.

Rev. Lakshmî on lotus-seat, in debased style, but the legs are separate, and not combined into a bar, as in the debased Gupta coins; her r. hand extended, holding a (?) lotus-bud without stalk in the palm; her l. arm grasps a sceptre, or stalked lotus-bud. Legend on r. margin श्री शशाङ्क, *S'rî S'asâñka*. Mon. sometimes wanting.

Gold alloyed; coarse dots round margin of both obv. and rev.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Rev. legend, and legend below the bull distinct. No obv. marginal legend. Wt. not stated. No mon.

C. On r. obv. margin two characters not read. Two characters below bull, of which first is स, *s*. Nothing in Lakshmî's r. hand. Legend on r. margin, श्री श, *S'ri S'a*—. Mon. indistinct, nearly 10*d*. Wt. not stated. From Gayâ.

According to Sir A. Cunningham, who has briefly noticed these coins (*Reports* iii. 138), Śasânka ruled a country called Kirṇa Suvarṇa, supposed to be identical with Sâpharan on the Subanrikha (Suvarṇarekhā) river in Bengal (*Reports*, viii. 189, 191). He destroyed the *Bodhi-drûm*, or sacred tree, at Buddha-Gayâ, about A.D. 600 (*Reports*, i. 5, 10, and iii. 80). He is said to be called Narendra Gupta in certain Jain books (*Reports*, ix. 157). His seal has been found inscribed on a rock at Rohtâs (Rohtâsgaṛh) in the Shâhâbâd district of Bihâr (*Reports*, vii. pl. vi.), and a tank named after him exists at Bhâsu Bihâr in the Bagrahâ (Bogra) district of Bengal, which place is supposed to be the Po-shi-po of Hiuen Tsiang (*Reports*, xv. 102).

Contents of Plate III.

Figure.	Metal.	Reign.	Type and Variety.	Reference.
1	Æ	Vishṇu Deva	Aśvamedha	B.M.
2	AV	Chandra Gupta II.	Archer, variety α	Barstow.
3	,,	,,	Combatant Lion, variety α	,,
4	,,	Kumâra Gupta I.	Archer, Class I., variety 1	,,
5	,,	,,	,, Class II.	,,
6	,,	,,	Horseman to Right, variety γ	,,
7	,,	,,	Lion-Trampler, variety α	,,
8	,,	,,	Peacock, variety α	Taylor.
9	,,	,,	,, variety β	,,
10	,,	,,	Tiger (Combatant Lion)	Temple.

Art. V.—*Professor Sayce and the Burmese Language.* By Bernard Houghton, M.R.A.S., Deputy Commissioner, Sandoway, Burma.

Notwithstanding that the position of Burmese philologically has been fixed with some precision, that it possesses a literature, and that several Anglo-Vernacular works on it are in existence, the references to it in scientific and other works are generally marred by errors and misconceptions of detail. The absence of any grammar (in the proper sense of the word) of this language, has probably much to do with these mistakes. Dr. Judson's book is a mere skeleton grammar devoid of examples or exercises to show the manner in which the various rules are worked in practice, whilst it is deficient in syntax, and in information about poetical Burmese. As yet the annexation of Upper Burma, although it has given a great impulse to almost everything connected with the province, has failed to produce anything noteworthy in the way of helps to the study of Burmese, if we except a few crude elementary works which are no improvement on those already in existence.

Again, the Tibeto-Burman family of speech is perhaps one of the least studied of all, the attention of those philologists who incline to the study of the languages of the Mongoloid rather than of the Aryan races, being chiefly devoted to those better known to European travellers and traders. With the partial exception of Burmese, the latter have had hitherto, it must be admitted, but little opportunity to study either the people or languages of this branch of the human race.

The extent of the existing ignorance regarding the Tibeto-Burman languages may be judged from the fact that in books like the "Introduction to the Science of

Language," written by so eminent an authority as Prof. Sayce, there is not a single reference to Burmese which is not open to criticism. This work has now reached a third edition without the errors in this respect being corrected, and it would therefore appear high time for some notice to be taken of them. In endeavouring to point out the mistakes of detail into which the learned Professor has been lead, doubtless by incorrect information, I have, of course, no intention of contesting his deservedly high authority as regards the general principles of the science of language.

It would be interesting to know who is reponsible for the translation (in vol. i. p. 123) of "*ṅā dō dhwā kra dhaṅ*" (sic) by "I multitude go multitude which." All three subordinate words have here fictitious meanings given to them, whereas, as a matter of fact, they are true agglutinative suffixes, having no longer any meaning by themselves in Burmese. *Dō*, or rather *tō* (with the short tone), is an ordinary plural particle, and may possibly be a derivative of the root *tō* (with the heavy tone), meaning to 'increase,' but it has certainly no connection with the only two existing roots *tō* (short tone) which mean respectively 'to touch lightly,' and 'a kind of basket.' Whether it is, or is not connected with *a-twē* 'a mass,' and hence 'a multitude' (as in *lū-twē*),[1] is foreign to the question of the existence of the plural particle *tō* as a distinct root. It is certain that this is not the case, and that in this respect, Burmese is no more isolating than the Dravidian languages with their *kal* or *lu*.

The example of *kra* is still more unfortunate, since there is no known root in the Burmese language with which this particle can even be remotely connected. It is a plural affix, pure and simple, boasting probably of a very high antiquity indeed. It is perhaps connected with the Manipuri *khoi*, Southern Chin *hyaw*.

[1] This would seem improbable. *Twē* is probably derived from *twē*, 'to hang together.'

The translation of *dhañ* (*θañ*) by 'which' is of course obviously wrong, as (apart from other considerations) the relative pronouns are unknown in Burmese and its cognate languages. The mistake has probably arisen from the fact that this verbal particle (*θañ*) can be used to form what is known in the Dravidian languages as a "Relative Participle." The origin of the verbal particle transliterated by *θañ*, is somewhat obscure, and it seems very doubtful whether it is connected with the colloquial *θañ* meaning 'this.' There is no doubt, however, that in its use as a particle, it has no more a separate existence than any Turkish or Tamil verbal suffix. (From certain analogies, it would seem somewhat doubtful whether the colloquial pronunciation of this word does not give its real form.)

It appears, therefore, that the sentence quoted by Professor Sayce, would show that Burmese is an agglutinative rather than an isolating language. It is not part of our province now to discuss how far respectively these two elements enter into the Burmese language, but it is certainly rash to class it, unhesitatingly, with Chinese as an isolating language (see *infra*).

On page 129 it is stated that Chinese differs from Burmese in that the Chinese mode of expressing the relations of the sentence by position is replaced in the latter language by the use of words like *prū* (sic) 'to do,' *khã* 'to suffer,' *khōñ* (sic) 'possession,' *mha* (sic) 'from.' Now Chinese certainly differs from Burmese in several respects in the construction of the sentence, but the above can scarcely be considered happy examples of the differences that do exist. In the first place, the use of *pru* with a verbal noun in *khrang* is rarely, if ever, met with colloquially, being confined to the more stilted language of the books and to formal communications, such as official orders. It is, in fact, a mere refinement in the language, intended for the use of scholars and officials, and would be considered very affected indeed in ordinary conversation. Thus *θū raik-hnak-khrang pru-θañ* is quite correct Burmese, but it is a form which in ordinary use has never superseded the

simpler *θu raik-hnak-θañ.* This use, however, of the verb *pru* has a close analogy in Chinese in the use of the verb *tā* 'to strike,' used in the sense of 'doing'; compare Chinese *tā huā* 'to speak' with Burmese (*hnut*)-*mrwak*-(*khrang*) *pru.* The use of the construction with the verb *tā* (prefixed), would thus seem to correspond closely with that with *pru* (affixed).

The example of *khan* 'to suffer,' which is used to form the passive in Burmese, is also not a happy one, for although this relation can be expressed by position only in Chinese, one of the words also used to denote it is *pi* which means to 'suffer,' and corresponds exactly with *khan.*[1] There would seem to be some mistake about the word *khōñ* 'possession,' since there is no word at all resembling it in Burmese, but perhaps *pain* is meant. This verb is occasionally, but not often, used as an auxiliary in the sense of 'ought,' 'to be one's duty'; *e.g. θū θwā-paiñ-θañ* 'he ought to go,' 'it is his duty to go.' To this construction there is a parallel in Chinese in the use of *kē* or *tāng* (prefixed). As regards *hma* 'from,' Chinese has, of course, several prepositions with that meaning which can be prefixed to nouns; but it is quite true that, speaking generally, it has no conjunctive affix corresponding with *hma* when used with verbs. Chinese has apparently an objection to the use of connecting words in stringing together the different parts of a sentence, but this dislike of conjunctive affixes is not confined to them. We have observed it both amongst jungle Burmans and amongst Chins.

A passage on page 390 leaves it to be inferred that in Prof. Sayce's opinion, the chief difference, morphologically, between Chinese and Burmese is that the order in which the parts of the sentence follow one another is more or less free in Chinese, whilst it is fixed in Burmese. Without pretending to any special knowledge of the former language, I would point out that in Chinese, as in Burmese, the

[1] As a matter of fact the identical root *khan* 'to suffer,' is found in Chinese, but it is not apparently used there to form a passive.

subject precedes the verb and the adjective the substantive; that the first of two substantives coming together is in the possessive case, and that the subordinate sentence as a rule precedes. In Burmese, however, as will be pointed out *infra*, the adjective does not invariably precede the substantive, so that in this respect, the order of words is rather freer in it than in Chinese. Moreover, in Burmese poetry the rules prescribing the order of the different parts of a sentence are practically laid aside, and it may safely be said that in no Chinese works are words strung together with fewer subsidiary particles and with a completer absence of fixed order than in poetical Burmese. The subject of the comparative morphology of Chinese and Burmese is too large a one to be entered on here, but it may be remarked *en passant* that the former would *primâ facie* seem to differ from the latter chiefly in the absence of conjunctive suffixes, the position of the verb, and the use of prefixes instead of suffixes with nouns. The comparative fixity or looseness of the order of words seems scarcely to be a very distinguishing mark between these two languages.

On page 386 we notice two small slips; *khya* does not mean to 'throw' generally (denoted by *pach*), but merely to 'throw down,' or to 'fell,' and is therefore precisely the active of *kya*, to 'fall down.'

To 'fill' is properly *prañ* (short tone), though it is pronounced colloquially *pri* (*pyi*),—not to be confounded with *prí* (heavy tone) = to be finished,—and the corresponding active verb is therefore *phrañ*.

In the classification of the different members of the Tibeto-Burmese family, we notice that Prof. Sayce has followed Mr. Cust in his "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies," and has consequently classified certain languages as belonging to the Mūnipur(*sic*)-Chittagong group. Now, in the first place, the use of the word Chittagong in this connection is misleading, as the Chittagonians proper have apparently no Mongoloid blood in them, but are of mongrel Aryan and what-not descent. The hill-men included in this group are as different in

speech, physique, and habits from the ordinary Chittagonian as is water from oil. In the second place, the reasons given by Mr. Cust for distinguishing the languages of this group from the Burmese one, are scarcely very cogent. They seem to be (1) a supposed necessity of accounting separately for the inhabitants of the water-shed between the Irrawaddy and the Brahmaputra, and (2) the fact that the dominant religion on one side is Hindu and on the other Buddhist.

As to (1), it would doubtless be more symmetrical if the line of the water-shed formed an exact boundary between Aryan and Mongoloid. But the fact is, unfortunately, that it is not so; and that masterful as is the Aryan race, and far-spreading as are their languages, the inhabitants of all this hill-country are pure Mongoloids both in race and in speech. The mere fact that they border on Aryan civilization forms no reason in itself for making a separate class of them, and is the more futile as the very same thing is true of the Burmans in Arakan.

As to the people on one side being Hindus and on the other Buddhists, that is scarcely a reason for differentiating people philologically. It must, moreover, be remembered that the Burmans to this day, in spite of their orthodox Buddhism, worship the same fairies *mutato nomine* as do these hill-men, who, though styled Pagan by Mr. Cust, have at least a far purer and better system of worship than, at any rate, the Hindus. The absurdity of the arrangement is well shown by the placing of Shendu (Shandu) and Sak in one group, whilst Kumi (Kami) and Khyen (Chin) are shown in another. The Shandus, Kamis, Lushais and the Chins (especially the Baungshe and other more Northerly ones), are most intimately allied, and any classification which would separate them, must be radically wrong. Owing, however, to the little that is known of many of these tribes, accurate sub-classification can scarcely yet be attempted, and in such a case, it would seem obviously the safest course not to attempt one. It seems indeed probable that the Karens and the Hill-men of the Arakanese Yoma mountains are later arrivals than the Burmans, but beyond this little can

be predicated of their mutual relationship. To lump them provisionally together under a 'Burma' group, might perhaps be the best arrangement at present.

As regards the last three members of the so-called Munipur-Chittagong group, the location of the Banjogis—this scarcely sounds like a Tibeto-Burman name—seems doubtful, whilst the Sak and Kyaus are so microscopical in numbers that they might well be omitted. Again, the word 'Arakanese' might with advantage be substituted for "Mug or Rakheng." It seems somewhat rash, by-the-bye, to style the whole Tibeto-Burman group *isolating*, since besides the language of the Southern Chins, that of the Bodos and Dhimals can be shown to be distinctly agglutinative, whilst agglutinative tendencies are not wanting in several of the others, not even excepting Burmese itself.

On page 226 (vol. ii.) exception must be taken to the use of *ran pru*, as though this expression was a single word. The two words *ran* and *pru* are every whit as distinct as the English 'make' and 'strife' with which they are precisely analogous, the only difference being that the verb is placed after the noun instead of before it. In *ran pru*, moreover, the verb *pru* is in the imperative singular (the only case in which the bare root can be used in the Burmese conjugation), and to translate 'to make strife' some suffix must be added to *pru* according to the meaning we attach to that English expression. Further, in *lu-gale* (*lu kalē*) the last word has not the meaning of the English 'young,' which idea cannot, in fact, be expressed in Burmese by a single word. (*Lū* is inadvertently translated by 'horse,' instead of 'man.') It (*kalē* or *akalē*) is certainly used separately to mean 'a child' or 'a baby,' but it seems not improbable that this is a mere shortened form of the compound word *lū-kalē*. The fact of *kalē* being dissyllabic, would point to its being itself a compound and not a simple word, and if the reading *lū-ṅa-lē*, which occurs in some books (though the word is pronounced *lūgalē*),[1] is correct, it would

[1] The change of *ṅ* into *k* and *vice versâ* is not uncommon in this family of tongues, and several examples could easily be given.

suggest a possible etymology. *Nā* is an old root not now used, meaning 'to be equal or equivalent to,' thus the expression *lū ṅa nwā* means 'a man like to a bullock,' that is in colloquial English 'an idiot of a fellow,' the bullock in the Far East having a reputation in point of intelligence similar to that popularly given to the Western donkey.[1] Now there is a root in Burmese *hlē*[2] to 'be minute' with the meaning as a noun *a-hlē* of 'a minute particle, dust, chaff,' and if we suppose, (which is not unreasonable), that the aspiration has been dropped, the original expression would be *lū-ṅā-hlē*, which analogously to that mentioned above, would mean 'an atom of a fellow,' that is, 'a little man.' If this etymology is correct, it is quite evident that the words *lū-galē* had not originally the meaning assigned to it by Professor Sayce.

Finally, the statement on page 229 (vol. ii.) that in Burmese the defining word must precede, requires limitation; since it very often also follows the word defined, *e.g.* one can say *chhō-θañ lū* or *lū-chhō*. The latter is, in fact, the ordinary usage in the case of the more common adjectives, or rather verbs used adjectively. The prefixing of the defining word as in Chinese, is perhaps the true method, but the affixing of it is, nevertheless, common enough in many of the other languages cognate to Burmese.

[1] Cf. also *hṅak ṅa nwā* 'the bird like a bullock,' *i.e.* the Imperial pigeon which makes a noise like a bullock. This is, however, a local and not a general term for the bird.

[2] Both *hlē* and *lē* (*lū-kalē*) have the heavy tone.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letter from Major Temple appeared in the *Academy* of Oct. 29th :—

1. Models of the Mahabodhi Temple.

London, Oct. 22, 1892.

General Cunningham, in his work on the Mahabodhi Temple to which I adverted last week, states in his Preface (p. ix.) that Mr. Beglar, in carrying out the restorations, added four corner pavilions to the main temple, on the authority of a small stone model of the old temple as it stood in mediæval times, which he found among the ruins. General Cunningham tells us that this additional work has been much criticised, and that both he and Mr. Beglar have been roundly abused for it. The General further adds that he has discovered a second model of the Mahabodhi in the Indian Museum at Calcutta found at Mrohaung, the ancient capital of Arakan.

I have no particular desire to plunge into what is really a barren controversy; but I think it right to note the following facts, which go to show that Mr. Beglar was in fact right in his "restoration." Models of the Mahabodhi are common in Burma in many materials, and in all sizes from forty or fifty feet high downwards. It was, indeed, a practice to construct large working models of great buildings as a guide to the architect. A good example of this is to be seen at Mingûn near Mandalay, in the case of the huge pagoda there projected by King Bodawphayâ about 1781 A.D. and never finished. Both the unfinished remains of

this pagoda, probably the largest brick building, even as it is, that exists, and its models are figured in Yule's *Embassy to Ava.* It was this pagoda that Symes and Cox saw in progress during their respective embassies in the last century.

As to the Mahabodhi models, I had a wooden one of the upper part of the tower for some time in my possession at Mandalay. It had evidently formed part of the late King's property, and was a portion, no doubt, of a complete model about six feet high.

There is one some twenty feet high on the platform of the great Shwezîgôn Pagoda at Pagan. This is still held in respect, and whitewashed periodically. There is another, of modern structure probably, and much debased in form, near the ruined Mahâchêtî Pagoda at Pegu. This is also kept whitewashed. There is a third very fine and complete one at Pagan, which is much larger, say forty feet high, and in very good preservation, though old. I may note here that the extreme dryness and almost complete desertion of the site of Pagan has served to maintain its ruins in an unusually complete form.

Now as to dates. The Shwezîgôn Pagoda was originally built by the great King Anawratâzaw in the eleventh century A.D., and restored with much grandeur by another great king, Sinbyûyin, about 1765 A.D. The Mahâchêtî Pagoda was a frequented shrine in the days of the great king Dhammachêtî, of Pegu, in the fifteenth century A.D. The model at Pagan I think dates back unquestionably to a time previous to the complete desertion, after desolation, of that city in 1280 A.D. In any case the construction of these models was long anterior to Mr. Beglar's operations, and had no reference whatever to the controversy that arose over them.

Now as to the Shwezîgôn model, I do not clearly recollect whether it has four small pavilions at the corners, and in my photographs of the pagoda unfortunately the base of the model is hidden by other structures. But as to the other two models there can be no doubt. They have each

pavilions at the corners. Indeed, any photograph of the large model at Pagân might almost have been taken from the restored Mahabodhi itself, so like are the two structures, even to the corner pavilions.

Here then we have a large scale model of the Mahabodhi, which is at least 600 years old, showing the corner pavilions. To my mind therefore Mr. Beglar was no doubt right in his action, and his opponents wrong in their criticism.

R. C. Temple.

2. The Uposatha and Upasampadâ Ceremonies.

Dear Sir,—In response to your invitation, I have much pleasure in giving you the following slight details of the Buddhist ceremonies known as Uposatha and Upasampadâ, as lately witnessed by me in Ceylon. On March 27th of the present year, I was permitted to stand at the door of the large hall at the Malwatta Monastery in Kandy, while the Uposatha ceremony was conducted within. At about four in the afternoon, the tolling of the temple bell summoned the Bhikkhus to the hall. They were rōbed in the peculiar manner which is usual on such occasions, namely, with a sort of stole hanging over the shoulder, and reaching, both before and behind, to below the knees, and their yellow robes tied in at the waist with a yellow sash. Two or three of the Bhikkhus left the hall at the end of the Pârâjikâ Dhammâ. The rest remained to the end of the Aniyatâ Dhammâ, and then proceeded at once to the concluding formula commencing "Udditthaṁ kho," and so brought the ceremony to a close (omitting all the rest of the Pātimokkha). To the best of my recollection there were something like twenty-five or thirty Bhikkhus present. The Uposatha is held fortnightly at the Malwatta Monastery, at the new moon and the full moon, or more often, as it seems, on the day which precedes the new and the full moon. I attended again on April 25th. Each of the Bhikkhus carried with him a small mat to kneel on. The details of the ceremony appeared to agree

very closely with Sir Frederick Dickson's account of what he witnessed on a similar occasion at Anurâdhapura (J.R.A.S. Vol. VIII. *n.s.*). When the stanzas beginning "Ye ca Buddhâ" and ending "Cittaṁ pâpehi muñcataṁ" had been repeated, the chanting of the Pâtimokkha was proceeded with; but, as on the previous occasion, one of the Bhikkhus left at the end of the Pârâjikâ, and the rest proceeded with the list of offences only as far as the end of the Aniyatâ Dhammâ. A Bhikkhu informed me that they had not time that afternoon to go right through the Pâtimokkha, as the High Priest had to leave, but that when time permitted they went through the whole service. It would seem, however, that this habit of cutting short the service must have long been more or less prevalent. For Sir F. Dickson in his edition of the text (*loc. cit.*) actually prints the closing formula Uddiṭṭhaṁ kho, etc.), and that without a word of explanation or note, in the middle of the service as well as in its right place, at the end of the whole. (See Rhys Davids, Vinaya Texts, vol. i. p. 69.)

On May 11th, the full-moon day of the month Wesak, I was present at the Upasampadâ Ordination, also held at the Malwatta Monastery. The examination of the candidates had taken place the day before, but two more having since turned up, a further examination was held for their benefit in the afternoon. It was conducted in a small room at the side of the quadrangle. The Superior of the Wihāra (Mahā Nāyakā) sat on a mat at the end of the room; other Bhikkhus sat along the sides; and the two candidates sat at the end of the room opposite to the Superior. One of the Bhikkhus at the sides began to put questions to one of the candidates, which the latter replied to, reciting, as far as I could gather, some passages of considerable length from the Tripiṭaka. The first candidate then retired, and a similar process of examination was gone through with the second, who, however, failed. There were altogether ten candidates who had satisfied the examiners; and these were then decked in princely finery, to be afterwards exchanged for the yellow

robes, in imitation of the renunciation of the world by Gotama. In the evening, the candidates were conducted in a procession through the town, and returned to the Malwatta at about ten o'clock. The preliminary service, or ordination of Sâmaṇeras, occupied about an hour. Each candidate came up in turn to the President of the Chapter, and went through the form of praying him for admission as a Sâmaṇera, and receiving from him the yellow robes. When the first had done this he retired, and while a second was before the President, the first, having put on his robes, proceeded with the service with his own special tutor. The second and the third did the same, until there were several candidates standing and kneeling about, each repeating the service with his own tutor at the same time. To the onlooker the scene appeared rather confused. But when the preliminary service was finished, and the priestly ordination began, all trace of confusion disappeared. Each candidate in turn, holding his clasped hands before his forehead, went through the whole service, as described by Sir Frederick Dickson (J.R.A.S. Vol. VII. *n.s.*), before the next began. No books were used by the tutors, who seemed all to know the words by heart. It took three or four hours for the ten candidates to be conducted through the ceremony. When the homily at the end had been addressed to the nouitiates, one or two short passages of Pirit were recited; and at 2.45 a.m. the proceedings terminated with loud shouts of "Sâdhu!" All the Bhikkhus in Ceylon of the principal, or Siamese sect (so I was informed by a very intelligent Bhukkhu present on this occasion), are ordained at the Malwatta and Asgiriya Monasteries in Kandy, where the Upasampadâ Ordination is held annually.

Excuse the meagreness of these particulars, as I did not attend these interesting services with any thoughts of writing for the Journal of the Asiatic Society.—Yours very truly,

London, Dec. 9th, 1892. ERNEST M. BOWDEN.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

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I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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2. Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

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Bickell (G.). Kritische Bearbeitung des Iob-Dialogs (Fortsetzung).

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Vambéry (H.). Zwei moderne centralasiatische Dichter, Munis und Emir.

Müller (F.). Bemerkungen zum Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary von Hoshangji-Haug.

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Müller (D. H.). Palmyrenica aus dem British Museum.

Bickell (G.). Kritische Bearbeitung des Iob-Dialogs (Fortsetzung).

II. Obituary Notices.

M. Ernest Renan.—We have lost one of the most illustrious of our Honorary Members—illustrious in many ways, though in this *Journal* he must chiefly be regarded from the point of view of an Oriental scholar. But it is right to remark, that no Frenchman of this generation surpassed him in the gracious elegance of his style: never was French

prose so musical, flowing, pliant, and expressive, as under his touch.

Born at Treguier, in Brittany, in the year 1823, he was intended to be a priest, but his intellect was of too fine a clay to be fashioned in that mould, and he left the Seminary before he was admitted to the priesthood. Thenceforward his life was devoted to literature and philosophy; in 1848 he obtained the Volney prize for an Essay on Semitic Languages; in 1862 he was appointed to the Chair of Hebrew in the College de France, but, owing to a serious disturbance at his first lecture, the appointment was cancelled by Government; in 1870, after the fall of the Empire, he was reinstated; in 1878 he was elected Member of the Academy; in 1885 he was Vice-Rector of the College de France, in the precincts of which he died on the 2nd of October, 1892. His place can never be filled; the mould, in which such intellects are cast, is broken.

Subjoined is a list of M. Renan's works:—"Vie de Jésus," "Les Apôtres," "St. Paul," "Antichrist," "Les Evangiles et la Seconde Generation Chrétienne," "Marc Aurèle et la fin du Monde Antique," "Le Livre de Job," "Le Cantique des Cantiques," "L'Ecclesiaste," "Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques," "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," "E'tudes d'Histoire Religieuse," "Nouvelles E'tudes d'Histoire Religieuse," "Averroes et l'Averroisme," "Essais de Morale et de Critique," "Mélanges d'Histoire et de Voyages," "Questions Contemporaines," "La Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale de l'Origine du Language," "Dialogues Philosophiques," "Caliban," "L'Eau de Jouvence," "Le Prêtre de Nemi," "L'Abbesse de Jouarre," "Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse," "Discours et Conférences," "L'Avenir de la Science," "Mission de Phénice," "Conférences d'Angleterre." The two remaining volumes of his "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel" are ready for publication, and it is understood that he has also left some further reminiscences, which are not to be published for five years.

As a theologian and a scholar he leaves, perhaps, something which we might desire to amend, but his mode of

expression is delightful and not to be surpassed; his sunny pages illuminate any subject which he touches. His scholarly work, "Comparative History of Semitic Languages," will not soon, if ever, be superseded. His annual reports of the Proceedings of the Société Asiatique are intellectual treats; if others helped him, still the conception of the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum was his. Those, who heard in London the kindly fat old man deliver his Hibbert lectures, will not easily forget the effect. I had the honour of escorting him to the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, and exhibiting our Manuscripts. He had that courteous gentleness and intelligent sympathy, which is a French speciality. He was affable to the humblest; he scarcely ever contradicted for fear of offending. When he heard a fallacy, he put himself forward to refute it, commencing "Vous avez mille fois raison, mais," and then in lucid terms he would so express himself as to correct errors without wounding self-love: there was gentle play of wit in many of his expressions. "The Histoire d'Israel" and "Histoire des origines du Christianism" were his most important works. His life of Marcus Aurelius resuscitated into new life the forgotten virtues of the Roman Emperor. The "Vie de Jesus" will always raise a difference of opinion; perhaps it is not deserving either of the very high praise, or the severe condemnation, which have been attached to it.

It seems a privilege to have known him, and listened to the old man's eloquence; he has written some pages which will live as long as the French language lives. The readers, who understand the beauties of the French language, will not regret the time spent in reading his sentences. Some of his ideas are legacies to a never-ending future. A public funeral in Montemartre was decreed to him, funeral addresses were delivered over his remains in the presence of the greatest men of the period in Paris. He desired that the inscription on his tomb should be "Veritatem dilexi." Some day his remains will be transferred to the Pantheon.

R. N. C.

October 16*th*, 1892.

The following obituary is taken from the *Academy* of Oct. 29th:—

Dr. C. Schütz.—The death of Dr. C. Schütz, at the age of eighty-seven, carries us back to the very early days of Sanskrit studies in Europe. At first, after Bopp, Schlegel, and Humboldt had made the existence of a Sanskrit literature known in Germany, to edit a single text like Nala, or a play like *Sakuntala*, was considered a very great achievement indeed. No one thought of attempting more; and to attack the difficult artificial poetry of Mâgha or Bhâravi would have been considered, at the time, *ultra vires* by the best students of Sanskrit. Dr. Schütz was the first, or one of the first, who discovered the usefulness of Sanskrit commentaries, and was able with their aid to grapple successfully with the obscure style of the artificial poetry of India. In 1837 he published his translation of *Five Songs of the Bhatti Kâvya*, which was followed in 1843 by his translation of *Mâgha's Sisupâlabadha*, and in 1845 by that of *Bhâravi's Kirâtârgunîya*. In all these translations Dr. Schütz showed himself a painstaking and conscientious scholar; and though these poems themselves have almost ceased to interest European scholars, their study and that of their commentaries proved an excellent discipline to those who afterwards entered upon an independent examination of the treasures of Sanskrit literature, and who had perceived that a familiarity with the style of native commentators formed an indispensable condition of real progress. Unfortunately, Dr. Schütz was forced to fall out of the ranks of the advancing army of Sanskrit scholars by blindness, which attacked him in 1858. Since that time his name has been but little heard of among Orientalists. Some of his school-books for French and English literature seem to have enjoyed a wide and lasting popularity. He died at Bielefeld last month, deeply mourned by his numerous pupils and by his fellow-citizens. His name will always be mentioned with respect in the history of Sanskrit scholarship.

The Marquis D'Hervey de Saint-Denis.—We are sorry to announce the death of the well-known Chinese scholar, the Marquis D'Hervey de Saint-Denis, which occurred a few days since in Paris. The Marquis was born in 1823, and was therefore nearly seventy years of age, but although for some time his health had been failing the end was sudden, and, indeed, to within a day or two of his death he pursued his usual avocations. From his youth up he devoted himself to the study of Oriental languages, and especially Chinese, which he studied in the École des Langues orientales vivantes. He subsequently became assistant to Stanislas Julien at the Collège de France, and, on the death of that scholar in 1874, he succeeded him as professor. He was a prolific writer on Chinese. Some of his best known works are his "Poésies de L'Époque des Thang, 1862"; his "Translation of the Ethnographical Chapters of Ma Twanlin's Encyclopædia"; and his "Recherches sur L'Agriculture des Chinois." He published also Translations of some Chinese Novelettes and a "Recueil de Textes faciles et gradués en Chinois moderne." He was a member of the Academy of Inscriptions, and represented China as Commissioner at the Exhibition of 1867. Though his scholarship did not possess the depth with which it has been credited by certain French newspapers during the last few days, his knowledge of Chinese was considerable and his enthusiasm in the study was undoubted.—*Athenæum.*

III. Notes and News.

The Buddhist Order in Ceylon.—According to the latest Ceylon Census Returns there are now 9598 members of the Buddhist Order in Ceylon. In the time of Hiouen Thsang there were said to be about double that number.

Semitic Comparative Grammar.—On p. 109 of his "Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts" (München, 1892) Prof. Fritz Hommel promises a comparative grammar of the older Semitic dialects. In this

he will endeavour to show that the Assyrians were the first to leave the original settlements of the Semites, and that of those who remained behind, the speech of the Aramæans and Arabs makes a separate class distinct from that of the Kainanites. He proposes also to include in the work a discussion of the relative position of Old Egyptian and Assyrian; he will have, therefore, to deal with some of the most interesting and important problems of the most ancient history; and his book will be looked forward to with a lively interest.

Baroda, the Shri Sayaji Library.—This local library promises to become a most important institution, and already reflects the greatest credit on the wise foresight and public spirit of its founder, Shrimant Sampatrao K. Gaikwad. Three catalogues, one of the books in English, another of the books in Marāthī, and a third of the books in Gujarātī have just been published at the "Gujarati Printing Press" in Bombay, and show how great has been the progress made. There is no mention of MSS. in these catalogues. It is much to be hoped that the library will make a specialty of acquiring MSS., more especially of the works (whether in Sanskrit or not) by authors born or resident in that portion of India. Future catalogues might then distinguish between MSS. and printed books, and give the date and place where the latter were printed.

Hebrew MSS. from Egypt.—A large collection of fragments of Hebrew MSS. discovered in Egypt was presented some months ago by the Rev. Greville J. Chester to the Cambridge University Library, and Mr. Schechter is engaged in the task of examining and classifying them.

The Dhammapada.—Under the title "Worte der Wahrheit" (Leipzig: Hœssel) Prof. Leopold von Schrœder, of Dorpat, has published a new translation into German verse of this popular text of the Buddhist canon. He has endeavoured to reproduce the beauty of the Pāli verse, and in this respect, at least, has surpassed all the previous versions. It is interesting to have to add one more to the list of Professors of Sanskrit who see the importance, in the history of

Indian thought, of works not written in Sanskrit, and it is to be hoped that the learned and gifted author will carry his Pāli studies into other and less hackneyed fields.

Semitic Notes.—Prof. Dr. D. H. Müller laid before the Semitic section of the last Congress of Orientalists the *Gedichte und Fragmente des 'Aus Ibn Hajar, gesammelt, herausgegeben und übersetzt von* Dr. Rudolf Geyer (126th vol. of the Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Histor. Classe).

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington has published the English translation (by Miss Henrietta Szold) of the late Prof. August Müller's biography of the late Prof. H. L. Fleischer.

An extract from as-Sajastāni's Gharib-al-Kur'ān with some introductory remarks concerning the author, his work, and the MSS., has just been published by Dr. Josef Feilchenfeld.

To the 3rd biennial report of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York is added an Essay on Manzur (*sic*) al-Dhamārī by Dr. Alexander Kohut, with Hebrew and Arabic extracts of his commentary on the Pentateuch.

Discovery of Early Christian Manuscripts.—A discovery has been made by Professor Harnack in examining some codices found in a twelfth-century grave in Upper Egypt. In these codices Professor Harnack asserts that he has recognized literary monuments of the oldest Christianity, which enjoyed the reputation of full or partial authenticity in Christian communities at the time when the canon of the New Testament was being formed, but were afterwards rejected and lost. They are three in number. One of them bears the title, "The Revelation of Peter." It is a prophetic book, resembling the Apocalypse of St. John, and was quoted as a sacred "scripture" by the great Christian teacher Clement of Alexandria in the second century after Christ. It is supposed to have been written by the Apostle Peter. Another is "The Gospel of Peter," a narrative of the life of Christ, similar to those of the four Gospels. It was in use in the second century, especially in the Syrian communities, and was at first admitted by

the ecclesiastical authorities, but afterwards stigmatized as gnostic. It, too, is supposed to have been written by St. Peter. The third codex contains considerable fragments of the Book of Enoch, a prophetic book, which was of high authority among the early Christians, but the origin of which is not cleared up. The ascription to the Old Testament patriarch "who walked with God" is, of course, a mere literary fiction. Professor Harnack intends to publish a full report of this important discovery in the January number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, edited by Professor Hans Delbrück.

The Budha-Gaya Temple.—The Budha-Gaya temple, near Gaya, is reverenced among Budhists as having been built on the spot where Budha attained Nirvana; but though visited by many Budhist pilgrims from Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, etc., it has long been in the hands of a Hindu religious community, whose head, the Mahant, claims to hold it in virtue of a sanad granted by the Mogul Emperors of Dehli about three centuries ago; but the original document is believed to have perished when the old records of the Gaya Collectorate were destroyed during the mutiny in 1857. The temple was repaired by Government in 1884, at a cost of 1¼ lakhs of rupees, and since then the temple and grounds have been in charge of the Magistrate of Gaya. From the year 1890 a subordinate of the Public Works Department has, with the consent of the Mahant, been appointed to act as custodian of the premises, and to carry out such repairs and petty works as are necessary. The pay of the custodian and the cost of executing the necessary repairs to the temple are borne by Government, the Mahant continuing to receive fees and gifts from pilgrims as now. During the past year applications were made to Government to support the schemes of a society named the Budha-Gaya Maha Bodhi Society, which has been formed in Ceylon with the object of purchasing the Budha-Gaya temple and site, and of founding there a Budhist monastic institution. The Lieutenant-Governor has, however, refused to interfere in the matter,

which is one that should be settled by private contract, and not by the authority of Government.

Quarters were constructed for the custodian of the temple, and a building is in course of erection to serve as a museum of fragments of sculpture picked up from the vicinity.

When Mr. Broadley was in charge of the Bihar sub-division, he made a collection of statues, by purchase and other means, from various parts of this sub-division, and that of Nowada. The collection was transferred to his successor, who, in his turn, after adding to it, transferred it to a Trust Committee, composed of the members of the Bihar Municipality, with the Commissioner and the Collector of Patna as President and Vice-President respectively. In 1888 the Director of the Archæological Survey of India called the attention of this Government to the deplorable state in which the collection was lying at the head-quarters of the Bihar sub-division, and suggested that a portion of them should be removed to Calcutta. The proposal was received in 1891, when the Commissioner of Patna, having reported that of the 19 members of the Committee one was dead and the others had resigned, and the Trustees of the Indian Museum having expressed a willingness to receive the whole collection, the Government sanctioned a grant of R5,000 to carry out the work of removing the whole collection to the Indian Museum at Calcutta, as well as of employing a skilled artist to make drawings of other remains left in the neighbourhood of Bihar.—*Hindu Patriot.*

University College, London.—The late Miss Amelia Edwards, the well-known Egyptologist, founded by her will a Chair of Egyptology in University College. This is the first endowment of the kind in this country. The Council of the College have appointed Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., to be the first Edwards Professor, and that gentleman will commence work there soon after Christmas. The appliances for study will include a library complete in works of reference for the history, language, and antiquities of Egypt, and upwards of 1000 photographs of monuments, with paper impressions of inscriptions. In addition to the

typical collection of Egyptian antiquities bequeathed to the college by Miss Edwards, Professor Petrie hopes to obtain the temporary loan of some valuable private collections. The Professor proposes to undertake the following work:—1. Lectures on current discoveries, on History, and on the systematic study of Egyptian Antiquities; 2. Lessons on the Language and Philology of Egypt; 3. Attendance in the library on fixed days for the assistance and direction of students working there; 4. Practical Training on Excavations in Egypt. London will thus have a new school for the study of the civilization of Egypt.

Oriental Linguists in the Army.—At the recent examination of officers in various foreign languages, two officers qualified as interpreters of Arabic and one as an interpreter of Turkish.

Tel-el-Amarna.—Mr. Percy E. Newberry, M.R.A.S., with a staff consisting of Mr. Percy Buckman (artist), Mr. John E. Newberry (architect), and Mr. Howard Carter (draughtsman), is leaving England this week for Upper Egypt, to carry on the archæological survey under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The great capital of Tel-el-Amarna will be the main seat of operations for the coming season. The private work of Professor Flinders Petrie during last winter has elucidated many points relating to the city itself, but the numerous rock-cut tombs of courtiers of the heretic king, with their abundant scenes and inscriptions, still await a thorough survey, and promise to throw much light on the official creed and mode of life in a remarkable epoch of Egyptian history.

Easter Island Antiquities.—Dr. Carrol thinks he has discovered a clue, in an ancient alphabet used in Central America, to the interpretation of the curious old statues found on the Easter Island. These antiquities are well known from the specimens under the entrance porch of the British Museum.

Buddhism in Mongolia.—Dr. Georg Huth, Privat-dozent at the University of Berlin, is publishing in the original Tibetan, with translation and notes, the history of Buddhism

in Mongolia, written in 1818 by Jigs-med Nam-ka. The first volume, containing the Tibetan text in native character, has just appeared (Strassburg: Trübner. Price 20 marks).

Siamese.—Dr. Wershoven has published a little grammar, reading book, and vocabulary of modern Siamese as the thirty-eighth volume of Hartheben's series of linguistic handbooks. This is a very useful and handy little volume.

Sanskrit MSS. at Cambridge.—Professor Aufrecht, who published many years ago the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at Oxford, is said to be about to take up his residence in Cambridge, with a view to cataloguing the Sanskrit MSS. there.

Tenth International Congress of Orientalists.—His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway has offered a Gold Medal for the best Essay on the following subject:—"A Comparative Treatment of the Grammatical Forms peculiar to the Rig-Veda, Yagur-Veda, Sama-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, distinguishing the Forms peculiar to the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, and Upanishads." MSS. should be sent Registered (with the name of the writer in a sealed envelope) to Prof. F. Max Müller, Oxford, not later than March 1st, 1894. The prize will be awarded at the Tenth Congress to be held at Geneva in September, 1894. The following gentlemen have consented to co-operate as judges:—Prof. Lanman, of Harvard College; M. Victor Henri, of the Paris University; and Prof. Oldenberg, of Kiel University.

Asoka's Mysore Inscriptions.—We are glad to see that M. Senart has published in the "Journal Asiatique" the important paper on Mr. Lewis Rice's interesting discoveries, which he read at the "Academie des Inscriptions" at its sitting in May last. The distinguished Indianist goes carefully through the three newly found inscriptions, suggesting many emendations on the way, and then gives a new reading of the text and a complete translation. In conclusion, he points out the historical results of the data obtained, especially as to the early appearance of the worship of Siva, and as to the entirely new light thrown on our ideas as to the civilization of S. India in this remote period.

Adam's Peak.—The Buddhist Text Society, of Calcutta, is about to publish, in the Devanāgarī character, the Pāli text and a translation into Sanskrit of Wedeha's poem on this sacred mountain, entitled the Samanta Kūṭa Vaṇṇanā.

Lankāratāra Sūtra.—A translation into French of this standard work of the Nepalese Buddhists is being prepared for the "Annales du Musée Guimet."

Mr. Woodville Rockhill has got back safely to Pekin, after a second adventurous journey to the frontiers of Tibet. He has made many notes and observations, but was again prevented from entering Lhassa itself.

The Mahābhārata.—Hofrath Dr. Bühler and Professor J. Kirste have published in the "Sitzungs-berichte der Kais. Akadamie der Wissenschaften zu Wien" a brochure on the history of the Mahābhārata. They show that the poem was regarded as a Smṛiti or Dharmaṣāstra, and not merely as an epic, from about 300 A.D., and that from about 500 A.D. the text cannot have differed materially from that which we now have. These results are reached by a careful comparison of the quotations and references made by Kumarīla (who cannot be assigned to a later date than the first half of the eighth century) and of the abstract made by Kshemendra in the early part of the twelfth century.

IV. Notices of Books.

BUDDHISM, PRIMITIVE AND PRESENT, IN MAGADHA AND IN CEYLON. By REGINALD STEPHEN COPLESTON, D.D. (8vo. pp. xv. and 501. Longmans.)

This substantial volume is a study of Buddhism, as it appears in the sacred books and in practice in Ceylon, considered from the point of view of the Anglican bishop. The industry and scholarship apparent in every page distinguish it in a marked degree from every other controversial work on the subject. Impartial, of course, as the learned author himself states in the preface, he could not be. But

he has throughout endeavoured to be fair and even generous in his interpretation of the documents before him; and has not neglected, as too many of those who write against Buddhism have done, to take the trouble to master the Pāli language, in which those documents are written, before passing judgment upon them. There are constant references to the texts published by the Pāli Text Society and elsewhere, and not a few references to texts accesible as yet only in MS. And the grasp of the principles of historical criticism shown by the chapters on the Life of Gotama himself, on the Asoka period, and on the growth of the canonical literature, is very marked.

The volume gives us first a life of Gotama according to the oldest and best authorities. It then deals in about one hundred pages with the ethics of Buddhism in its various aspects, and it then concludes the survey of ancient Buddhism in India by a discussion of the Asoka Inscriptions, and by a criticism of the history of the sacred books. In the following portion it sketches the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, and in the remaining part it deals with Buddhism as it actually exists in that island. It will be seen therefore that, as far as the limits of space permitted, the volume gives a very comprehensive summary of the question stated on the title page.

The part of the work which has suffered most from the endeavour to cover so wide a field in one volume is the treatment of Buddhist ethics. The doctrine of Arahatship, by far the most important of all the ethical teaching of the sacred books is practically excluded from consideration. In the few pages devoted in Chapter VI. to "the Buddhist ideal" there is no space for the description of the details of Arahatship; and the compressed summary there given of the ideal at which the Arahats arrived is not only meagre but in several respects misleading. "Gentleness and calm," it is said, "unite to form the ideal of the Buddhist moralist. In their degenerate form they both pass into apathy, and there are passages of the Pitakas which recommend what is hardly better than

that?" There are no references in support of this proposition. Again, the Buddhist monk is said to be "calm amid storms, because withdrawn into a trance of dreamless unconsciousness"; but again no references are given.

There are some slight errors which might be corrected in a new edition. The word antiquities in the note on p. 27 is a slip of the pen. Dr. Edkin on p. 6 should be Dr. Edkins. On p. 282 Dr. Morris is wrongly referred to. Mahamayala Sutta on p. 308 is a mistake. No reference is given to the Sutta translated on pp. 328 and following, and no mention is made of the fact that almost the whole of it (from the words Just so o Brahman on p. 331 to the end) is a series of stock passages which have already been several times translated. The statement on p. 115 "He must uproot all desire" is inconsistent with the mention on p. 127 of "right resolve." For the phrase on p. 64 "The occasion of his conversion is not recorded" we should read "is recorded in the Culla Vagga, vii. 1, 4." The phrase on p. 73 "will enter on final extinction" is a very odd rendering, as is also the word "reading" on p. 286 (for "reciting"). On p. 283 there is a wrong reference; the passage is Saṁyutta, xvi. 13. 3=vol. ii. p. 224; and it records the decline of the order in members, not the decline of the members of the order in virtue. A reference has been omitted in note 5 of p. 13.

But all these are small matters, and we only hope that the learned Bishop of Colombo will use his rare opportunities to give us a detailed account of Arahatship, a subject of the utmost historical importance, and one which only a Pāli scholar can properly handle.

Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Par Henri Lavoix. Espagne et Afrique.

This is the second volume of the Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the National Collection at Paris, and includes the Coinage of the Amāwī Khalīfs and Lesser Dynasties of Spain,

the Idrīsī and the Benī al-Aghlab, which are included in Vol. 2 of the British Museum Catalogue, and of the Murābiṭīn, Muwaḥḥidīn, Benī Hafṣ, Benī Merīn, Benī Ziyān, Sherīfs of Marocco and other Moorish Coinages, which are in Vol. 5 of the British Museum Catalogue.

In the Preface the Author gives his reasons for comprising these in one group as the Arabic Coinage of the West, and for departing from the order of arrangement of the Classes of Coins followed by Frœhn, and usually since adopted. He then gives in the following 45 pages a good general Account of the Dynasties, whose coins are described, and of the numismatic history of the countries during the period included.

The Collection described comprises 1133 specimens, including an interesting series of European imitations of Arabic coins. The arrangement of the Catalogue is similar to that adopted by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole; the descriptions are clear and concise, and good notes with references to historical and geographical Arabic writers are given in the cases of new or doubtful readings of names of men or places. The type used is very clear and well printed, and there are 14 good heliographic plates of illustration.

The work is a valuable and useful addition to Oriental Numismatics. Succeeding volumes will be looked for and welcomed as the first two are by all interested in this branch of study.

O. Codrington.

The Land Systems of British India. By B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E., M.R.A.S. (3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

This exhaustive and accurate manual of the land tenures and of the systems of land revenue administration in the several provinces of India is a new work on the lines of the well-known "Manual of the Land Tenures and Land Revenue Systems of British India," published by the present author in 1882. It sets out very carefully and fully all the

facts as to the tenure of land now and the present modes of taxation of land produce in the different provinces into which India is divided. In the 400 pages of prefatory matter there are slight references to the land tenures and systems of land revenue prevailing in the times before the Muhammadan invasion. Though it would be out of place in a learned journal to attempt any discussion of the complicated facts collected and elucidated here for the use of the modern Indian civilian, we cannot refrain from calling the attention of historical students to a work of the greatest importance and value to all who are interested in the comparative study of institutions. And we do this the more willingly as a critical treatment of the really ancient evidence on similar questions, to be found in the Sanskrit and Pāli texts, is very urgently wanted, and will, we trust, be soon supplied by some competent scholar.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, Deputy-Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. (London: Longmans. sq. 4to. pp. 384.)

This important publication has arrived just before we were going to press, and we are only able at present to call attention to the fact that it is at last out. The special points that distinguish this work from other Sanskrit-English dictionaries are its exceedingly compact and handy form, the transliteration throughout of all the Sanskrit words, the attention paid to derivation and to the history of meanings, and the restriction of the material to the words in actual use. The author has made most excellent use of the typographical resources of the Clarendon Press, which has printed the book throughout in very beautiful type and style, and the result is a dictionary precisely adapted to the most urgent needs of all Sanskrit students, and as useful to that large class who, for comparative or other purposes, want to use a Sanskrit dictionary, though they cannot read the Devanāgarī character.

THE FAYŪM AND LAKE MŒRIS. By Major R. H. BROWN, R.E. (London: Stamford. 4to. 110 pages.)

This is a most interesting and useful monograph in which the problem of the site of Lake Mœris, which used in classical times to receive the overflow of the Nile, but which is now no longer to be found, is discussed at length. A final solution of the problem, which would require the combined knowledge of an Ægyptologist, an historian, a geologist, and an hydraulic engineer, is not attempted, but a most important step towards the solution is here made. The present state of the Fayūm (so called from Egyptian 'pium' a lake), the ancient testimony about Lake Mœris, the current theories of Lenant, Cope Whitehouse, and Petrie, as to its site, the history of the province, and the possible restoration of the great reservoir are discussed in its various chapters. The work is lavishly illustrated with twenty-seven plates and plans, and a map; and the valuable details (especially as to levels) contained in the first chapter must form the basis alike of further speculations on the interesting historical problem involved, and of any future attempts to utilise for irrigation purposes the natural advantages of the Fayūm.

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Author.

Schlegel (G.). La Stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh et ses copistes et traducteurs chinois, russes et allemands. 8vo. *Leide*, 1892.

And Problémes Geographiques. Les peuples étrangers chez les historiens chinois. II. Wen-Chin-Kouo. III. Niu-Kouo.

Presented by the University of Leiden.

Ibn Rosteh. Kitāb-al-Alak An-Nafīsa and Al-Jakūbī. Kitāb-al-Boldān. Edited by M. J. de Goeje.

Presented by H. C. Warren, Esq.

Kern (Dr. H.). Jātaka-Mālā or Bodhisattvāva dāna-Mālā by Arya-Çūra (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. I.). 4to. *Boston,* 1891.

Presented by the India Office.

Education Report for Bombay 1890–91. fol. *Bombay,* 1892.

Sacred Books of the East, Vols. 30, 32 and 37.

Presented by S. E. Bouverie-Pusey, Esq.

Vassilief (M. V.). Le Bouddisme, ses dogmes, son histoire, et sa littérature traduit par M. G. A. La Gomme.

Presented by the Publishers.

Huth (Dr. G.). Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. 1[er] Theil. Vorrede. Text und Kritische Anmerkungen. 8vo. *Strassburg,* 1893.

Brown (Major R. H.). The Fayūm and Lake Mœris. 4to. *London,* 1892.

Presented by the Deutschen Gesellschaft in Tokio.

Nihengi oder Japanische Annalen ubersetzt und erklärt von Dr. K. Florencz. 3[er] Teil. Geschichte Japans im 7 Jahrhundert. 4to. *Tokyo,* 1892.

Purchased.

Pertsch (Dr. W.). Die Arabischen Hundschriften der Herzgogl. Bibl. zu Gotha 5[er] Bd. r. 8vo. *Gotha,* 1892.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*Remarks on Mr. Kay's edition of 'Omārah's History of Yemen.* By Prof. W. ROBERTSON SMITH, V.P.R.A.S.

THE main object of this paper is to propose some emendations of the text which have occurred to me in reading through 'Omārah's History of Yemen and the other *anecdoton*, Al-Janadī's account of the Carmathians of Yemen, with which Mr. Kay has enriched our collection of Arabian histories.[1] Incidentally I shall take occasion to remark on some passages in the accompanying translation which seem to be open to criticism, and I have also a few observations to make on the Introduction and Notes. As the paper will thus be occupied almost exclusively with matters in which the editor's work appears to me to admit of supplement or call for correction, I may be allowed at the outset to express my hearty recognition of all the loving labour that Mr. Kay has spent on his authors. For each of the texts but one MS. was available, and those who have handled Arabic *codices* know how difficult it is to produce a satisfactory edition on such a basis. In the present case the difficulty was enhanced by the character of the MSS.; indeed, the unique copy of 'Omārah's book is so slovenly

[1] Mr. Kay has also reprinted the relevant section of Ibn Khaldūn's General History, with readings from two MSS.: but this text will not be dealt with in the present paper.

and imperfect that the editor, as we learn from the Introduction, would hardly have ventured 'to print or translate it, had he not been aided by the copious extracts preserved by later writers. Some such extracts are to be found in books already printed, Yācūt and Ibn Khallikān in particular doing good service for the text of several important passages; but the editor's main recourse has been to the special histories of Yemen that lie unpublished in the libraries of Europe. Of these the Leyden Khazrajī and the Paris Janadī proved to be the most important; indeed for a large part of 'Omārah's book they almost take the place of additional copies of the original. The other printed and manuscript authorities of which Mr. Kay has made use need not be specified here; they form a goodly list, testifying to the unwearied zeal with which the editor has pursued his task.

Copious as Mr. Kay's apparatus is, it can hardly be supposed that he has exhausted all the sources available for the constitution of the text of 'Omārah. Thus he does not seem to have observed that Abulfeda knew 'Omārah's work, and gives a summary of its main contents in four passages of his Annals under the years 203, 412, 455, and 554. Though much condensed, Abulfeda's epitome often keeps pretty close to the words of 'Omārah, and in one or two passages it affords a useful hint for the text of the latter. Again, the account of 'Alī the Solayhite, which Wüstenfeld gives from the Gotha MS. of Jamāl ad-Dīn (Perthes, No. 1555), is plainly drawn from 'Omārah (*Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, p. 236, Gött. 1881), while it also contains some details which are not in our text but are mentioned by Mr. Kay, in note 29, from Al-Janadī. As Jamāl ad-Dīn died in A.H. 622, it would be very well worth while to examine these coincidences, especially as they might throw some light on the question of the lacunae which Mr. Kay suspects to exist in his MS.

While Mr. Kay has collected a most valuable critical apparatus, he has not, in my judgment, been altogether happy in the form in which he lays it before his readers.

The printed text usually sticks close to the MS., even where a certain correction is suggested by the other authorities and has been adopted in the translation. One must therefore constantly turn from the Arabic to the English in order to gather the editor's opinion as to the true reading of a passage. Again, the MS. swarms with obvious grammatical blunders, false concords, false cases, and the like. These are commonly left in the text, and only a part of them are corrected in the margin. Orthographical errors are sometimes corrected silently, sometimes allowed to stand without note. It would surely have been preferable to follow the usual practice of the best editors, and give a correct and readable text wherever that was possible, indicating deviations from the MS. by brackets and marginal notes, and distinguishing corrupt passages that resisted emendation by the use of *obeli* or some such device. And as regards the translation, I think it would have been safer to make no attempt to give the general sense of corrupt passages. Mr. Kay has more than once fallen into mistakes by "taking a shot" at the sense of words which really cannot be translated till they have first been emended.

These criticisms may appear to be trivial, and to affect the form rather than the substantial merits of the edition. But the examples which I shall adduce further on will show that this is not altogether the case. The truth is that Mr. Kay appears to less advantage in matters purely linguistic than in the other parts of his work. He has proposed some emendations that are ungrammatical, and some translations that do violence to the laws and idioms of the language. And in the verses which are never absent from the pages of an Arabic historian he has not availed himself of the invaluable help to be derived from the laws of metre. It is mainly by a more careful attention to these necessary things that I have found it possible to improve on Mr. Kay's work in a certain number of passages. But before passing on to these I have a few remarks to make on the Introduction, so far as it deals with the life and works of 'Omārah.

Mr. Kay's account of his author is based on notices in the History, and on the Biography by Ibn Khallikān, supplemented by some anecdotes from Macrīzī and Ibn al-Athīr. As regards the sources of the Biography, he goes no further than to suggest that for the first part of 'Omārah's life, Ibn Khallikān seems to have drawn most of his material from the history of Yemen. But a comparison of the two fails to bear out this opinion, and, in fact, the biographer refers to the History only for a single date, *viz.* 'Omārah's final departure from Yemen in Sha'bān 552. This year, but not the month, is mentioned at p. 58 (E. Tr. p. 79) of Mr. Kay's text. What Mr. Kay has not observed is that this date is inconsistent with others given by the biographer (see below)—a conclusive proof that Ibn Khallikān follows a different source, and refers to the History in this case only because it gives an alternative date to that indicated by his main authority.

It will be observed that a source which Ibn Khallikān preferred to the History, and which supplied him with a variety of precise details not to be found there, can hardly be anything else than some other work of 'Omārah himself; and with this it agrees that in the biography of Shāwar the anecdote of 'Omārah's first appearance before that Vizier, after the fall of the house of Ruzzīk,[1] is related as it was told by the poet himself. Now we learn from Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Macdisī (*Kit. ar-Raudatain*, Cairo, 1288, vol. i. p. 225) that 'Omārah wrote a "little book recounting the events of his own life in Yemen and afterwards in Egypt," and the extracts which this author gives from the autobiography include the anecdote of 'Omārah and Shāwar, and various other particulars found in Ibn Khallikān but not in the History. The autobiography of 'Omārah is not mentioned by H. Khalfah, and seems to be entirely lost, unless indeed it was itself only an extract from 'Omārah's book on the Viziers of Egypt, with which at any rate it

[1] Mr. Kay writes this name Ruzayk; but Ibn Khallikān gives the full spelling and vocalization, and moreover the name occurs in verses of 'Omārah, where the metre requires a doubled *z*.

has some points of contact. For example, I infer from a note in De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān that this book also contains the anecdote of 'Omārah and Shāwar, which Shihāb ad-Dīn gives from the autobiography; and Shihāb himself quotes from it a passage referring to 'Omārah's interview with Alī b. Mahdī at the Court of the Prince of Aden, an event which took place before his first visit to Egypt (*Rauḍ.* vol. i. p. 216). In any case, it is evident that the book on the Viziers contains enough of autobiographical matter to make it important for the life of 'Omārah, and that it also touches on matters connected with the history of Yemen. There is a copy at Oxford, and one corrected by the author himself at Paris.

Apart from 'Omārah's own books, Ibn Khallikān seems to have used no authority save the life of the poet contained in the *Kharīdah* of 'Imād ad-Dīn, from which Shihāb also gives extracts. This book exists in Paris, and it is a pity that Mr. Kay has not looked at it; though the excerpts already printed do not promise much solid information under the froth of verbiage proper in those days to the style of a court secretary. There is, however, a further reason for wishing that our editor had consulted the *Kharīdah.* From the table of contents of the Paris MS. given in Dozy's Catalogue of the Leyden Arabic MSS. vol. ii. p. 259, one learns that 'Imād ad-Dīn's notices of Yemenite poets were based on a book by 'Omārah on the same subject. Mr. Kay does not seem to be aware of the existence of this book, though it is registered by Ḥ. Khalfah (No. 7901); for, I observe that in note 69 (p. 276), he puts a query to the statement of Al-Janadī that 'Omārah gives a brief account of Yāsir's life in his Memoirs of the Poets. Both in this note and in note 75 (p. 279) Mr. Kay supposes something to have been lost from the text of the History of Yemen, whereas the additional details given by Al-Janadī, on the authority of 'Omārah, are really derived in each case from the Memoirs of the Poets of Yemen.

By combining Shihāb ad-Dīn's extracts from the Autobiography with the notices in the History and the

details supplied by Ibn Khallikān, it is possible to form a pretty clear idear of 'Omārah's life up to the time when he finally left Arabia, and I will try to put together what can be collected from these three sources, referring to them by the letters S. H. and Kh. respectively. I accept Soyūṭī's statement that the poet was born in 515, as probably derived from the Autobiography. For Kh. says that he attained the age of discretion in 529. According to Shafiite law this age is ordinarily taken to be the completing of the fifteenth year, so that if Soyūṭī had merely reckoned back from 529 he would have named the year 514. It was, however, perfectly legal that a forward lad should be declared to be mature at an earlier age, and this, I suppose, was the case with 'Omārah, whose talents determined his father to educate him for the legal profession. At that time the headquarters of Yemenite orthodoxy were at Zabīd, where the Vizier Surūr extended a liberal patronage to jurists and scholars. To Zabīd, therefore, the young 'Omārah was sent in 530 (so H.) or 531 (so Kh.). It was not quite easy to hold the lad to the beaten track of professional study; he fell under the influence of the fanatical 'Alī b. Mahdī, and for a whole year neglected his law-books for practices of devotion. His father, who seems to have been a shrewd man, ambitious of his son's success in life, brought him back to college. After four years of study (Kh.) he became duly qualified to teach others, and lectured at Zabīd for three years on Shafiite law (S.). Meanwhile he had also pursued the study of poetry, for which he had a natural aptitude, enhanced by the circumstance that he was born and bred in a remote corner of Northern Yemen, where an ancient stock of unmixed Arabian blood prided themselves on speaking the classical language in all its purity (H.). The father, who had promptly repressed his son's tendency to pietism, was more indulgent to this new taste; indeed few things were so likely to help a young man forward as the power of addressing princes and grandees in well turned eulogistic verses. "In the year 39," says 'Omārah (S.), "my father visited me at Zabīd with five of

my brothers, and I recited to him some of my poems, which he approved, and bade me go on with the study; 'by God,' said he, 'skill in polite letters is a good gift of God to thee, and do not prove ungrateful to Him by employing thy talent in personal satire.' So he made me swear never to write a verse of satire against a Moslem; nor have I ever done so but once, when a man attacked me in verse in the presence of Al-Malik al-Sāliḥ Ibn Ruzzīk (the Vizier of Egypt). Al-Sāliḥ adjured me to reply, and I did so, justifying myself by two texts from the Coran (Sur. 42, 39; 2, 190)." This anecdote has a singular interest in connection with the statement of 'Imād ad-Dīn, that one of the causes of 'Omārah's execution was the hostility of a great noble whom he had satirized.

This year 439 was a turning point in 'Omārah's fortunes. It was then that he made the acquaintance of the old Sheikh from Ḥadramaut, by whose instructions he was able to solve a problem in the division of an heritage in which the Vizier Surūr was deeply interested, and which had puzzled all the jurists of Zabīd for years. 'Omārah owed this piece of luck to his kindness to a poor pilgrim, and the Sheikh seems to have been content to leave his pupil all the credit of the success (H.). From this time, of course, 'Omārah was a recognized authority on the law of inheritance, and he wrote a treatise on the subject, which was used as a text book in Yemen (S.). 'Omārah closed this year by accompanying his Sheikh to Mecca, and we may safely conclude that this was the pilgrimage which introduced him to the favourable notice of the Queen-mother, a pious lady, and much more important in Zabīd than her son, the fainéant Sultan Fātik. Under her patronage 'Omārah rose to dignity and wealth (S.). The queen died in 545, and soon after this we find 'Omārah in somewhat confidential relations with the Shiite prince of Aden, who claimed to hold his dominions from the Fatimite Caliphs of Cairo, as the Abyssinian rulers of Zabīd claimed to hold theirs from the Abbasids of Bagdad. There is no reason to suppose that 'Omārah had any leanings to the Shiite faith; he held to his Sunnite orthodoxy even at the

court of Cairo, less perhaps from religious conviction—for a bigot could not have written as he did in praise of the Fatimites—than from a certain sturdy loyalty of character, which appears also in his constant refusal to speak ill of those who had befriended him, even when they had fallen into ruin or disgrace. But, apart from all considerations of religion, a man of pure Arab blood might well prefer the Arab court of Aden or Dhu Jiblah to the Abyssinian court of Zabīd, with its puppet prince ruled by African slaves and emancipated singing-women. Moreover, the realm of Zabīd was visibly crumbling, while that of Aden was growing in power and splendour, sustained by the rich commerce of that famous port. It does not appear that there was anything treasonable in 'Omārah's intercourse with Mohammed ibn Saba, but it gave deep offence to the Abyssinians, especially when he ventured to compose verses in praise of the heretical prince. This was in 547,[1] but the storm did not break out till after Mohammed's death in the following year. Surūr saved 'Omārah's life, but he had to leave Zabīd, and, being prevented from joining the new sovereign of Aden, he proceeded to Mecca. And here we reach a point at which there is an irreconcilable difference of dates between the History and the Autobiography. According to the former it was in 550 that the Abyssinians of Zabīd threatened 'Omārah's life, and in 551 that he first visited Egypt, while his final departure from "the country," *i.e.* from Yemen, took place in 552. But the Autobiography says that finding it necessary to flee from Zabīd, 'Omārah performed the pilgrimage in 549. "During the Sacred Feast of this year Hāshim b. Fuleitah, prince of the two Sanctuaries, died, and his son and successor, Cāsim, imposed on me an embassy to the Court of Cairo, where I arrived in the month Rabī'a I. A.H. 550" (S.; slightly abridged in Kh.). The date of arrival implies that 'Omārah travelled with the returning pilgrim caravan, and he remained in Egypt

[1] Mr. Kay justly observes (Tr., p. 76) that we must read 547 for 549 at p. 56, l. 12 (and also at p. 95, l. 6) of the Arabic text. Abulfeda's copy of our history had the correct date: see Reiske's ed. vol. iii. p. 176.

till Shawwāl of the same year (*i.e.* till the usual time of departure of the pilgrim caravan), when he returned to Mecca, and, proceeding to Yemen, reached Zabīd in Ṣafar 551, returning to Mecca for the pilgrimage of the same year, after which he again proceeded to Egypt with a second Mission from Cāsim b. Hāshim (Kh.). All these dates hang together, and the sequence of events is in perfect accord with what we read in the History; but where the Autobiography gives the years 549, 550, 551, the History gives 550, 551, 552 respectively. Such a series of discrepancies can hardly be due to textual corruptions, and for the Autobiography we have in part the double witness of S. and Kh. We must, I think, conclude that 'Omārah himself varied in his reckoning, and I know no other source that enables us to decide which reckoning is correct. The date of Hāshim b. Fulaita's death is given by Al-Fāsī (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 213) as either 549 or 551, but the former date is taken from Ibn Khallikān, and the latter will not suit either chronology of 'Omārah's life.

'Omārah was excellently received in Egypt from the first, and his eulogistic poetry and talents of conversation made him quite a lion at the gay court of Cairo. His brief return to Arabia seems to have had no other object than to wind-up his affairs and settle a money matter with the Prince of Aden. The powerful protection of Ibn Ruzzīk, the Grand Vizier of Cairo, made this easy for him (H.), and even emboldened him to pass through Zabīd. In Egypt, till the fall of the last of the Fatimites before Saladin, in 567, his life was that of a successful court poet, and it is to his honour that when his first patrons of the house of Ruzzīk were ruined, he was able to gain the favour of the new potentate, Shāwar, without proving untrue to his old friends. Standing forth among the currish sycophants, who were tearing the reputation of the Banī Ruzzīk to pieces, he declared that this was not the true way to exalt the glory of their conqueror; for his own part he could never cease to honour and lament his benefactors, whose splendour had only been extinguished

by the rise of a brighter star. Would not Shāwar himself, noble and generous as he was, be the first to bid him hold his peace if he opened his mouth in dispraise of those to whom he was bound by every obligation of loyalty?

When the Fatimite caliphate was finally suppressed by Saladin, 'Omārah approached the new power in the same spirit of mingled loyalty and flexibility. Mr. Kay has well illustrated his fidelity to the memory of the ancient dynasty, but fails to make it clear that at the same time he was eager for the favour of their successors, whom he courted in poems of which Shihāb ad-Dīn has preserved ample specimens (vol. i. p. 211 *sq.*, 216 *sq.*, 222 *sq.*). He particularly attached himself to Saladin's brother, Shams ad-Dawlah Tūrānshāh, describing to him the riches and defenceless condition of Yemen, and urging him, both in verses and in confidential conversations, to undertake the conquest of that country.[1] It was asserted afterwards that all this had a treacherous motive, and that 'Omārah only sought to weaken the Turkish garrison in Egypt, and clear the way for the gigantic conspiracy which was to restore the Fatimites to the throne. But it seems more probable that if 'Omārah joined the conspirators at all, he did so only after his hopes from the Ayyubites had fallen to the ground. He was not invited to join the expedition to Yemen, and all his poetic appeals failed to secure the renewal of the pension which he had enjoyed under the old regime. In some of his verses, it must be admitted, his honesty or his wounded vanity got the better of his discretion, and betrayed him into expressions little calculated to please Saladin and his party (Shihāb, i. 222). Under these circumstances it is not surprising that when the great plot was discovered, and many of 'Omārah's old friends were found to be deep in it, the poet was arrested and executed with them.[2] But the evidence of his share in the conspiracy

[1] See the precise statement quoted by Shihāb, i. 216, from Ibn Abī Ṭayy, with the verses that accompany it.

[2] Some interesting details of the plot are to be found in a despatch by the Secretary of State, Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, quoted by Shihāb, p. 220 *sq.*

cannot have been very conclusive. The common opinion was that he suffered for the faults of his tongue, particularly for his famous elegy on the Fatimite dynasty, while the *fetwa*, or opinion of the legal authorities that he was worthy of death, was based on a trumped-up charge of blasphemy against the Prophet of Islam. A verse was produced from one of his poems in which he said, encouraging Shams ad-Dawla to a career of conquest:

"This religion had its beginning with a man who schemed
till they called him to be lord of the nations."

'Imād ad-Dīn (ap. S. and Kh.) suggests that the line may have been forged in his name, but enough of the poem has been preserved to us by Shihāb and Ibn Khaldūn, to make it probable the verse is indeed genuine, but refers to Ibn Tūmert, the founder of the sect and empire of the Almohades.[1]

And now a word on the famous elegy on the Fatimites, for which Mr. Kay refers to Macrīzī (i. 195). He might have added that 39 of the 42 lines are also to be found in Wüstenfeld's *Calcashandi*, p. 222, and part of it in Abulfeda (Reiske, iv. 8). Mr. Kay translates a few lines, but not quite correctly, especially as regards the first line on p. x, where 'Omārah should not have been made to express a hope for the future redemption of the world through the seed of Ali. He only says, in exaltation of the power and generosity of the Fatimites, that ofttimes the ransom of the world lay with them, and that through them it was loosed from bonds. Still, the last verses of the piece, as given by Macrīzī and Calcashandi (and in

[1] Shihāb, i. 217, compared with his remark at p. 220, where he quotes 'Imād ad-Dīn; Ibn Khaldūn, iv. 80 *sq.* Ibn Khaldūn says that Shams ad-Dawlah himself reported the poem to his brother Saladin, who could hardly fail to be angry at it, apart from the supposed blasphemy, as it encourages Tūrānshāh to found an independent kingdom. It must be added that in speaking of Ibn Tūmert as founder of a religion (*dīn*), and not merely of a sect, 'Omārah laid himself open to misconstruction. But this is hardly a reason for doubting the genuineness of the line, since in other cases also he was not scrupulous about using phrases that might offend zealots. The famous opening "Praised be the camels," in the first poem that made his success in Egypt, was condemned as a sort of parody of the common "Praised be Allah" (Shihāb, 227).

part by Abulfeda), contain sentiments which, as Mr. Kay has observed, are difficult to reconcile with the well authenticated fact that 'Omārah never gave up his orthodox Sunnī profession. And here I think it should be observed, on the one hand, that the high-flown verses representing the house of Ali as the only mediators through whom men can obtain salvation, are very much out of keeping with the main tenour of the poem, and on the other that Shihāb ad-Dīn, who is our oldest authority, and who quotes the poem for the express purpose of proving that 'Omārah's condemnation was not unjust, and that his wicked aims were religious as well as political, omits the suspicious lines.[1]

In concluding my remarks on the Introduction I may call attention to a passage in Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's celebrated critical work (*Al-mathal ab-sāïr*, Būlāc, 1282, p. 469), which contains a somewhat spiteful attack on 'Omārah's poetical originality. Perhaps the critic, as a courtier of Saladin, mixed some political prejudice with his literary judgment, but he has certainly caught 'Omārah in a flagrant plagiarism from Abū Tammām.

I pass on to the text of 'Omārah's History. I have not deemed it proper to burden these pages by registering mere printers' errors (which are not numerous), such as البرج for اليوم (p. 75, l. 4), or such orthographical and grammatical errors of the scribe as are not likely to perplex a careful reader. Such for example are اذ for اث (p. 7, l. 2), frequent omissions of *hemza* even where it makes a syllable, and of ا as the sign of the accusative, other confusions between the nominative and the oblique

[1] In this very poem 'Omārah says, evidently with allusion to himself, that the Fatimites did not confine their favours to the members of their own sect. Cf. the verse preserved in Calcashandi, p. 196, and in its context in Shihāb, p. 223, l. 4, where he says that the generosity of the Fatimites was orthodox though their Shiite faith was heretical. In this connection I do not attach much weight to the occasional use of Shiite formulae in the History. It is true that a good Shiite ought not to have called the heretical creed *al-madhhab az-ẓāhir*, and still less ought he to have spoken of "the late Fatimite Caliph" as "the Imām on whom be peace.". But residence at the Fatimite court doubtless involved certain compliances with the official style which can hardly be regarded as more than conventional.

cases, especially with numerals, and obvious false concords (as at p. 8, l. 8, وسطى for وسطية). Nor have I generally noticed slight errors tacitly corrected in the translation though not registered in the margin (*e.g.* ترايبها for ترابيها p. 90, l. 12). Again, where the substantial sense of a corrupt passage is given by one of the later historians cited in the margin I have not always asked whether the latter reproduces the exact words of 'Omārah, or only points the way to the true correction. So far as one can judge from the material supplied, the later writers seem to have sometimes omitted things they did not understand, or modified obscure expressions, or made their own guesses in places already corrupt. A full critical recension of the text would have to take account of all these possibilities, and my general impression is that Mr. Kay has been too ready to assume that Khazrajī, for example, gives the very words of his author wherever he makes a hard sentence intelligible. But, for the most part, I have not dwelt on points of this kind, which are of very subordinate importance in the case of a book whose value is historical rather than literary. And in general I make no attempt at a complete revision of the text, but pass in silence over passages manifestly unsound unless I have something better to offer. I have probably missed not a few certain corrections which scholars like De Goeje, or Nöldeke, would make at first sight of the passage; but, on the other hand, there are places where, in the absence of further MS. help, conjecture is sheer guess-work. Thus, on the very first page, the author's address to his patron contains impossible things (l. 12 *sq.*). But what is the use of attempting to re-write mere flowers of compliment? One learns nothing from the emended text, and can never be sure of restoring the author's very hand.

As regards the translation, I have not compared it throughout with the original, and as a rule I shall cite it only as it bears on Mr. Kay's view of some textual difficulty. There are a good many passages where the

text is quite sound, but where I cannot agree with the translation proposed. These I shall generally pass over in silence, but I have noticed a very few of them where some special point of interest presented itself. My references are to the pages of the Arabic text.

p. 1, l. 10. For له the sense seems to require لي; "poets of whose verses I have heard specimens through a Rāwy, or whom I have myself seen." From this passage it would appear that 'Omārah's book about the Yemenite poets was part of the same scheme with the History. We also learn from this page that the scheme proposed by his patron included a complete geographical description of Yemen. Nothing of the sort is found in our text, but only a certain number of geographical excursuses, inserted in the early part of the text in a mechanical way, and sometimes at the expense of considerable dislocation of the context. It is conceivable that 'Omārah originally planned a separate geographical section, and then by an afterthought contented himself with inserting some notes on places and routes in what he had already written. But it is also quite possible that the disorder of the text indicates that something has been lost in the early part of the book.

p. 2, l. 8. Comparing the variants in footnote 6, I am disposed to suggest امالني, "he moves me by the name of Mohammed ibn Hārūn."

p. 4, l. 1. The reading of Al-Janadī, which Mr. Kay adopts in his translation, is inadmissible. Yācūt's reading, on the other hand, is perfectly good if we add the suffix ه. "People used to say 'Ibn Ziyād and his Ja'far.'" Abulfeda has a variant which gives practically the same sense, *viz.* بجعفره, and this is the source of the corrupt form in Al-Janadī.

p. 5, l. 4. There is a mistranslation here which I notice because Mr. Kay recurs to it in note 10, p. 231. اعلاه does not mean "its height" but "its top," *i.e.* the plateau or upland valley was twenty leagues, presumably in circuit. This may be an exaggeration, but at least our author is not responsible for a mountain twenty leagues in height.

„ l. 7. This passage ought certainly to be amended with the aid of Yācūt, as quoted by Mr. Kay at p. 232. That is, وهذه is to be deleted as a doublette of ولاية, and after the latter word there is a lacuna, which in substance at least can be filled up from Yācūt.

p. 7, l. 18. Al-Janadī's paraphrase suggests that for الاحاد we should read الاحاديث. The pilgrimage to the mosque of Al-Janad in the month Rajab is an interesting relic of the pre-Mohammedan sanctity of that season. Comp. my article Mecca in the *Enc. Brit.* vol. xv. p. 675, where I have called attention to Ibn Jubair's remarkable testimony to the importance which the wild Bedouins of Yemen attached to the 'omrah of Rajab. Maltzan, *Reise in Südarabien*, p. 304, gives a modern instance of a local pilgrimage in this month.

p. 11, footnote 6. The change proposed is unnecessary, and the reading of the text is confirmed by Abulfeda.

p. 12, footnotes 8 and 10. In both cases the text is right. In the former case بنو اصبح is the subject of تغلب, in l. 14.

p. 13, footnote 1. Instead of reading the verb as a passive, I would regard the sentence as incomplete. Before he has reached the subject of the verb, the author goes off into a long parenthetic discourse, and then, at line 8, instead of completing the sentence, begins it anew. Comp. p. 5, where, in like manner, l. 13 takes up a sentence abruptly broken off at l. 7.

p. 15, l. 2. Before أخبارة insert ومن.

„ l. 7. The line (Basiṭ) is a syllable short. Read من جَوْرِهَا, and translate "When the nights—all unconscious—do me wrong (أساءت), Ibn 'Adnān is my protector from their injustice." The nights are a metonymy for injurious time (صروف الليالى, Ibn Hishām, p. 73, l. 18), of which the Arabian poets constantly complain.

„ l. 18. Read الغُرُّ أمْ أخواله "His illustrious uncles on the father's side, or his princely uncles on the mother's side." The good-nature, or the vanity, of the Abyssinian failed to detect the irony of the verse.

p. 16, footnote 2. The translation shows that Mr. Kay has successfully emended the opening words of the Casīdah, but his correction is misprinted in the note and not set right in the Corrigenda. It should, of course, run—

حشمت بيضاء الانامل حشما

In what follows read and point—

وَسَمَتْ فى السماح سِيمةً الخ

"among the liberal she bears a special stamp of generosity that leaves no trace of the lineaments of avarice." In the next line the reading المجد, though, perhaps, only a conjecture of Al-Ahdal's, seems to me to be undoubtedly right, "Asmā obscures names that occupy the pinnacles of fame."

l. 19. Delete وقد, which appears to have arisen from وفد, a doublette of ركب. The شهادة in this anecdote is not a "judicial disposition" or "statement of evidence" in the ordinary sense, but 'Alī's own written testimony or acknowledgment of debt to the oil-seller, who had helped him out of a danger by the loan of his clothes; this bond (as one may render it

for simplicity's sake) he discharged before the Cadi. In the following page delete the *teshdīd* in the third word of l. 5, and write كتبه for كتبت in l. 6, and probably also for كتبته in l. 5. As Mr. Kay has gone far astray here, I indicate the outline of the correct rendering of what stands in the English at p. 23, l. 3 *sqq.* 'Alī signed the bond (lit. gave his evidence *scil.* of obligation) in the house of a certain As-Sabkhah. After he came to power an old woman brought him the paper, and he could not do otherwise than pay his obligation. The form of words which he used in the bond was: "this is attested by 'Alī b. Muhammad Cadi of Ḥarāz, and he has written it with his own hand that, God willing, he may remember it." I cannot guess how Mr. Kay came to make a new personage of 'Alī, the Cadi of Ḥarāz.

p. 18, l. 17 (footnote 6). Here Mr. Kay proposes a violent and not quite grammatical change. The point must be that this very old man had never known 'Alī's castle except as a ruin, and this sense is got by the slight change of اعهد for اعقل. [Indeed, I am not sure that the text as it stands is indefensible. With the accusative, the verb عقل is used of knowledge by observation, e.g. *Ahg.* xiv, 141 ult.; and the construction with ب, in this sense, seems possible on general principles, though I cannot cite an example.] The singular قصر is right, and ought to be substituted for قصور in the next line, as the following suffixes show. In the translation at the end of the paragraph the sense is curiously obscured by the rendering "have perished" for فنى. The sense, of course, is that though all the houses of San'ā had been built with materials from the ruined castle for the best part of a century, the bricks, stones, and timber were still not exhausted.

p. 19, footnote 1. This necessary addition is attested, not only by Ibn Khallikān, but by Jamāl ad-Dīn, ap. Wüstenfeld.

„ l. 11 *sq.* Of the emendations offered by Mr. Kay in this passage, those in footnotes 3, 4, and 5 are probably right in substance, though in 3 I should prefer to omit the particle كَتْ, and in 5 the precise word to be supplied is necessarily uncertain; but I cannot follow the editor in note 6, or in his general view of the passage. In l. 11 I would read مُبْخِل, for what is here stated must have some obvious relation to the speaker's pecuniary difficulties. In l. 13 there is nothing suspicious except the plural بانسابها, which should probably be changed to بانتسابها. The sense of the whole will then be: "The Solayhite, who has given me the government of Zabīd, is reported to be avaricious, and [will certainly expect large presents, for] he deems me to be in as good a position as Ibn 'Arrāf and the other wealthy chieftains; and the queen, though my equal in point of birth, overtops me in virtue of the favours she has bestowed on me, and I feel a certain humiliation in coming under obligation to her." This is genuine Arab sentiment, while the sense which Mr. Kay elicits by arbitary changes in l. 13 is quite the opposite. No Arab would say, "Whenever I measure my details by the increasing flow of her favours I perceive how unworthy I am of her benevolence."

p. 20, l. 6. The sense required is, "I had not to attend personally to any business of his, unless it were an account all made out or a sum of money paid over to me." This sense, I think, can be got by adding a single dot, and reading أُحْضَرُ. I have no example of the construction of this verb with على, but on general analogies it seems hardly open to serious objection.

p. 20, l. 7. For Al-Ḥosain read Al-Ḥasan, as at p. 68, where the rhyme in a Rajaz-verse is decisive. I observe also that 'Imad ad-Dīn has Al-Ḥasan (Leyden Catalogue, ii. 260).

„ ll. 9, 10. Perhaps يُحمد عينه ويؤمن غيبه; "what was seen of his administration was praised, and perfect confidence was felt in what was not seen."

„ footnote 4. The correction is wholly unnecessary.

p. 21, l. 6. Read راجز, and for the *Urjūzat al-Ḥajj* see Hamdānī, p. 234 *sqq.*

p. 22, footnote 1. Read اخباره.—Footnote 3. All that is necessary is to read the plural; the prisoners were conveyed to Sa'īd, who caused them to be speared.

p. 24, footnote 1. I presume that Mr. Kay meant to print له من كفاء; for this is what his translation expresses.

„ footnote 4. The text is quite sound; see examples of this use of من in Fleischer's *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 414.

„ last line. Read لكن and ارهفتها. The apodosis of the hypothetical sentence is suppressed. "If your resolves were newly shaped—but no, I have already sharpened their edge" . . .

p. 26. In l. 8 read وجهه. Delete note 3; after the participle ل is of course quite regular. Also delete note 5, and in l. 3 from foot read وافاه for وانفذه. Thus much is clear; and it follows that the lacuna in the previous line must be filled up with some such word as فوصل. "Presently the agent Ahmad came to Ibn Shihāb and paid to him in full the revenue. . ."

p. 27, l. 1. Mr. Kay, in writing footnote 1, has failed to observe that Asmā is quoting a line of poetry (Ṭawīl), and that therefore the text تَضَرُّهُ must not be touched.

„ l. 18 *sq.* To bring what is stated here into agreement with p. 65 *sq.* it is certainly necessary to read والّا

for ولد, as Mr. Kay proposes in footnote 7, and also, in the last line of the page, to change عادة جده into عادته. But then also we must regard p. 28, ll. 1 and 2 from وقوم onwards, as a gloss added after the text had assumed its present form.

p. 28, l. 12 (E. Tr. p. 39, l. 3). "Methinks I see thee when thou hast swept," etc. It is curious that Mr. Kay should have stumbled on so common a phrase; Wright, vol. ii. p. 170.

p. 31, l. 2 from foot. Mr. Kay has here softened away a picturesque touch: "Ṣabâ was ill-shaped and hardly showed above his saddle," which, of course, was Arab fashion, very high in the pummel and croup. The modifying word, omitted by Khazrajī, looks like the gloss of a copyist who suspected exaggeration.

p. 33, footnote 2. Mr. Kay, in his translation, accepts Khazrajī's reading. But that of his text is probably right and very interesting. The mountain tribes held the lowlands during the winter and spring, but in the hot season they had to retire, sometimes after fighting and sometimes on account of pestilence. But, evidently, if they were always worsted in the field in summer, pestilence, or the fear of it, must have been constantly present in the hot plains of the Tihāma, and this accounts, in great measure, for the failure of the mountaineers to hold the low country in permanence. The word وباء is specially applied to the endemic diseases of unhealthy spots, *e.g.* *Aghānī*, xix. 95. 2.

p. 34, l. 17. The official title of Yamīn ad-Da'wah seems to be حامل المِذَبَّة "Bearer of the fly-flap," Macrīzī, i. 449, l. 6 from foot: "Near the head of the Caliph's horse walk two white eunuchs (lit. Sclavonians), the bearers of the two fly-flaps." In the corresponding passage of Abul Maḥāsin (ii. 467) the two MSS. used by Juynboll have, like our text,

"knife-bearers," but the editor justly observes that the reading in Macrīzī is vindicated by the context.

p. 35, l. 3 (footnote 3). The restoration of the corrupt word must be derived from a comparison with p. 100, l. 18, where the phrase recurs. Taking the two together there can hardly be a question that the right reading is مستخفين, the second passage giving the correct *ductus literarum*, while the first suggests the proper pointing. The sense is "the cave of those that seek concealment."

„ last line. The suggestion in footnote 8 is certainly wrong, and of Khazrajī's reading in footnote 7, we need accept no more than لما for و, if we follow this up with the necessary grammatical correction خفى for خفيا. "He saw that his own reputation was eclipsed in comparison with her lofty character and conduct, and that none of the people would admit that any one was her equal, and that 'our Lady, our Lady' was constantly on all their lips." Here, again, Mr. Kay has most unnecessarily made a proud Arab indulge in self-depreciation; the consequence of which is that he has totally misunderstood the euphemistic sentence in which, a little lower down, Ṣabâ conveys to Asmā that his blood is too noble to be mingled with that of slaves (p. 36, l. 8).

p. 36. In the last line of this page there is a very characteristic touch not quite clearly brought out in the translation. "He sent him 30 bushels of barley, but never asked him to break bread with him."

p. 37, l. 10. Point شامٍ . . . يمانٍ. "Khadid lies to the North and Ta'kar to the South." Mr. Kay has tried to get something more poetical out of the words, but in vain. As Wordsworth said to Harriet Martineau about some of his own verses, the line is not poetry, but it is full of valuable information.

p. 38, l. 2. Not "exercised the powers which the princess delegated to him," but "was free to act without her orders."

„ footnote 2. The text is right, but must of course be pointed علىّ "incumbent on me." The sense is "From this day forth I owe thee no obedience within my own castle."

„ l. 11. In the Tr. Mr. Kay seems tacitly to correct عاك into مضى. I would read قلت, and take the whole sentence differently. "The castle is thine, and thou art the good-man of the house, and there is no blame to thee from me for what thou hast said."

p. 39, footnote 2. Read متنبضا, a word for which the nearest English equivalent is perhaps the old-fashioned "precisian."

p. 40, l. 4 from foot. I suspect that the last two words contain either the name of the point at which the Khaulān entered M. Ja'far, or the name of the place from which they came.

„ l. 3 from foot, cf. note 47, p. 262. An express statement that Baḥr is a clan of Khaulān is quoted in the Leyden Catalogue, ii. 259, from the *Kharīdah* of 'Imād ad-Dīn.

p. 42, l. 3 from foot. I strongly suspect that, comparing p. 49, we should read الواصل (or الكرمى) الكرمى من عدن [من عند] محمد بن ابى الغارات.

p. 43, l. 1. For اكثر read اكثرهم, and for اثلول, ثؤلول "wart." In the following line Mr. Kay has read too much into his text. The sense is simply that when Ibn Najīb ad-Dawlah asked them about such hidden things, his hearers were convinced that he had supernatural knowledge. Thus note 51, at p. 264, falls to the ground.

„ l. 5. "Beat him with his stick till it caught in his clothes" will never do. For اخذت read أحدثت, "adeo ut vestes concacaret."

p. 43, l. 5 from foot. Not "whose districts have been unceasingly trampled," etc., but "easy country for cavalry."

p. 46, l. 1 *sq.* A note would have been welcome on the term *Ḥojjat al-Imām*, especially as Dozy, in his *Supplément*, gives nothing more than a reference to B. Bistānī for the technical sense of حجة in the ultra-Shiite terminology. The use of the term among the Druzes has been illustrated by De Sacy, who also shows that it is borrowed from the hierarchy of the inner circles of the Ismailians. From Macrīzī, i. 394, we learn that the initiated of the fifth grade were taught that every Imām has his Ḥojjahs, twelve in number, dispersed through different countries (cf. De Sacy, *Rel. des Druzes*, Introd. p. cxiii.). The title, which implies that its bearer يقيم حجة الامام (*ibid.* ii. 368) seems sometimes to be loosely used by the Druzes as equivalent to that of Dā'y, or even in a still wider sense; but in the strict use of the term the Ḥojjah stands above the mere Dā'y or missionary, between him and the Imām (cf. Guyard, *Fragments*, p. 44 ult.). Now at p. 100, l. 14, we find that in 524 Queen Sayyidah bore the title of Ḥojjah of the Imām (Āmir) in the island of Yemen. As we learn from Macrīzī, *l.c.* (De Sacy, Introd. cxiv.), the term "island" is here technical; it means one of the four great dioceses into which the sphere of the Fatimite propaganda was divided. Thus it would seem that in our passage the statement that the queen was Ḥojjah of the Imām is as much as to say that she was Ibn Najīb's ecclesiastical superior, so that in acting against her the Dā'y was guilty of an act of insubordination against the Imām himself. "And this," our author adds, "was the cause of the arrest of Ibn Najīb ad-Dawlah," by

orders sent from Egypt. To get this sense we must transpose سبب and هذا, but no further change is necessary, nor need we assume a lacuna with Mr. Kay. What follows is a new paragraph, giving another account of the matter drawn from a different source, and headed by the name of 'Omārah's informant. In strictness the name should be preceded by the word قال, but in writings of this period quotations are sometimes introduced simply by naming the author.

At this point 'Omārah's narrative throws a welcome side-light on the intrigues that ruined the Vizier Al-Ma'mūn. On this point Mr. Kay has, at p. 265, a useful note from Macrīzī, but he does not seem to have observed that Ibn Khaldūn, iv. 70 *sq.*, and an unnamed authority (Jamāl ad-Dīn ?) used by Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 296 *sq.* supply some further details that are of consequence. What the Vizier's enemies affirmed was that he claimed to be the son of Nizār, and the rightful heir to the Caliphate. In fact, the Caliph Al-Mokhtār Mohammed, in whose name coins were struck, is Mohammed Al-Ma'mūn himself. Thus we see that the "lying Amīr," who was clearly a double-dyed traitor, served the enemies of Ma'mūn at the same time that he wreaked his vengeance on the Dā'y. It is hardly an accident that Al-Ma'mūn, after languishing in prison for three years, was put to death in 522, immediately after the arrival of Ibn Najīb, and that the latter suffered with him. The charge against Ibn Najīb was a necessary part of the plot, and the coins forged in Yemen were the chief evidence, not only against the Dā'y, but against the Vizier himself. That the Dā'y was brought to Cairo and executed along with the Vizier is told, not only by Wüstenfeld's authority, but by Ibn Khaldūn, *ut supra*, though, with a carelessness not unusual in this

historian, he gives a different account in the part of his work which Mr. Kay reprints. These remarks will serve to correct and supplement our editor's note 56 at p. 266, where the fate of the Dā'y is left an open question. 'Omārah's silence on the subject is easily understood. Believing the Dā'y to be innocent, he did not wish to charge Al-Āmir with a judicial murder.

p. 46, l 4. "Who used to bear the sword," cannot mean "entrusted with military power," and is most naturally taken to mean that he had been the Caliph's sword-bearer, on which high office see Macrīzī, i. 403; Calcashandi, p. 182. Perhaps, however, it means no more than he had been one of the ارباب السيف, or military officers of the court, as distinct from the ارباب الاقلام, or civil officials.

„ l. 8. Ibn Najīb, desiring to take the envoy down a peg, asks him if he was not head of the police at Cairo, to which Mr. Kay makes the other reply, "Yea, and indeed those whom I smite with my hand are among the most eminent of those who boast of a rabble following of 10,000 men"—a rendering which is its own refutation. Read نَعْل and translate, "Say rather that I am the man who can give its chief citizens 10,000 slaps in the face with a sandal"; نعل stands for a blow with a shoe, just as مقرعة stands for a blow with a palm-stick (e.g. *Aghānī*, xviii. 179. 30), and readers of Hajji Baba will remember that this humiliating punishment was common at the Persian court in quite recent times. I have seen an angry Cairene, who thought himself insulted, tear his turban from his head and dash it on the ground, exclaiming, "Take thy sandal and smite me on the face."

p. 46, l. 17. Read المقطعين "pensioners."

p. 49, l. 12. For يقلد read يقدر.

p. 52, l. 4. The only change needed is نار for نور. "Fire only catches the man who kindles it." Those who have no personal interest in the contest will keep at a safe distance from deadly fray.

p. 53, l. 5. Point علىّ and إن عقرت "So I have still to pay for the horses if they are maimed in the fight." The Dā'y replied, "That may lie over till they are maimed." "Nay, said the other, pay me their price in advance as you have payed the blood-money in advance." Mr. Kay has missed more than half the point of this delightful specimen of Bedouin cupidity.

p. 55, l. 6. I presume that Anīs was the eunuch in charge of the harem; probably therefore we should read لا يحتاج. As the words stand they give a still more offensive but less probable sense.

p. 56, l. 6. Not "extemporised" but "called for"; cf. p. 77, l. 5; *Aghānī*, iv. 170, l. 12, "call for a song."

„ footnote 3. This is overcorrected, for سلب governs two accusatives. If اخذت must be corrected اصبت seems better than اصاب, but I do not see that anything is needed beyond cancelling the dittography. "I took his mark and robbed him of his arrow" will mean: "I appropriated his idea and stole his words."

p. 58, l. 4. I wish that Mr. Kay, with his practical knowledge of Eastern business, had told us what he takes to be the precise nature of the "settlement of account" expressed by تقسيط, lit. "the apportioning of moneys among the persons to or by whom they are to be paid." May we understand that 'Omārah, acting as agent, had disbursed the money to different

persons, and being now to leave Arabia desired to have his responsibility transferred to these persons, and to be out of the business? The form of discharge that follows favour this view, especially if, at l. 12, in place of درج, which can hardly be right, we read خرج, "the moneys disbursed by him."

p. 58, l. 8. The first يقسط seems to be a dittography. "Let him first produce two verses on the subject (rhyming) in Câf." The prince prescribes the rhyme to secure an impromptu.

p. 59. The list of Bilâl's plate, etc. presents a number of difficulties to which I can contribute little help. In l. 8 I think we should certainly read مناقل "braziers." Mr. Kay's suggestion in footnote 5 lies under the difficulty that cloaks cannot be mentioned among articles of plate, estimated by weight. It is true that the next item is silver lace, but that one kind of this Egyptian manufacture was sold by weight seems clear from Ibn al-Faḳîh, p. 252, l. 9.

p. 60, l. 6. For عزم I would suggest عدم; they were all extremely ugly or ill-shaped. The African type is very displeasing to the Arabs, and Sa'îd, we know, was squint-eyed.—l. 9. Read خالفة, "stupid," "of weak intellect."—l. 5 from foot. The mouse-hole (نفق) is, of course, a secret passage between (بين) the houses. Cf. *Aghânî*, xiv. 75, l. 12 *sq.*

p. 61, l. 8. Delete ثم, which is a mere dittography of the two preceding letters. In the last line of the same page, for بعد read يمد, and for الوحى read الوجى. "He did not cease to press the march, in spite of the sufferings and despair of his men."

p. 62, ll. 8, 9. For عبس and عبسى Yâcût, ii. 511, ll. 21, 22, has عنس and عنسى, but Ibn Khallikân, p. 184, l. 12

(Slane)=ii. 80, l. 5 (Wüst.) agrees with our text.—l. 9. For فارَق الماء فى قب درقته Ibn Khallikān has وبال, which Mr. Kay follows, recognizing, at the same time, that if this is the general sense the last two words must be corrupt. Apart from Ibn Khallikān's testimony, درقته is certainly suspicious, but قب seems to me to have every aspect of genuineness. The *cabb* of a garment is the lining inserted to strengthen it round the opening for the head (the جيب), and this suggests the very natural sense that 'Alī, overcome with fear, "spilt the water (he was raising to his lips) in the bosom of" [his garment]. Neither on this view, nor on that adopted by Mr. Kay, can درقة be right, if it has its usual sense of a leather targe; but in Persian the word (vocalized دَرْقَه) is said to mean also a shirt of mail; indeed, the *Burhān-i-Kāti'* gives this as its usual sense, and it is affirmed that the same sense is found in Algerian Arabic. It is just conceivable that this signification may be admitted here: in Yemen, of all places, a word might have its Persian sense. But all this is somewhat speculative; more probably we should read فى قَبِّهِ, and delete درقته as a corrupted doublette. It may be objected that if this view of the passage is correct, there ought to have been previous mention that 'Alī was about to drink; but it must be remembered that 'Omārah is here quoting, and in all likelihood abridging, from Jayyāsh.

p. 62, l. 16. Read بقتله, "The best man of my people is a cheap price to pay for his slaughter."

„ last line. The uncovered face is a sign of pride, for women do not veil themselves before their bond-servants. One might bring this out by rendering the preceding words, "God give thee no good morrow, thou squint-eyed slave."

p. 63, footnote 2. Delete من. "After his departure" is بعده simply.

p. 64, footnote 3. The insertion of الفَ (not الفا) accords very well with p. 31, l. 3; but both there and here the numbers must be greatly exaggerated. Cf. the very different figures on p. 77.

p. 66, l. 3. Point غَلَبَة. Note in l. 8 the use of حارات in the sense of "suburban villages," which is doubtless an older sense than "enclosed quarters of a city." This is important as confirming the etymological conjecture of G. Hoffmann (ZDMG. xxxii. 753), that the word is the Aramaic *ḥêrtâ*—originally, therefore, a settlement of Arabs in the neighbourhood of a Syrian city, or Aramaean trading colony.

„ l. 18. Here, and at p. 67, l. 7, the proper correction is, beyond doubt, اعتزيتُ "I recited my name and lineage" in the familiar formula *Ana Fulān ibn Fulān*. In the first case he checked himself before he had got beyond his *kunya*.

p. 67, l. 7. The correct reading can easily be inferred from Khazrajī, *viz.* يسمعنى سواه or سواهما.

„ l. 10. The text seems right enough. That one of Al-Ṣoleyhī's family should be called al-Agharr (or Al-A'azz) and have a house in Zabīd is perfectly credible, while on the other hand the palace was not occupied by Sa'īd till next morning (p. 68, l. 2). In the following line وصفاء is graphically an easier correction than وصفان and ماعون "utensils" is right. In l. 17 the sense is, "had long had them in his power, and had spared," etc.

„ l. 20. Read يؤمّنا, "What have we to expect from you?" In what follows الايام are not "man's fortune's" but "the fortunes of war," lit. "days

of battle." The figure of the buckets of the water-wheel, of which one rises as the other falls, is constantly used of wars.

p. 68, l. 6. Read مستضيفين, "seeking hospitality."

„ l. 11. Mr. Kay's correction is insufficient to restore the metre. We must further read لا for ليس, and تُشَيِّع for تشجع. The rare word (see Houtsma's ed. of the *Kit. al-Aḍdād*, p. 177) was changed for a common one by a scribe who could not scan.

p. 69, l. 8. For استقلوا ب read استقبلوا, "confronted Ibrāhīm."

p. 71, l. 7. اصطفى must here have the not uncommon sense "confiscated." But why then is it said, not only here but at p. 86, l. 14, that the girl 'Alam was *bought* from Anīs's heirs? The explanation, I presume, is this. The confiscation was not strictly legal by the sacred law, and therefore the legitimacy of 'Alam's son would have been questionable unless a form of purchase from the legal heirs had been gone through.

p. 72, l. 5. Read للمنصور governed by وزر. In l. 9 read وأحدة سلمت. In line 12 I would read بغدر, "to which the Vizier could not penetrate by treachery or on any pretext." For l. 13, cf. Dozy, *s.v.* مادّة. In l. 14 *sqq.* Khazrajī gives the correct sense, and makes the restoration of 'Omārah's words easy. Mr. Kay's difficulty arises from overlooking the post-classical sense of *muwallad*, *viz.* "of servile birth." Follow Khazrajī in l. 14; in l. 15 omit ام ابى الجيش as a dittography or gloss, and in l. 16 read الفتية (=البنت of Khazrajī). The point is that although of servile birth, she also was called "Lady," literally "free-born," because she had borne a daughter to the Sultan. In all, *four* favourites of the Sultan bear

the title Lady (ḥorrah), and two have no such title [In the E. Tr. p. 99, l. 3, for "Ladies" read "Lady"]. As a Moslem can have but four wives, as distinguished from concubine slave girls, one would infer that these four favourites had all been manumitted and promoted to full wifehood. But on the first line of the next page we are told that 'Alam, or Umm Fātik, had no fellow-wife "except her." This cannot mean "except the last in the list of favourites," for she is not called *ḥorrah*, and is not said to have borne Manṣur any children; and, in view of the whole previous statement, it can hardly mean anything but "except Umm Abi 'l-Jaish." In that case, the four names that follow her's must be bracketed as spurious, or at least as an afterthought, which 'Omārah may have set in the margin without re-shaping the structure of his sentence. If the latter explanation is correct, the title *ḥorrah*, given to two of the four, can hardly be from his pen.

p. 74. The Sheikh Aḥmad, who grew up from childhood in the country of Kindah, cannot be identical with the pious and learned person who was thrown into that country by the accident of a shipwreck; and therefore the point of the story must be that the latter was Aḥmad's teacher. Hence, for the corrupt words احمد هو الفرضي in l. 17, we must read اخذ منه الفرايض, or something to that effect.

p. 75. In l. 5 read لم اصل (without و). In line 11 read فيفترقون فيها.

p. 77, l. 15. Perhaps ما وطؤ للحافر, "all the country that was easy for cavalry": cf. p. 43.

p. 78, l. 7. Read تأمر بنقض, "He said to the Vizier, you must order the old division to be annulled."—l. 13. In Arabic "splitting the staff" means schism. Here the sense is that he was on the point of leaving Zabīd and renouncing his allegiance.

p. 78, l. 15. The term ام ولد is wrongly explained in the translation and in note 83, p. 283. It is not the case that in Mohammedan countries a slave who bears a child to her master thereby becomes free. But such a woman may not be sold, pawned, or given away, and she becomes free at her master's death. This is the status denoted technically by the term *Umm walad.* In practice, at least nowadays, the master generally sets the mother of his child free and raises her to the status of a wife; but he is not bound to do so, and in a large seraglio it would often be impossible to do so, as a man cannot have more than four wives. See Van den Berg's ed. of the *Minhāj*, vol. iii. p. 497.—At the end of the line read سرا ربهم.

p. 79, l. 1. The corruption here seems to have arisen in the following way: For ينبت هذا الشجر there was a marginal variant ينبت هناك شجر. Of this variant the first two words got into the text as ليست هناك (cf. Yācūt), which led to the further insertion of الا. I propose, therefore, to delete the last three words of l. 1. The هى in l. 2 is the valley, not the tree.

„ l. 3 from foot. Read يظل ضيفا and delete footnote 8. In the translation, for "to act indulgently" read "to spend the day with him as his guest."

p. 80, l. 4. Mr. Kay, in his translation, seems to read اليه for الى. I am not sure that it would not be simpler to read تحمل with مال جزيل in the next line. No value can be attached to the MS. as regards nominatives and accusatives, and the sense seems to be that 'Othmān called in a large sum that he had abroad in order to prepare a sumptuous feast.

p. 80, footnote 6. The point, omitted by Khazrajī and in the translation, that the Vizier's soldiers were allowed to loot the remains of the banquet, is characteristic and surely genuine.

p. 81, l. 12. For مخرج read يخرج.

p. 82, l. 4. For احد read احدى.—The second half of the following line is not an assertion but a wish.—l. 14. اكابر here is evidently a weak spot. To cure it we must note that the influential slaves formed two groups or parties. The second group consisted of فحول, not "powerful men," as Mr. Kay has it, but "slaves who were not eunuchs." The first group must therefore consist of eunuchs, and the statement that they were so must lurk in the corrupt word, for by itself the expression الازمة, "the prefects, or heads of departments," is not confined to eunuchs. But the prefect of the seraglio زمام الادر is necessarily a eunuch; cf. De Sacy, *Chrest*, i. 503. Read, therefore, الآدر (observing that the corruption of *lām* to *kāf* is due to the *medda* having been taken as part of the letter) and translate, "these were the prefects, the chief eunuchs of the seraglio."

p. 85, l. 7. By some violent changes of the text, and some straining of the words he reads, Mr. Kay gets the following translation, "He has moreover Nājiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave-dealers, and the love he bears to her son Manṣūr is carried to an extreme." But the *ductus literarum* of the text is quite sound, though some diacritical points have been displaced, and the true sense is, "Besides, he was a merchant's slave and nurtured by merchants, and the avarice of the class is stamped upon his countenance to this day."—In l. 11 I would propose المقام, "of ample dignity."

p. 90, l. 15. "He was the most knowing of men about the mansions of the moon, and the rising and setting of the stars." At this time, it must be remembered, astrology was a part of statecraft.

p. 91, l. 1 *sq.* "Whoever invited him he accepted the invitation." In so doing he followed the example of the Prophet and the rule of all good Moslems. Compare Ghazālī's discourse on this duty in the *Kit. al-Ādāb, Bāb aḍ-Diyāfah* (vol. ii. p. 11 of the Cairo ed. of the Iḥya, A.H. 1302).

p. 97, l. 4 from foot. The reading "eighty" for "thirty" which Mr. Kay suggests as possible (note 99, p. 293) is, in fact, that given by Abulfeda, vol. iii. p. 197.—In the same line we should perhaps read عن for فى عشر.

p. 99, l. 5 from foot. For عز read عرض.

p. 100, l. 11. Omit لما as doublette of the preceding ثم.

p. 101, l. 6. Read الغيوث, "refreshing showers." To compare God's bounties to "the *lion*, whose visits are unceasing, who cometh in the morning and returneth in the shadow of the evening," as Mr. Kay does, is really too pessimistic.

I now pass on to Al-Janadī:

p. 139, l. 6 from foot. Perhaps حضر has fallen out before كان حضرك, "would that he who is now present had been present with thee."

p. 140, l. 1. For بالتبيت read بالتلبث.—l. 3, footnote 1. Perhaps اغتاظ "was full of rage against the religion of Islam."—l. 8. For تعرش ب read تفرّس فى, "divined in his countenance." *Firāsa* was one of the occult sciences which the Ismailians affected.—l. 9. For دينا read دنيا, in the sense of "worldly goods, riches." Grammar requires a nominative fem.,

not an accus. masc., as Mr. Kay suggests.—l. 13. It appears to me that the text here is not corrupt, but represents a variant form of the tradition, which ought to be retained, not corrected after the common form of this *ḥadīth*: "The true religion (Islām: cf. Ibn al-Fakīh's version of the words, ed. De Goeje, p. 33) is Yemenite, the Caaba is Yemenite, and the Corner is Yemenite." This is right enough on the view expressed in another well-known tradition of the Prophet, that Yemen includes the Hijāz and touches Syria (Shām) at Tabūk. For the pre-eminence of the "Yemenite corner" over the other corners of the Caaba, see Yācūt, iv. 1035, l. 5, and fuller details in Azracī, p. 240. It was here that the angel Gabriel used to sit.

p. 141, l. 12. Read بلدا.—l. 14. Read أُلحقهم بالأخيار, "I used to make them cleave to the things that are good," *i.e.* I strove to make them sedulous in pious practices.

p. 144, l. 11. The metre requires رِدّة, as De Goeje reads, *Carmathes*, p. 227.—l. 12. To get the sense Mr. Kay puts on this we must read قُدّس, which is perhaps better than to point تَدَنَّسَت, as the metre requires if we keep the present text.

p. 145, l. 2. Perhaps وأثّر ذلك الماء المحتقن. The accumulated water left a mark on the (arched) ceiling.—l. 4. Read ظَنّا.

p. 146, l. 7. For اسوة read إسْوَةٌ, "I have a precedent in the conduct of Abū Sa'īd, since he has already proclaimed himself independent." In note 141 Mr. Kay hardly attaches due weight to this important statement, which seems finally to settle the question of Abū Sa'īd's defection from the Fatimite party,

while it also justifies De Goeje in doubting whether he went over to the Abbasids, and explains the motive for his assassination.—l. 16. Mr. Kay takes فائش here as a proper name, but see p. 17, l. 17, where فائشة must be a descriptive term. In that passage Ibn Khallikān substitutes عالية. The word is not ordinary Arabic, and probably belongs to a Yemenite dialect. It means, perhaps, "prominent," "protuberant." It also occurs in Yemen in proper names. Yācūt has Wādy Fāish, but evidently does not know the connotation of the name.

p. 149, l. 1. I cannot follow the process of emendation by which Mr. Kay gains the sense, "Resting his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God." The true text is easily restored; for هداوة read مَزادةً (or مزادةً), and render, "Laying a leathern sack (with water, or with provisions—the former is the classical sense) on the back of a jackass he had."

I conclude with some remarks on verses cited in the notes:

p. 256, l. 9. Mr. Kay's proposals are against the laws of metre; the text is quite sound and means, "though its very wolves be so famished that they cannot howl."

p. 261, l. 6. In the second hemistich Mr. Kay follows the reading of Khazrajī, which is against metre. Render, "and on whose might Islâm leans for support."

p. 262, l. 1. Point وَأَقَلُّ, "The least of his noble and eminent works is that," etc.

p. 279, first verse. الجهل is the usual antithesis to العلم and must not be tampered with. Cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 221 *sqq.*, where the various nuances of the two words are copiously

p. 280. Read يورّق, "that perturbs the night of the watcher," *i.e.* keeps a man awake all night with love-sickness. مورق is "love-lorn."

p. 281, second verse. The rhyme (in Rajaz requires دخن), "his heart enfolded no malice."

p. 326. The words here given are not verse at all.

'Omārah's History of Yemen—Observations by Henry C. Kay.

Professor Robertson Smith, in his paper on my version of 'Omārah's history, concerns himself with two points. He deals with my treatment of the Arabic text, and he enters into certain observations upon the brief sketch I have supplied of the author's life.

These last do not call for more than a few words of explanation. It will be seen that the particulars I have placed before my readers, scanty as they are, really sum up all the leading facts of 'Omārah's life that are known to us. As to the sources of Ibn Khallikān's biography, the writer himself tells us that he drew his materials from one of 'Omārah's works, and Prof. Robertson Smith is no doubt right in pointing out that I was in errror in supposing the history to be the work referred to. Indeed, the information that the latter affords us touching 'Omārah's career in his native country is actually somewhat in excess of the meagre details supplied by the biographer.[1]

It is no doubt true that in speaking of the last years of 'Omārah's life, which were spent in Egypt, I might have entered into an examination of several points of a controversial character—into an attempt to pronounce upon the precise nature of 'Omārah's relations with the Fatimites and Ayyubites, upon the question of his guilt or innocence of the crime for which he suffered, and upon the literal genuineness of the verses which, by general consent, bore an important part in bringing about his death. But such an enquiry would have led me somewhat far from the

[1] The particulars contained in the history may easily be found (s.v. 'Omârah) by means of the Index I have added to my translation.

actual objects of my task, to the fulfilment of which, I still venture to think, I was not wrong in confining myself.

Passing on now to Prof. Robertson Smith's criticisms of my treatment of the MS., I must, in the first place, confess to some degree of doubt as to the nature of the course which he would have had me adopt. He fully endorses all I have said concerning the numerous errors of all descriptions, omissions, and corruptions with which the text is disfigured, and he admits that they not unfrequently render it all but impossible to apprehend the author's precise meaning. He is of opinion that I ought to have given a correct and readable, in other words a purified, text whereever that was possible. This, he perceives, would have necessitated deviations which he would have had me indicate by brackets and marginal notes. I find it difficult to make a distinction between such a course and an attempt at that complete recension which Prof. Robertson Smith elsewhere admits would involve an amount of conjecture indistinguishable from mere guess work. A line of demarcation, it will perhaps be said, could have been established, but it would in practice be found very difficult to determine where the line should be drawn. The course I adopted was that to which I was naturally, I may almost say insensibly, led. The variants given in the footnotes, and derived from Janadī, Khazrajī, and other writers, frequently yield a satisfactory sense which the corruption of the text denies us, and in some cases, as I have pointed out, the subsequent writer has copied the words of the original author almost verbatim. The difference between Prof. Robertson Smith and myself seems chiefly to be this, that I have more particularly regarded all attempts at restoring the text, not as an end of itself, but simply as the means to an end.

Professor Robertson Smith remarks that I have not sufficiently availed myself of the help to be derived from the laws of metre. Such help, it is quite true, may be of the greatest value when we are dealing with poetical works by writers of some reputation, but it cannot be safely applied to every scrap of verse quoted, as is usually

the case, from memory, and seldom quite correctly. The greatest caution in such case must be used before we can venture to subordinate the sense to metrical regularity. What I have said on the subject receives a not unapt illustration from what Prof. Robertson Smith himself says of a line as given by Khazrajī (p. 261), that it is "against metre," and of another introduced by Dayba' (p. 326), that it is not verse at all. It will be noticed that whenever one of the Arab classics is quoted, I have looked up the passage and given the correct reading.

Of the emendations proposed by Professor Robertson Smith, some are very good and a useful contribution towards a restoration of the text. Such are his reading of the line of verse at p. 15, l. 7,[1] so also at p. 34, l. 17, حامل المذبّة. His comments upon p. 46, l. 1 *sqq.*, are both useful and suggestive, but the proposed amendment at l. 8 I think is somewhat doubtful, having regard not only to the fact, so far as I am aware, that the verb لطم is exclusively used to signify a blow dealt with the hand, but also to the construction of the sentence. The proposed reading at p. 53, l. 5, is good, but I should prefer لي to عليّ with the word ثمن understood. ثم at p. 61, l. 8, may indicate an omission, but Prof. Robertson Smith is not improbably right in proposing to expunge the word. His emendation of the last line of the page is a very probable one, and so also that at p. 66, l. 3, غلبة for علية, which indeed is practically that given by Khazrajī as shown in the footnote, and adopted by myself. Again, at p. 69, l. 8, استقبلوا for استقلوا. At p. 82, l. 4, احدى in the feminine must, of course, be substituted for احد, and his rendering of l. 2, p. 91, is no doubt correct.

[1] My references are, like Professor Robertson Smith's, to the pages of the Arabic text. The numbers of the Arabic pages being printed in the margin of the English version, the corresponding passages in the latter will easily be found.

But Prof. Robertson Smith's emendations and interpretations are not all of equal value. In not a few cases they are very doubtful, and in others they are unquestionably erroneous. I may here add that I propose dealing with specific statements only, excluding those of a general character.[1]

As an example of the latter, I may refer to his remarks upon 'Omārah's elegy on the Fatimites. Prof. Robertson Smith says that I have translated a few lines, "but not quite correctly." This might possibly signify no more than that my abridged rendering is not a literal translation, which is true. But he makes his meaning quite clear when he goes on to say that I am especially wrong in my reading of one particular line, the real signification of which is, he adds, that "ofttimes the ransom of the world lay with the Fatimites, and that through them it was loosed of its bonds." Here I must simply say that I am quite unable to follow my critic. A close translation of the line is, according to my judgment, as follows:

> "Perhaps the world [an it please God] will return to its former condition. Its place of refuge and protection is derived from you, and through you it will be released of its bonds."

It is not I think without significance that the expression معاقل الارض, *the refuges of the land*, was, according to the Tāj al 'Arūs, as quoted by Lane, applied to the kings of Ḥimyar.[2] What, it may further be asked, were the occasions on which it could be said of the Fatimite Khalifahs, that they submitted to the humiliating necessity of ransoming their people, and to whom was the ransom paid?

It did not escape my notice that Ibn Khallikān writes

[1] I shall also pass over some other passages, though not altogether devoid of interest, since they show the effects which my mistakes, whether real or imaginary, produced on the Professor's mind.

[2] Professor Robertson Smith seems to have somewhat misapprehended my own words. The line, as I read it, expresses a hope and wish for the restoration of the Fatimite dynasty.

the name of the Wazīr Talāi's father رُزِّيك, *Ruzzik* (*supra*, p. 184, footnote). The Ḳamūs writes Ruzzayk, which, even on inferior authority, would have seemed to me the preferable form. This I accordingly adopted, but through an accident which I did not discover in time, it has been printed Ruzayḳ. Abu'l Mahāsin, I may add, writes Ruzayk (vol. ii. 421).

I now proceed to an examination of Prof. Robertson Smith's detailed criticisms. I pass over some paragraphs, chiefly out of consideration for the space I can fairly ask to be allowed to occupy in the Society's *Journal*, but also because it seems unnecessary to do otherwise. Such, for example, is the first paragraph, in which Prof. Robertson Smith, by the alteration of a word, slightly alters the sense of a passage, but concerns himself chiefly with 'Omārah's intentions when he began his book. That on p. 2, l. 8, of which I can only say that Prof. Robertson Smith renders the word امالى in a sense which seems to me very doubtful. That at p. 4, l. 1, is a disputable contention on a small matter, over which I gave myself a considerable amount of trouble, without being able to arrive at a better solution than that offered by Janadī. In his remark on p. 5, l. 4, Prof. Robertson Smith is no doubt right, but the exaggeration on the one side is hardly less than that on the other.

p. 5, l. 7. Prof. Robertson Smith, when saying that this passage ought "certainly to be amended with the aid of Yāḳūt," has failed to notice that Yāḳūt is here exceedingly inaccurate, and is himself in great need of correction. 'Omārah, we may feel sure, never said that Aden La'ah stood on Mount Ṣabir.

p. 11, footnote 6. فبنى in the active can readily be understood as meaning "he caused to be built," but after what follows, unless ختم be read in the passive, it would be plainly implied that Nafīs built the wall and closed the aperture with his own hands.

p. 12, footnotes 8 and 10. لبني or something equivalent is absolutely necessary. Prof. Robertson Smith is in error in regarding بنو اصبح as the subject of تغلب (l. 14). The verb has been repeated (last line), owing to the interruption of the sentence by a digression, but the subject of the verb is in both cases the same, namely, Sultan Abu 'Abd Allah. The Banu Aṣbaḥ occupied the valley of Ṣahūl and probably owned the land, but they were not the conquerors spoken of in the text. They were, on the contrary, subject to the family of Kurandi. The word عليهم must be read in the plural, not in the dual.

On account of its bearing upon another fact of Arab tribal history, and one of some importance, it seems proper to refer here to a statement by Hamdāni, which I have had occasion to quote in note 3 (p. 214), and which Prof. Robertson Smith has likewise referred to in his "Kinship," p. 9. But he has misunderstood the true meaning of the passage. Hamdāni does not say that it was a practice with obscure desert Arabs to call themselves by the name of some more famous tribe, but that when they happened to bear the same name, they frequently asserted a false claim to identity of lineage.

p. 15, l. 18. We have an express statement that the words quoted were those of al-Mutanabbi. The narrator would without doubt have said so if both words and sense had been purposely altered. It seems equally improbable that 'Aly, the Sulayhite, would be represented as gratuitously offering so gross an insult to a man who was about to load him with benefits. But Prof. Robertson Smith's reading no doubt deserves consideration.

p. 16, l. 14. The lines are in the *Khafīf* metre. According to De Sacy the last syllable of the second foot may

be read short. Anyhow the next syllable must be long, and the word may be adapted to the necessities of the case by reading it in the plural, *simāti*. I was never well satisfied with the word ذرى, and, on reconsideration of the line, it strikes me that دُرّى *brilliant*, is almost without doubt the true reading. The word is particularly used when speaking of a star, and the probabilities in its favour are, I think, strong. It goes, of course, to confirm my interpretation of the line. I could wish that Prof. Robertson Smith had explained his reasons for reading وسمت in the passive, and *simāḥ* rather than *samāḥ*. But a similar wish has more than once occurred to me in the course of his paper.

p. 16, l. 19. The emendations here proposed are, for the most part, good and useful; but they do not altogether relieve us of the difficulties presented by the text. That the bond in question was in favour of the oil-presser and a reward for the exchange of dress, is, of course, pure conjecture. The oil-presser, in that transaction, must indeed have had the best of the bargain. Prof. Robertson Smith's translation عندى عنه, *he discharged before the Kādi*, seems not only grammatically doubtful, but inconsistent also with what is indicated in the narrative, that no third person took part in the interview with the Ḳāḍi. Prof. Robertson Smith cannot guess, he tells us, how I came to make a new personage of 'Aly, the Sulayhite, Ḳāḍi of Ḥarāz. That arises from his failure to observe that 'Aly never was Ḳāḍi of Ḥarāz, whilst the name 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, which appears in the text, is, to borrow the remark of Queen Asma, a very common one among Arabs. The intended meaning is probably 'Aly, son of the Ḳāḍi of Ḥarāz, Muḥammad. (Cf. Ibn el Wardi, ii. 368.)

p. 18, l. 17. Prof. Robertson Smith's reading of فنى in the sense of *exhausted*, instead of the more usual one *perished*, is good. Also his emendation اشهد instead of احتقل. But the difficulties we have to deal with are not exhausted. The singular قصر, l. 17, Prof. R. Smith pronounces to be right, but he omits to tell us what then becomes of the words عدّة قصور, which require the affixed pronouns in l. 19 to be in the plural, not to mention the word قصور in l. 18.

p. 19, l. 11. Prof. Robertson Smith, instead of مبجّل *honoured*, would read مبخّل *accused of being avaricious*, a charge which, it is true, is seldom undeserved in the case of an Arab, but one which would be fiercely resented in that of a great and powerful chief such as 'Aly the Sulayhite. As to l. 12 *sqq*. Prof. Robertson Smith unnecessarily changes the order of the sentence. If we read the next words وإنْ ماثلتنى as he seems to do, the natural sense would be "and if she resembles me." Had the author intended the conjunction to signify *although*, he would surely have made his meaning plain by writing ومع أنّها, or words to that effect. If we read مثّلتنى, as I have proposed, the sense undoubtedly is, "if I compare myself."

Prof. Robertson Smith, as it seems to me, accepts far too readily the boastful language in which Arabs are in the habit of attributing to themselves a variety of heroic virtues, a scrupulous sense of honour, generosity, profuse liberality, disinterestedness, etc. If an individual affect a self-depreciatory tone, we may freely suspect his sincerity, but he will seldom hesitate to do so, as an indirect mode of flattery, provided it can be of service to him.

As to the Arab who would feel or confess to feeling humbled by favours bestowed upon him, least of all by favours proceeding from a brother or sister or sovereign Prince, that Arab, I will venture to say, must be a very exceptional character. We have an example before us, among others, in 'Omārah, who never shows the slightest symptom of the kind.

p. 20, l. 6. و لا أختصرُ من اموالهٔ, is to my mind better than أختصرُ من احوالهٔ. I do not think that حال or its plural احوال can be used in the sense of *business*. أختَصَرُ, as written by Prof. Robertson Smith, is, I presume, a clerical error.

p. 21, l. 6. If Prof. Robertson Smith means that the lines in our text were written by the author of the *Urjūzat al-Ḥajj*, he ought to read راجز أرجوزة الحج, or words to the same effect. But the lines are not to be found in the Urjūzah, nor does the route it describes come anywhere near the place mentioned by 'Omārah.

p. 22, l. 3 from foot. The reading here proposed would require the verb to be in the plural.

p. 26, footnote 3. الرجل as in the footnote is, in my opinion, undoubtedly better. "The man, by Allah, who took his mother from Zabīd, and on her account slew 20,000 Abyssinians, he, by my life, was truly a man."

As to Prof. Robertson Smith's proposed corrections of footnote 5 and l. 3 from foot, they are clearly erroneous. The meaning is not that Aḥmad paid the money to As'ad, but that, on the contrary, he received it for conveyance to their master at Ṣan'ā.

p. 28, l. 12. My rendering of the words كانى بك is perfectly right, as may be seen by reference to the

very passage in Wright's Grammar, to which Prof. Robertson Smith appeals. A correction is perhaps, however, required in the words that follow, which, it may be, ought to read "and beheld thee, O fair-complexioned, after thou hadst swept away," etc.

p. 33, footnote 2. There is good reason, I think, for adopting Khazrajī's rather than Prof. Robertson Smith's somewhat fanciful reading. The excessive summer heat in Tihāmah and scarcity of pasturage at that season are sufficient reasons for the departure of the mountaineers, and it is quite in accordance with Eastern practice to harass a retreating enemy, if it be possible to do so.

p. 35, l. 3. I feel quite unable to accept Prof. Robertson Smith's reading. It is not possible to conceive the Khalifah writing of his own or of the Queen's subjects as obliged to live in concealment from their (and his) enemies. The word *kahf*, moreover, signifies *asylum*, *refuge*, as well as *cave*. To call the Queen a cave would sound no less odd to Arab than to English ears.

„ last line. Prof. Robertson Smith somewhat exaggerates the unbending pride, as he represents it, of an Arab, and at the same time fails to observe that he contends for a reading which does not perceptibly differ from that to which he objects. In the one case, "he felt humbled in his own estimation and perceived that his reputation was dimmed"; in the other, "he saw that his own reputation was eclipsed." I feel quite at a loss to understand how the Professor arrives at the meaning he attributes to the message Saba sends through the slave girl. The words, to my mind, were simply meant to convey to the Queen, perhaps with some slight sarcasm, that she had not succeeded in deceiving him.

p. 37, l. 10. Prof. Robertson Smith omits to take into consideration the word بها in the tenth line. Following

thereupon we must, I think, necessarily read للتعكر in the last hemistich.

p. 38, l. 2. The phrase, my rendering of which Prof. Robertson Smith condemns, is a very common one. His interpretation is erroneous, and it misrepresents the relations between the Queen and her Wazīr. The phrase is fully explained in Wright's Grammar, vol. ii. p. 154.

„ footnote 2 and l. 11. Prof. Robertson Smith's emendation, with its meaning, "from this day forth I owe thee no obedience in my castle," is too improbable to be accepted. No Arab courtier would have expressed his wishes in such undiplomatic language.

Prof. Robertson Smith's proposed substitution of قلت for عاد is not only, to my mind, unnecessary, but it misleads him in his interpretation of the passage. The words فيما عاد signify "in that (*i.e.* in my treatment of you) which has been habitual (with me)." The verb may in certain cases, as is shown by Lane, be used simply in the sense of كان *was*. حرج مني must be rendered in the sense of *restriction, hindrance, "prohibition,"* etc., "*on my part.*"

p. 40, l. 4 from foot. برمي الشعر must, I think, signify "mixed multitudes of Arabs, dwellers in tents." I have an imperfect recollection of having met with the word شعر used as وبر (*wabarīyah, ahl al wabar*), but I can only say so under every reserve.

p. 42, l. 3 from foot. Prof. Robertson Smith's proposal to substitute *Karami* (or Kazami) for Kāzim deserves consideration. But I should prefer to leave the subsequent words untouched, and to read: "He was met by a member of the family of al-Karam, who came from Aden (namely), Muhammad, son of the Dā'y Abu'l-'Arab, and a descendant of Ṣā'īd ibn

Ḥamīd ad-dīn." But the reading, whichever way we take it, remains very doubtful.

p. 43, l. 1 *sqq.* "He asked them about such hidden things" is not a good translation. غوامض is here used as a substantive, and means "the hidden, or deep, or mysterious signification of these things." The identical word is used by Nuwayri and Makrīzī in their account of the process of initiation into the Ismailite sect (Makrīzī, p. 391, l. 32; 392, l. 5). De Sacy translates امور الغامضة by "matières qui présentent beaucoup d'obscurité et d'incertitude" (p. lxxv.), and at p. lxxix. علم خفي غامض by "science abstruse et profonde." I venture to think that my note, despite the sentence which Prof. Robertson Smith passes upon it, will retain its place.

l. 5 from foot. I do not find the word in the dictionaries in either sense, but the Kamūs gives الوطأة, signifying "the place trodden by the feet." See the Tāj al 'Arūs, i. p. 144. I think the rendering I have adopted, both here and for p. 77, l. 15 (translation, p. 105), is the more probable one.

p. 52, l. 4. يمسك must, to my mind, be rendered *to repress, restrain*, etc. Fire is repressed (controlled, mastered, etc.) only by him that kindles it. The words that follow form a natural sequence: "Do not therefore trust to your allies, but bear the fierce heat of battle yourselves." The version adopted by Prof. Robertson Smith, "Fire only catches the man who kindles it," does not convey a satisfactory or even a clear meaning, and it ignores the words فاصطلوها بانفسكم.

p. 55, l. 6. It is true that Janadī describes Anīs as a eunuch, but there is nothing to that effect in our text, and Khazrajī, who here copies 'Omārah very closely, uses the word استاذ. It is to be observed that Anīs seems to have been entrusted with the defence of the castle.

p. 56, footnote 3. I hardly know what precise sense Prof. Robertson Smith intends to convey by the words, "I took his mark." The expression اصاب جصله is to be found in all dictionaries, and signifies, "his shot hit the mark and he won the prize." 'Omārah confesses that he appropriated his neighbour's arrow (*i.e.* the verses he had composed), and its real owner was thus deprived of the prize that ought to have been his. I am at a loss to understand how اصبت could be better than اصاب.

p. 60, l. 5. The propriety of Prof. Robertson Smith's proposal to substitute عدم for عزم is, I think, very doubtful. Whatever may be said of negroes, the Abyssinian type is far from displeasing to Easterns, whilst Abyssinian women are greatly and justly celebrated for their beauty. See the account given by 'Omārah, himself a pure Arab, of the Abyssinian Princes of Zabīd, of whom he says that no Arab king surpassed them in merit, etc. (p. 96 of translation). Again, at p. 104, his description of Muflih, whose handsome presence is particularly mentioned, and the account which both he and Janadī have given of Surūr (note 94).

,, l. 5 from foot. Even with the omission of the word "of course," Prof. Robertson Smith's interpretation of the word نفق is here inadmissible, and it is not confirmed by the passage in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* to which he appeals. What the author says is that the Queen showed Ḳusayr a hole in the ground beneath her throne, and she told him that it had an outlet into another similar hole beneath the throne of her sister on the further side of the Euphrates.

The typical Arab dwelling consists of two, three, or more separately built apartments, some of which may, or may not, adjoin and communicate with

one another. The piece of open ground upon which they stand (عرصة) is enclosed within a wall or fence, and is used for various purposes. It is sufficient to add that the word بين signifies *among* as well as *between*.

p. 62, l. 9. If we read, as I have proposed, (or جبة) فى قباء درعة, that is to say, the mailed kilt forming the nether part of his chain armour, a probable solution is, I think, arrived at.

„ l. 16. The version which Prof. Robertson Smith puts in the man's mouth involves too high a compliment to his enemies and is too depreciatory of his own people. The word رخيص, when applied to a person, is used in a contemptuous sense.

„ last line. 'Omārah has himself given us a sufficient explanation of Asma's appearing in public with uncovered face. See translation, p. 35.

p. 67, l. 7. The text has يسعنى, for which Khazrajī, as I have indicated in the footnote, substitutes يسمعنى. Prof. Robertson Smith gives the preference to the latter, but, to my mind, without good reason. From the word in the text a perfectly consistent meaning is derived. Jayyāsh, after what had occurred, felt that the only course open to him was to withdraw. But Ibn al Ḳumm sprang after him and brought him back. The proposal to read سواهما in the dual is inadmissible, since we are distinctly told that no one but 'Aly and Husayn was present.

„ l. 10. If we adopt the reading proposed by Prof. Robertson Smith, we should have to render it, not one of Sulayhi's family, but al Agharr, his son. No such person is ever mentioned throughout the book, and the course of 'Omārah's narrative everywhere points to the conclusion that 'Aly, the Sulayhite, had

no other son but Aḥmad al-Mukarram. The place of which Jayyūsh took possession on the following morning was not the palace, but the *dār al-imārah*, the seat of government.

p. 67, l. 20. I am not able to follow Prof. Robertson Smith in his substitution of يؤثّنا (more correctly يُئِثْنا) for يؤمّنا. There is an ellipsis of one word in the sentence, but one which no reader could fail to supply.

In what follows As'ad makes use of a well-known phrase الحرب سجال, and it is not without obvious reason that he substitutes ايام, literally the *days*, for حرب *war*. It cannot for a moment be supposed that he uses the word in the sense of "Ayyām al 'Arab," on an occasion when he has offered no resistance, and when he can hope for nothing better than the somewhat humiliating generosity of his enemy.

Prof. Robertson Smith's translation of the phrase الحرب سجال is not correct. Its meaning is clearly explained in the Ḳamūs, and the word *sijāl*, it must be observed, is applied to *full* buckets only.

p. 68, l. 6. مستضيفين, *seeking hospitality*, is to my mind a less suitable word than متضعضعين, *scattered*, or even than مستضافين, *receiving* hospitality, that is refuge.

p. 72. One could wish that Prof. Robertson Smith had mentioned why he would read للمنصور, governed by وزر (it makes a rather awkward sentence), why he wishes to substitute سلمت for تسلم, and غدر for عذر, which gives a perfectly good reading. As to the title *ḥurrah*, it is generally applied to any respectable woman.

p. 78, l. 7. باسر ينتقد. The phrase is of the same construction as that at p. 46, l. 11, بفصلين, and is, I think, perfectly good.

p. 78, l. 13. "He cleft the staff" signifies he parted from those with whom he had been associated, a final rupture took place. It cannot here be taken to mean that Othmān was about to renounce his allegiance (consequently to become a rebel). What is signified is that he was about to submit to the Wazīr's orders, which he was not able to resist, and to leave Zabīd. The Wazīr would thus have gained his ostensible purpose, but his real object would have been defeated.

„ l. 15. I ought to have said that a slave who has borne a child to her master is *practically* free. She is, with only the rarest exceptions, treated as a free woman, even though not formally manumitted.

p. 79, l. 1. The general sense of the passage, notwithstanding its many corruptions, is plain enough, but verbal emendations can be little better than "sheer guess work." The word هى in l. 2 is no doubt not the tree (no one could suppose so), but neither does it refer to the valley.

p. 60, footnote 6. I cannot agree with Prof. Robertson Smith in regarding this passage as signifying that the Wazīr's soldiers looted the remains of the banquet. It must be observed that the words ثم فرّق على حواشى الوزير are repeated twice. The words that intervene are, with scarcely a doubt, due to the carelessness of the transcriber, انهب, no doubt, suggested by امهرة, and عسكر by سكر. The omission of the sentence by Khazrajī is thus fully accounted for. We might, however, retain the first words of the interpolation, reading say *five* for *five hundred*. The sentence would then be "Othmān distributed . . . . . five (roasted) sheep, and three buhārs of sweetmeats." The interpolated words would thus be reduced to four, including the two mentioned above.

p. 85, l. 7. Prof. Robertson Smith's reading is ingenious, but I think that here, as in some other places, he is too absolutely sure of having solved the difficulties

of the text. The education given by dealers to their slaves is not despised in the East, but, on the contrary, is much valued. As to merchants in general, they are rather a favoured class. It is never forgotten that trade was the special occupation of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, and that the Prophet himself was engaged in it at the commencement of his career. Avarice is not regarded as the special vice of the trader. Finally, let it be remembered that the words are reported as spoken by Ḥimyar, himself a slave-dealer, and an educator of slaves.

p. 90, l. 15. The purpose for which Surūr went forth is stated in the text.

p. 99, l. 5 from foot. I can see no reason for the emendation here demanded.

p. 101, l. 6. I have taken the word as it stands in the text, and I suspect it is capable of being defended.

p. 140, l. 6. I should prefer reading اغتار rather than اغتاظا, proposed by Prof. Robertson Smith.

„ l. 9. I do not think that دنيا can properly be interpreted *riches*, synonymous, that is to say, with مال. The word ذكاء occurs to me as by far the most probable reading, and it of course justifies the feminine of the subsequent affixed pronouns. It makes no change in my translation.

p. 141, l. 12. No *alif* is required. The words as printed are quite correct. أنّ لكم بلدً.

p. 144. The right reading, I take it, is تُدَسِّتُ not تدّس, and the former, as it seems to me, suits both metre and sense better than تَدِسِّتِ, but I must confess that I find the lines so full of irregularities, that it seems to me the metre can hardly be taken into account. They can only just be said to be better than Dayba'sʾ line, which Prof. Robertson Smith pronounces is "not verse at all."

p. 145, l. 2. I cannot see the grounds for the emendations here proposed, nor the objects they can serve.

p. 146, l. 7. The proposal to read اشوزة is good. As regards Prof. Robertson Smith's remarks on my note 141, I do not think that much or rather any importance will be attached to Ibn Faḍl's reported words. But the actual question between us seems to hinge rather upon an interpretation of French than of Arabic.

„ l. 16. The word نائش, when read as a geographical name, and not in its ordinary sense, I apprehend is derived from the name of ذو فائش, the Himyarite, and ancestor of the tribe of Yaḥṣub.

p. 149, l. 1. Prof. Robertson Smith's reading is one, which, as our French friends would say, *saute aux yeux*. My objection to it is that the fugitive would surely not encumber himself with a laden ass, when about to travel a comparatively short distance, say to Zabīd, through a fertile and well-watered country, full of Ibn Faḍl's bitter enemies. His ass, be it added, would compel him to keep to the beaten track. The emendation I have proposed, does not, I confess, altogether satisfy me, but it seemed to me worth submitting to my readers. هدارة, I must add, is a misprint. It ought to be غدادة, as in the text.

p. 256, l. 9. The metre is *ṭawīl*, and the last hemistich might be so read that the asseverative *lām* would correspond with the first syllable of the second foot, which is short. Of course we should have to read *jadabi*, not *judbi*. I am not, I confess, prepared to insist upon that reading, but I can with difficulty bring myself to adopt Prof. Robertson Smith's version. A country in which the wolves are on the point of extermination has surely a redeeming point in its favour, and the author can hardly have been willing to allow it even that.

p. 261, l. 6. Prof. Robertson Smith's objection on the score of the metre is a fair one. But I feel unable nevertheless either to drop the word *'urwah* or to adopt that which he proposes to substitute. The word عزته is objectionable, because it inverts the signification of a well-known phrase. مستمسك signifies clinging to a thing for protection, and it is explained as synonymous with معتصم. We have the phrase اعتصم بالله, "he clung unto God, *or to his religion.*" In the Ḳur'ān we have (Ch. xxxi. v. 21) استمسك بالعروة الوثقى, "He has clung to a sure and firm handle or support." See also Ch. ii. v. 257. It is, I think, in the highest degree unlikely that the poet would venture to tamper with the phrase, and a question whether we may even read the word in the dual. The proposals to read اقل and يوله are good.

The subject of these notes could easily, perhaps with some advantage, have been treated at greater length, but I think I have said all that is really necessary. I have never imagined that I could guard myself against all error, nor have I flattered myself that a critic, and one especially of Prof. Robertson Smith's distinguished abilities, could not show that I have failed to do so. And, indeed, he has been able to point to certain errors of elementary Arabic grammar, which I must confess are difficult to excuse. But I am able, nevertheless, to claim that nothing has been established that can detract from my translation as a faithful and trustworthy version of 'Omārah's history. And I have, I think, sufficiently shown that Prof. Robertson Smith's own Remarks stand in need of reconsideration and correction.

ART. VII.—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, by H. H. Risley. Vols. I. and II. Ethnographic Glossary, Vols. I. and II. Anthropometric Data.* By J. F. HEWITT, M.R.A.S., late Commissioner of Chota Nagpore.

p. 236, l. 16, read: The proposal to adopt اقّل at p. 262 is good, but I know of no authority for the use (p. 280) of the word يله or يوله (to be troubled, grieved, distracted, etc.) as a transitive verb, and as capable of bearing the sense which Prof. Robertson Smith attributes to it. His emendation and rendering are in my opinion inadmissible.

and the still living and almost unchanged representatives of some of the principal races who are described by the poets of the Rigveda under the general name of Dasyus, a name which, as Zimmer shows, merely means the people of the country or "desh."[1] It was from the union of the people of Bengal called the Maghadas or Mughs with the Northern Kushikas or sons of Kush the tortoise that the first great Indian Empire arose, which was formed

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, chap. iv. pp. 109–112.

by the two races ruled by the king called in the Mahābhārata Jarasandha. This name means, etymologically, the junction (sandha) by old age or lapse of time (jara), and that this etymology is intended to convey historical information is shown by the legend telling of his birth. From this we learn that he was the son of the two queens of the king of Magadhas, who were daughters of the king of Kashi (Benares), and that he was born by the help of the Rishi Chandra Kushika, the moon (Chandra) of the Kushikas of the race of Gotama. He, by causing a Mango to fall into their laps, made each of them the mother of half a child, and the two halves were joined together by an old woman of the race of the Rakshasa or sons of a tree (rukh), who was called Jara (old age).[1] It was the confederacy ruled by the imperial races thus united who appear in the Rigveda as the Kushika and Bhārata, the opponents of the Aryan races. But this legend is also one of the many proofs derived from the study of the Rigveda and Mahābhārata, the ritual of the Brahmanas, the traditions and the customs of the Hindu race, which show that these people, who are described in the Rigveda as godless, were really a nation who had distinct national creeds, an elaborate ritual, and a regularly constituted priesthood. This was, like that of the Brahmans, hereditary; for the Rishi Chandra Kushika of the race of the Gotama belongs to the same stock as that of the great Rajput clan of the Gautamas, who still hold large estates in Oude and the North-west Provinces, and who are shown to be the sons of the bull, both by the name Gautama, and by that of the River Rohini, the red cow, sacred to the Sakya division of the race, which flows through the land they occupied. The name Gautama boasts a still older descent, for it goes back to the Akkadian Gut the bull, which gave Assyria its ancient name of Gutium, and it is still the name for bull in old Chinese.

[1] Mahābhārata Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xvii., Baboo Pertap Chunder Roy's translation, pp. 54–57.

But while we find in Bengal the almost unchanged representatives of the races which formed these old imperial confederacies, we find also still earlier popular customs, institutions, and beliefs less disturbed by the intrusion of foreign elements than in the countries watered by the Indus, Jumna, and northern streams of the Ganges and its tributaries, and in the fertile lands on the western coast. It was these latter countries which were the seat of the foreign trade with the West, and it was down the Jumna and Indus that northern invading tribes descended into India. In them western and northern ideas appeared in a foreign and unnationalized form, and thus modified national customs in a way quite different from that in which they influenced those of Bengal. For before these races had made their way down the Jumna and through the Doab and Bundelcund countries to Bengal, they had to pass through a long period of racial acclimatization, and had ceased to be the ardent votaries of foreign creeds and customs. They also, on their arrival at the historic junction point of the Western and Eastern races, the great place of pilgrimage called Pureag, marked by the holy lake formed by the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, and consecrated to the holy Plaksha tree (*ficus infectoria*), found themselves confronted with the national organization of the Kushika and Maghada races, and were consequently absorbed into the Bengal system with much less disturbance of previous institutions than that which marked their first arrival in India as strangers, and when the foreign and indigenous tribes looked on one another as enemies and barbarians. It was only from agriculture and trade in agricultural produce that wealth could be acquired in ancient Bengal, and the immigrant agricultural tribes of the north who settled there found no difficulty in joining the earlier tribes in the worship of the great Earth goddess, who, under various names, is still the most popular representative of the supreme God to all the inhabitants of Eastern India.

But besides the influx of agricultural settlers from the north into Bengal there was also an efflux of agricultural tribes

from Bengal to northern lands. For we know from Pliny and Indian tradition that the Macco- or Mugho- Kalingæ, the ruling race of Magadha or Behar, were a branch of the Kalingæ, of Madras, who had made their way northward in search of fertile lands and fresh clearings, and it is these Maghadas who are called by Manu the trading race.[1] It was this intermixture of Northern pre-Aryan with Dravidian types which formed the middle stages of the series of ethnical changes in Bengal, so well described in the following passage from Mr. Risley's introductory Essay, in which he calls attention to "the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data as sustained by independent inquiry."[2] This coincidence between the height of the bridge of the nose and the position of the different races in the social scale of civilization was one which had not escaped the ancient Aryan observers, for the Rigveda speaks of the "Anāso," or noseless "Dasyus,"[3] and an Aryan Brahman ethnologist would quite have agreed with the next observations of Mr. Risley, who goes on to say: "If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Behar or the North-West Provinces, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that the order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. The casteless tribes—Kols, Korwas, Mundas, and the like—who have not yet entered the Brahmanical system, occupy the lowest place in both series. Then come the vermin-eating Musahars and the leather-dressing Chamars. The fisher castes of Bauris, Binds, and Kewuts are a trifle higher in the scale than the pastoral Gualas; the cultivating Kurmi and a group of cognate castes, from whose hands a Brahman may take water, follow in due order, and from them we pass to the trading Khatris,

[1] Bühler's Manu, x. 47; Sacred Books of the East (S.B.E.), p. 413
[2] Introductory Essay, vol. i.; Ethnographic Glossary, p. xxxiii.
[3] Rigv. v. 29, 10.

the landholding Babhuns, and the upper crust of Hindu society. Thus it is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of caste organization in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose." It is for the reasons here stated that the two volumes of anthropometric data containing measurements taken in Bengal, Oude, the Nort-West Provinces, and the Panjab form such a valuable adjunct to the two volumes of the Ethnographic Glossary, and this value will be much enhanced when the anthropometric measurements are elucidated by the analysis promised in a separate volume, which will doubtless be marked by the historical acumen, the careful attention to facts, and the exact reasoning which are so conspicuously shown in the Ethnographic Glossary and Mr. Risley's preface.

Before proceeding to describe in detail some of the lessons to be learnt from these volumes, I must first point out the very great care taken by the Bengal Government, Mr. Risley and his assistants, to ensure perfect accuracy in the facts now published. The Government, in addition to the staff appointed under Mr. Risley, secured the services of 190 selected local correspondents, to whom an elaborate and exhaustive list of 391 questions was given. These questions were prepared at an Ethnographic conference in Lahore, of which Mr. Risley, from Bengal, Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, Director of Public Instruction in the Panjab, and Mr. J. C. Nesfield, Inspector of Schools in Oude, were members. These questions were divided into the following sections: I. Those on social organization. II. Domestic ceremonies. III. Religion. IV. Superstitions, including omens, ordeals, and oaths, magic, and witchcraft, ceremonial prohibitions or Taboos, and agricultural superstitions. V. Social customs. VI. Occupations. VII. Relations to land. The work of inquiry was all based on Census Statistics, and the local correspondents who were to supply answers to these questions, "were instructed to extend their inquiries over a wide field, to mistrust accounts published in books, to deal with the people direct, and to go for their informa-

tion to the persons most likely to be well informed on on questions of custom, such as priests, marriage brokers, genealogists, headmen of caste panchayats" (councils of five), and the like. "When reports were received they were tested by comparison with notes on the same caste collected by Mr. Risley, with reports by other correspondents in the same or different districts, with accounts already published and Dr. Wise's unpublished notes." These notes had been collected by Dr. James Wise, who was for ten years Civil Surgeon of Dacca, and who had during his residence there made frequent tours through the country, in which he gathered by personal enquiry among the people the materials for a large series of elaborate and carefully tested facts relating to the castes and customs of Eastern Bengal, the whole of which were placed at Mr. Risley's disposal by his widow. After the reports had been thus compared and tested, "correspondents were invited to clear up discrepancies then brought to notice, and as the inquiry proceeded special subjects were taken up and examined in circular letters addressed to all correspondents with the object of summarizing the general results as ascertained up to a certain stage, and thus indicating lines of inquiry which might lead to further results."[1]

If each of the Bengal castes was really what it is theoretically, a collection of families boasting the same descent, who had passed through centuries of growth without the intermixture of foreign elements, the information as to their customs, organization, ceremonies, religion, superstitions, and occupations thus collected and arranged would have supplied ethnological inquirers with a most elaborate series of object lessons as to the internal growth of races descended from the same stock; but the most cursory examination of the facts previously known, and of the information given in these volumes, will show that these conditions of descent are fulfilled in none of

[1] Introductory Essay, vol. i. Ethnographic Glossary, pp. x–xv.

the Bengal castes, that the present strict laws regulating marriage within the caste all represent an ideal state of things to be realized after the acceptance of the code which does not in the least correspond with the past history of the caste which adopted it, and it is also clear that the custom of endogamy or marriage within the caste, which is now the strict rule of most castes, was preceded by a long period during which exogamy or marriage between heterogeneous and mixed races was the rule, and still earlier ages in which the national unit was not the family, but the tribe or the village. Taking the Brahmans, who are divided into three main divisions first, there are: I. The Pancha Gaurya or five clans of Gaur or Northern Brahmans, the Saraswats or Sarasvati, Kanyakubja, Gaura, Utkul, or Orissa Brahmans, and Maithili, those of Tuhub (Mithila). II. The Pancha Dravidian, five clans of Southern Brahmans, Karnati, Tailangi or Andhra, Gujrati Gurjjara, Draviric, Maharāshtrya.[1] It is these two classes who comprise the Brahmans of the purest blood, and the names by which they are called are entirely territorial, with the exception of the Sarasvats and the Gauriya Brahmans. Of these the first, though they trace their descent to the Aryan tribes settled on the Sarasvati, yet by their name they point to the goddess mother of the Veda Sarasvati, the goddess of speech (Saro), as their mother and this name denoted the Aryan innovators who added hymns of prayer and praise to the earlier sacrificial ritual. The Gaurya, again, though they represent the Brahmans of Oude, the ancient land of Gaur,[2] are also the clan who claim descent from the goddess Gauri, the wild cow—the Indian bison—a descent which is marked by the name Go-tra, or cow stalls, assigned to the sub-classes into which the Brahman clans are divided, and to the traditions which make the sons of Got-ama the ancient rulers of Oude, the first priestly uniters of the heterogeneous native races.

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. App. i. p. 14.
[2] *Ib.* vol. i. p. 158, s.v. Brahman.

These classes distinctly show that the caste in which they are now united is composed of the families to whom sacerdotal functions were assigned in the kingdoms from which they take their name, but there is no evidence whatsoever that they are all descended from one stock. III. The same remark will apply equally to the third miscellaneous class of Brahman families which show much more distinct proofs of non- and pre-Aryan origin, as some of these, like the Sākadwipa Brahmans, belong to the inferior order called Barna (varna, or caste), or Potala, or fallen Brahmans. Theoretically these Brahmans once belonged to the primitive stock, but became degraded in caste by becoming priests of the non-Aryan Sudra castes, but the facts told in these volumes about the Sākadwipa Brahmans entirely subvert this theory, and prove that they are the descendants of the priests of the races whom they still serve, and that the only degradation they have undergone is that they have had the priests of later conquering races placed above them in the social scale. They are said by tradition to have been brought from Ceylon by Rāma to practice medicine, and are also said to be the indigenous Brahmans of the country Magadha, and that they bore the name of Magas. As Rāma was not a native of Ceylon, but the son of Dasaratha, King of Ayodhya, these two statements are practically identical, and they are, in short, merely a mythical method of saying that they were the magical practitioners who were both priests and medicine-men of the races of North-eastern India, who worshipped the goddess Maga, the mother Magha of the modern Hindus, the goddess of the Persian Magi, and of the tribes whose religious literature, like that of the early Akkadians and of the Brahmans who composed the magical hymns of the Atharva-veda, consisted in magical incantations and the use of charms to propitiate the gods who ruled the destructive forces of nature. At the present day the greater number of the Sākadwipa Brahmans "are employed as priests in Rajput families, some are landholders, and some practice Hindu medicine." But the essential point of difference between

them and the more orthodox Brahmans is that their marriages are not regulated by the standard eponymous Gotras, which claim descent from some renowned Rishi, but by ninety-five divisions called "purs," a name which shows that they are local or territorial divisions, and that each denotes a separate "pur," or locality, no one being allowed to marry a member of their own "pur," or "Gotra." The radical distinction between the Sākadwipa and the other Brahmans is also marked in the fact mentioned by Mr. Sherring in his work on Hindu tribes and castes, that, while no strict Hindu will, knowingly, drink from a vessel from which another person has drunk, a Sākadwipa Brahman will readily do so.[1]

These Sākadwipa Brahmans, again, are in Eastern Bengal the priests of the Dosadhs, a low, but, for historical purposes, a most important caste, who are also themselves in Behar priests of the fire-god Rahu, and of the god Goraia or Gaurya, the god of the boundaries, both in Behar and Chota Nagpore;[2] they still, as priests of the god Goraia, receive from the Sonars or goldsmiths of Behar the offerings made to the god.[3] They are proved to belong to one of the earliest ruling races by the fact that the village watchmen throughout Behar are almost always Dosadhs. They are divided into endogamous sub-castes, some of which, such as the Magahiyā Bhojpuriā and Kanaujia, have strictly territorial names, denoting the districts whence they come, and these again are for the regulation of marriages divided into sections, whose names are not like those of the more distinctly aboriginal tribes the names of animals or plants, but names which in some cases certainly denote the holders of official functions. These, again, show that the race, of whom the ancestors of these sections were hereditary officers, had reached an advanced stage of civilization, and built cities divided into wards, of which the sub-section called Kotwal were the

[1] Vol. i. Brahman, pp. 159–160.
[2] Vol. i. Dosadh, pp. 255–256. As explained in vol. ii. Rautia, p. 203.
[3] Vol. ii. Sonar, p. 257.

hereditary policeman called kotwal, or warders of the kot or ward. The sub-sections Manjhi and Mahton again show that their territorial system had passed beyond the stage where the village was ruled by its headman and the village council elected by the villagers, and had reached that represented by the Oraon villages of Chota Nagpore, in which the Mahto or accountant, the Patwari of Behar, looks after the royal dues, and also in villages where the Manjhus or royal land is not cultivated by the headman, sees that it is cultivated by the ryots, and where society is organized on the understanding the whole country is ruled by a supreme Raja or king. The name Manjhi, which is used in parts of Chota Nagpore for the village headman, is apparently connected with that of the Manjhus-land, and these Dosadh names again show that these offices were, as they are in Chota Nagpore, hereditary, in certain families. But the rule of this race must have been long anterior to the ages to which Brahmanical tradition as recorded in the Brāhmaṇas extends, for it is pigs which are offered by the gods to whom the Dosadhs are priests,[1] and it was the pig which was once sacred to the fire-god, for the Akkadian and Assyrian fire-god Ádar or Uras is called "the lord of the pig,"[2] and though pigs are mentioned as sacrificial animals in the Anguttara Nikaya,[3] yet the Ṣatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas do not allow of any sacrificial animals except 1, Man; 2, The horse; 3, The ox; 4, The sheep; and 5, The goat.[4]

Sākadwipa Brahmans are also the priests of the Cheroos and Kharwar tribes, who claim to be descended from the snake or Nag, and who ruled Magadha down to a late period, for there is a letter extant from the Mahommedan Emperor Sher Shah, in which he expresses his joy at the conquest by his general Khawas Khan of Muhurta,

[1] Vol. i. Dosadh, p. 256.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, and Lecture iii. p. 156, note 6.
[3] Morris's Anguttara Nikaya, Chatukka Nipata, Chakkavagga 39. 2, part ii. p. 42, published by the Pali Text Society.
[4] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. i. 2, 3 and 6, S.B.E. vol.xii. p. 50, Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 8, vol. ii. p. 90.

the Cheroo Zemindar of Behar.[1] It is also Sākadwipa Brahmans who preside at the sacrifices offered by the Rautias of Chota Nagpore to the seven sisters who scatter plagues and cholera, the seven evil winds of Akkadian theology and magiolatry,[2] though they do not slay the victims.[3]

It is clear from this account that the Sākadwipa Brahmans belonged to a race who believed in the efficiency of magical incantations and who superseded the worship of the fire-god Rahu, at which the Dosadh priests officiated. When we look for the origin of the name Sākadwipa, we find that it is one of the seven "dwipas" into which Hindu geographers divided the earth. It is described in the Matsya Purāna as the land of seven great rivers and seven mountains adorned with jewels. One of these is the golden lofty mountain whence the clouds arise from which Indra takes the rain, and another contains all the medicines.[4] This is a clear description of Northern India, bounded on the north by the Himalayas, and the priests and medicine men of this kingdom would be naturally called the Sākadwipa Magas. But when we look further to the legend connecting them with Rāma, the conclusion is still more clear. Rāma, meaning the darkness, is a name which, like that of Varuṇa, denotes the dark heaven of night, and the race who worshipped Rāma was one who looked to the stars as emblems and messengers of the supreme god. Rāma was the son of Dasaratha or the ten chariots or lunar months of gestation by his wife Kaushalya, a name which means the house (aloya) or covering canopy of the sons of Kush the tortoise.[5] He is thus the mythical ancestor of the sons of heaven, the great race of the Kushika. It were they who ruled the land of North-eastern India which they called Koshala

[1] Elliot's Supplementary Glossary, s.v. Cheroo.
[2] Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, Appendix iii., the Magical texts p. 457, and the 16th tablet concerning evil spirits, p. 463.
[3] Ethnographic Glossary vol. ii. Rautia, p. 204.
[4] Sachau's Alberuni's India, chap. xiv. vol. i. p. 252.
[5] Mahābhārata Vana (Drupadi harana) Parva, cclxxvi–ccxci. pp. 811–863.

instead of the earlier name of Gaurya, Gaudia, or Gondia. Their name can be traced in India to that of Kashi (Benares) Koshambi, the mother (ambi) city of the sons of Kush, Kashinagara the city (nagur) of the Koshis, where the Buddha died, in Kashmir, and Kashya or Kashyapapura the ancient name of Multan, and still further north is that of the Caspian Sea. It was they who evolved the geographical conception which is expressed in the Hindu representation of the tortoise earth. It was this land of the sons of Kush which was the ancient Gan-Eden or garden (Gan) of the plain (Eden) watered by the Indus or Pishon, the Euphrates and the Hiddekel or Tigris, and the Gihon or Oxus, which is said in Genesis to encompass the whole land of Kush.[1] It was from thence that they came southward as the great building race of antiquity, who, according to the Biblical accounts,[2] built the cities of Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh in the land of Shinar.[3] It was they who built the earliest cities of India and centralized the government of the country, placing the kingdoms which had previously been loosely connected confederacies of provinces under monarchical rule. Their geographical picture of the earth as the six divisons of the tortoise surrounding the seventh regal central province is reproduced in the Hindu "dwipas" which surround the central land of Jambu-dwipa, and also in the seven Karshvars or regions of the Zend cosmogony, six of which surround the central region of Khvaniras, the land which has in it the seed of the bull, and from which nine of the fifteen races which people the earth

[1] Gen. ii. 14.

[2] Gen. x. 11.

[3] Lenormant, haldæan Magic, p. 396, shows that in this passage Ur, the capital of the l d of Akkad, is meant by the city called Akkad, while Calneh, as we are t l in the Talmud, represents the city of Nipur in the land of Shinar. This nam vith the forms of Singar, the Egyptian Sinker, and Sindjar (p. 401–402), were a native forms of the Assyrian Sumir, and in them the r is the suffix of deriva n, making them verbal nouns, but whether the original root was "sum" o suk" is according to Lenormant uncertain. If the root was "sum," the na would mean "The low country"; if from "suk," "The watered country." The Babylonian empire was divided into the two provinces of Akkad, the High ds, and Sumir, the plain country of the Euphratean Delta, which would natura be called the wet country.

passed on the back of the ox Sarsaok to the other regions.[1] This conception of the central province ruled by the supreme lord is that which is completely reproduced in the ancient Indian kingdoms as we can see from the example of those states such as the kingdoms of Chota Nagpore, in which the ancient divisions are still preserved. There every one of the Tributary States are divided into provinces surrounding a centre. The central province is the special appanage of the Raja, and in the larger states, such as Chota Nagpore, where it is called Khokhra, and Sirgoojya, where it is called Pilka, it is completely encircled by those of the defendant chiefs who guard the boundaries. It was this tortoise race which not only founded the political system which superseded the confederacies of an earlier age, but who also carried out that change in village organization to which I have referred above in speaking of the Dosadhs. For it was they who made the land which had been before set apart for the maintenance of the headman more distinctly royal land, and gave it the name of Manjhus land by which it is known among the Oraons of Chota Nagpore. They made the consent of the Kushika or Naga kings necessary to insure the validity of the election of the village headman, and in certain villages set apart the Manjhus lands for the growth of crops for the maintenance of the royal household and the king's guards, and for supplying his camps with provisions when he went on tour. It was as the holder of this Manjhus or royal land sacred to the snake goddess called Manasa[2] who was the goddess of the village boundaries that the headman of the village was called Manjhi instead of Munda. This name is still common in Chota Nagpore, it is assumed as a caste title not only by the Dosadhs, but also by the

[1] West's Bundahish, xi. 2–4, xv. 27, xvii. 4; S.B.E., vol. v. pp. 32, 33, 58, 62.

[2] The worship of this snake goddess Manasa is the especial cult of Bengal. She is worshipped by all castes on the 5th and 20th of each of the four rainy months from the middle of June to the middle of October, and also on the Nag-punchami, the 5th of the light half of August. The Kulin Brahmans of Behrampur in Dacca are among her most assiduous worshippers (vol. i. Bagdi, p. 41). She was the great rain bringing snake, the mother of life.

Cheroos,[1] the Kaibarttas of Bengal,[2] the Kharwars,[3] the Mahlis and Mals,[4] the Musahars,[5] the Bhuiyas,[6] the Binjhias,[7] and the Santals.[8] It was under this centralized form of government that the Sākadwipa priests, the priests of the country of Koshala, were divided into territorial sections representing the priests of each separate locality into which the empire was divided.[9] It was they who superseded the fire-priests, and who, as the priests of the rain-god Indra, worshipped under his earlier name of Sakra or Sakko, to whom no living victims were offered, abstained as in the Rautia sacrifices from slaying the animals immolated to the earlier gods by the priests of an earlier ritual. They were thus in the evolution of ritualistic forms the third in succession from the earliest priests, for the priests of the fire-god superseded the village priests, who still, under the names Layas, Pahns, Degharias, etc., control the worship of the guardian gods of each village. These conclusions are completely in unison with those to be derived from the history of the three classes of priestly families spoken of in the Rigveda and Brāhmaṇas. These are the Bhrigus, Angiras, and Atharvans. Of these the Bhrigus are undoubtedly the oldest. Bhrigu in the Laws of Manu is said to be the son of Manu, meaning the thinker, and also to be the son of fire,[10] and in the Rigveda Agni is said to have been found by the wise Bhrigus who are named among the creators.[11] It is also as the sons of the sacred fire that the Bhrigus are spoken of in the Mahābhārata, for there Parasu Rāma of the Bhrigu race who destroyed the race of Haihayas, or snake-worshippers, is said to have been the son of Jamadagni, that is, of the twin (Jama) fires (Agni) the fire-drill and

[1] Vol. ii. app. i. p. 35.
[2] *Ib.* p. 63.
[3] *Ib.* p. 78.
[4] *Ib.* pp. 96–97.
[5] *Ib.* p. 110.
[6] *Ib.* p. 11.
[7] *Ib.* p. 13.
[8] *Ib.* p. 125.
[9] These divisions are those known as Parhas, Pirs, or Pergunnahs.
[10] Bühler's Manu, v. 1 and 3, S.B.E. vol. xxv. pp. 169–170.
[11] Rigv. x. 46, 2 and 9.

the socket meaning by the symbolism the Northern and Southern races.[1] The name Parasu, which is the Sanskrit form of the Greek Πέλεκυς the double axe, is the counterpart of the Harpe or crescent-shaped sword with which the Assyrian god Merodach slew Tia-mut, the mother of the dragon-brood, and the Greek Hermes slew Argos, the constellation Argo, the star watcher of the goddess Io. Io is the queen of the dark nights, and the double axe with the double crescent blade is the moon-god who had on the introduction of the reckoning of time by lunar changes superseded the supremacy of the fixed stars which were the gods who marked the lapse of time in the earlier Zend theology. Thus the victory of Parasu Rāma tells us of the conquest of the country by the moon-worshippers. Again the Bhrigus are named in the Rigveda as one of the confederate tribes led by the ten heathen kings who were defeated by the Aryan Tritsus and their allies at the great battle fought on the Panjab river Irāvati.[2] The name Bhrigu also points to an age when the languages of India were passing from the agglutinative to the inflexional stage, for it is formed from the root Bhri, meaning to bear, to produce, with the addition of the suffix "gu," which is one of those added in Tamil to verbal roots to form verbal nouns. The name can be traced from the earlier form Bhri-gu through the forms Bharga and Bhargava, to Bhārata, the great indigenous race born from the mother earth (Bhri) who gave to India the name of Bhārata-varsha, the land of the Bhāratas. This race is again reproduced in the modern caste of the Bhurs, who, though their numbers are few, in Bengal, are very numerous in the North-West Provinces where, in the census of 1881, 250,000 Bhars are enumerated. It is to them, according to Sir H. Elliot, that common tradition assigns the possession of the whole land from Ghorakpore to Bundelkund and Saugor,[3] and Bengal

[1] Mahābhārata, Vana (Tutha-yatra) Parva, cxvi-cxvii. pp. 358–362.
[2] Rigv. vii. 18, 1–6.
[3] Elliot's Supplementary Glossary, N.W.P. s.v. Bhurs, pp. 82–84.

tradition tells us of the Bhar Rajas of Dinajpore, who built the ancient temple still standing on the Barābar hill in the Gya District.[1] Mr. Sherring shows from the description of the ruins of the ancient Bhar city of Pampapura in the Mirzapore District, that the Bhars, who were driven out of Allahabad and Fyzabad by successive invasions of Rajput tribes from the West were a cultured and civilized people.[2] They were the race known in the Mahābhārata as the Kichaka, or sons of the hill-bamboo (Kichaka), who are described as ruling the country to the East of the land of the Panchālas, or that watered by the Ganges, east of Allahabad.[3] This is shown by the totems of the Bhars of Bengal as given in Mr. Risley's list of tribe totems. These are the Bans-rishi or Bamboo priest. The Bel tree (Ægle marmelos), a tree the fruit of which is well known in India for its medical properties, being especially valuable in dysentery and diseases of the digestive organs. The Kachhap, the tortoise, and the Mayur or peacock. They were thus a race known for their knowledge of medicine, like the Sākadwipa Brahmans, formed from the union of the sons of the tortoise with the sons of the medicinal trees, and these are the two parent fires symbolized in the name Jamadagni given to their father in the Mahābhārata. The hill-bamboo, their patronymic sign, was that which in the Mahābhārata, the father god Vasu, is said to have set up on the Sukti range of the Vindhyan hills whence the Sukti-mati flows, as the sign of the divinity to which he afterwards added the garland of the sacred lotus in honour of Indra.[4] It is this garland of the sacred lotus which is typical of the race which followed the Angiras, the next race of priestly families, for in the Laws of Manu, the Huvishmats or priests of the libations (havis) from the root hu to pour, are said to be the sons

[1] Hunter's Gazetteer, s.v. Barābar, vol. ii. p. 175.
[2] Sherring on the Bhars of the N.W. Provinces, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V. pp. 376–400.
[3] Ādi (Hedimva-badha) Parva, clviii. p. 458.
[4] Mahābhārata Ādi (Adivamsavatarna), Parva, lxiii. pp. 171–172.

or successors of the Angiras,[1] and it was the libations of sweet and sour milk which are offered to Indra in the Sannāya or yearly (san) sacrifice in place of the animal victims offered to the earlier gods.[2]

The Atharvans or priests of the heavenly fire-god, Atūr, the lightning-god, are the Atharvans of the Zendavesta and the priests of the rain-god, while the Angiras are said in the Rigveda to be the nine who came from the the West laden with iron, and to be worshippers of the phallus (shishna),[3] and they are also said to be the sacred nine who sang for ten (lunar) months, the period of gestation, while Indra, Agni, and Sarama, the Greek Hermes, released the gods of light from the clouds of darkness.[4] In the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa they are said to be the priests of the Asuras, or star-worshippers, and the story is there told of how the priests of the gods of heaven called the Ādityas secured the services of their predecessors the Angiras priests, who offered burnt offerings to the heavenly fire-god.[5] It was from the Angiras that the Ādityas learnt the ritual of the Soma sacrifice and the fee given by them for the knowledge thus acquired was a white horse emblematic of the moon-god, and hence derived their name from Angura (burning charcoal). That the Ādityas were the sons of the gods of the race of the tortoise, the worshippers of the moon, whose priests, as we have seen, secured the birth of the race symbolized by the king Jarasandha, is shown by the fact that the eldest of the thirteen wives of Kasyapa, the father of the tortoise race, and the thirteen months of the lunar year, was Āditi, the beginning or primæval mother,[6] and it is her children who are called in Hindu mythology the Ādityas.

[1] Bühler's Manu, iii. 198, S.B.E. vol. xxv. p. 112.
[2] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. i. 6. 4 and 9; ii. 4. 4. 20, S.B.E. vol. xii. pp. 178, 381.
[3] Rigv. x. 27. 15 and 19.
[4] Rigv. v. 45. 7 and 8.
[5] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. iii. 5. 1. 13-21, S.B.E. vol. xxvi. pp. 113-115.
[6] Mahābhārata Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 185.

The race which was formed under the rule of the tortoise kings was that which called itself the Irāvata or sons of Iḍā, Ilā, or Irā, the cow-mother of the Angiras priesthood, who according to the Rigveda had charge of the cows representing the months of the year, from which Sarama, the sun-dog, drove away the Paṇis or trading races.[1] Iḍā was one of the goddess mothers of the Rigveda, and the spouse and daughter of Manu, whom he raised to life from the waters of the flood. It is the memory of her sons which is perpetuated in the names of the mother rivers, the Ravi or Irāvati, of the Panjab, and one of the three tributaries of the Indus, which meet at the town of Kashyapura or Multan, the Rapti or Irāvati of Oude, and the Irawaddy or Irāvati of Burmah. They are the sons of the Naga or snake-god called Ila-putra, the son of Ila, whose shrine, as we are told by Hiouen Tsiang, was at Takka-sila (Taxila) in the Panjab, and whose body, according to the Buddhist legend, stretched from thence to Benares.[2] It was they who were the race of Naga kings, who, as we know from Buddhist history, ruled during the lifetime of the Buddha their ancient realm of North-eastern India, which they had re-conquered from the Sākyas. And it is their name which is still preserved in the two countries of Central India called Nagpore, which is also called in Hindu geography Maha Koshala or the Great Koshala.

It is their advent from the north which is described in the Gond epic poem called the Song of Lingal,[3] which tells how the second immigration of Gond ancestors from the north came down the Jumna after the destruction of Bhour-nag, the great snake-god, who devoured the young children of the sacred Bindo bird. The river rose in flood and drowned most of them, but four were saved and helped across by Dame or Kotwal the tortoise, and

[1] Rigv. x. 108. 8-10.
[2] Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. i. p. 137, note.
[3] Hislop's Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, published by the Central Provinces Government, where the poem is printed in the vernacular with a translation.

Puse or Mug-ral the alligator. This Puse is the bull race, which lived on the tortoise earth, the sons of the god Pushan of the Rigveda, whose counterpart Pashang in the Zend cosmogony or the father of Aghraeratha, the foremost (aghra) chariot (ratha) or leading star called Gopatshah, the king of the bull race,[1] and the month Push in the Hindu list of months. It was these sons of the bull which were united with the Magas, the sons of the sacred alligator Mug-ger, to whom so many tanks are dedicated in Bengal.[2] It was this race who, according to the Song of Lingal, first introduced cultivation by the plough, and sowed the northern Millets kessari (Lathyrus sativus), and jowari (Holcus Sorghum), on the lands of Central India in place of the earlier rice, and who then established themselves in the central land, the Jambudwipa of the Hindu geographers, the land of the jungle forest tree, the Jambu (Eugenia Jambulana), the country of the Vindhyan or Central Indian hills. It was there that they first introduced sacerdotalism, and appointed priests called Pradhans to superintend the marriage ceremonies of the tribe, as before that time marriage unions were not consecrated by priests. It was these Pradhans who were apparently the ancestors of the Sākadwipa Brahmans, who are also represented by the Ojhas or witch-finders, one of whom is always appointed in every Parha, or union of villages in Chota Nagpore.[3] It is these Ojhas, who are especially consulted by the Rautias, who, like all the inhabitants of Chota Nagpore, live in great terror of witches,[4] and who, as I have shown, are one of the castes who employ the services of Sākadwipa Brahmans. That the other sections of the Brahman caste are, like the

[1] West's Bundahish, xxix. 5, S.B.E. vol. v. p. 117.

[2] The connexion between the alligator and the Maga is also shown in the name Maga, which is given to the crocodile god Sebek in the Egyptian hymns to the god Shu (Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der Aëlten Egyptier, Leipzig, 1888, s. 269, pp. 718 and 722).

[3] The Mithila Brahmans in Tirhut are called Ojhas, and one of the sub-castes of the Gaura Brahmans is called Ojha. These last are the priests of the wealthy and important caste of Agurwals, who trace their descent from the snake (Ethnographic Glossary, vol. iv. p. 138, s.v. Ojha; vol. i. pp. 8 and 5, s.v. Agurwal.

[4] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. p. 208.

Sākadwipas, of mixed origin, there can, I think, from the above statements of some of the reasons, which lead to this conclusion, be no doubt. As for the Rajputs, the fact that aboriginal and non-Hindu families are continually finding their way into the Rajput caste is so notorious as to make it certain that they have at no period guarded themselves carefully against the intermixture of foreign blood. The names of Suraj-bunsi, or sons of the Sun, Sombunsi, or sons of the Moon, and that of the Agnikulas, or sons of fire, proves a great diversity of origin, and it is utterly impossible that the Nagbunsi or sons of the snake could ever have been of Aryan descent. Rajput history is full of stories of how fresh invading tribes conquered one another, and the ejection by the Bais or Vais Rajputs, whose name shows them to be connected with the Vaisyas of the Brahmanical classification, of the Gotamas, or sons of the bull, is one which is still current among the families of these clans, who hold lands in the districts through which the Irāvati or Rapti of Oude flows.[1] As for the less pure castes, these volumes show that the Bagdis,[2] the Bauris,[3] the Chandals,[4] Chárás,[5] Kahars,[6] and Koras,[7] all admit into their communities persons of higher rank than themselves, while others, like the Tantis or weavers,[8] admit women of lower caste, or, like the Kandhs, admit all who are not like the weaver Pans, and the sweeper Haris, too impure for admission,[9] and when we find these customs so common it is consequently quite impossible to believe that the caste system arose from a wish to preserve the purity of the family.

But if this theory of caste origin cannot be accepted, it appears that that put forward by Mr. Nesfield, and de-

[1] Elliot's Supplementary Glossary, s.v. Bais.
[2] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. p. 40.
[3] *Ib.* p. 80.
[4] *Ib.* p. 186.
[5] *Ib.* p. 192.
[6] *Ib.* p. 370.
[7] *Ib.* p. 508.
[8] Vol. ii. p. 298.
[9] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. p. 398.

scribed by Mr. Risley, which ascribes the origin of caste to "community of function"[1] is one which also fails to explain all the facts. At the same time it is an undoubted factor in caste formation, and one which marks an earlier period of development than that characterized by the family theory of the Aryan Brahmans. Mr. Nesfield does not deny that a large section of the population are descendants of more or less pure blood of the race of white-complexioned foreigners, who called themselves Arya, and invaded the Indus valley about four thousand years ago, but he maintains that before their advent there was a united Indian race who divided themselves into castes drawn together, not by "community of creed or community of kinship, but by community of function." This theory explains perfectly clearly, and I believe correctly, how the names of the artisan castes, like those of the Telis oil-pressers, Tantis or weavers, Lohars and Kumars or workers in iron, and Kumhars or potters, arose. These were, in fact, trade guilds united to perpetuate the knowledge of their trade, and to preserve to the guild the control of their craft. But when we look at the list of names marking the different sections of these castes, we find that in every one of them there is a section of the sons of the tortoise Kachua or Kasyapa, and of the sons of the snake Nag, while among the subdivisions of the Tantis there are two still more interesting sub-sections of the Ashvini the heavenly horsemen, the twin stars of the constellation Gemini, and of Agastya or the star Canopus in Argo,[2] while among the Santhals there is a sept of the sons of Saren the constellation Pleiades,[3] showing a connection with the star-worshipping races. When we recollect that the race of the sons of Kashyapa, or Kush, who peopled the tortoise earth were the first founders of astronomy, who measured time by observing the motions of the stars, before they introduced

[1] *Ib.* vol. i. Introductory Essay, pp. xx-xxii.
[2] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. app. i. p. 135.
[3] *Ib.* p. 126. These Ashvini Tantis are peculiar in their habits and do not, like the Pan-Tantis, allow widows to marry, eat fowls, and indulge in strong drink. Vol. ii. p. 162, Pan-Tanti.

the lunar year, and who worshipped the Naga gods, we can understand how all these castes should have adopted the tortoise and the Naga snake as their ancestral parents, and it is for the same reason, doubtless, that the Brahmins made the sons of Kashyapa the tortoise one of their chief Gotras and turned Kashyapa the father tortoise of the ancient historical myth into the Rishi Kashyapa. When we turn to the cultivating castes, the case is still more clear. The name of the Kurmis, who are at the head of the Indian farmers in every part of the country, being no less numerous in Bombay and Madras than they are in Bengal and the North-West Provinces, in itself shows that they are the sons of Kurma, the tortoise, and the farmers of Eastern Bengal, who call themselves Kochh or Rajbunsi, all belong to the section of the Kashyapa, while the Chāsās of Orissa are divided into two sections, called Kashyapa and Sal-rishi, or sons of the sal-tree or sal-fish, that is of the parent-tree of the Kolarian races or of the sacred fish. This evidence clearly points to the formation under the rule of the Naga kings of an Indian race formed from the union of heterogeneous elements, like that contemplated by Mr. Nesfield, and it was from this that the castes, united by community of function, branched off. But when this is proved, we are still left without any explanation as to how the rule of exogamy arose on which the whole of the caste system, and the division of the castes into sections the members of which must marry outside their own section is founded, nor does it tell us how castes came to be divided into territorial sections, and into those distinguished by totems which have no connection with the tortoise or the Naga snake, nor does it prove how a population who, according to Mr. Nesfield's hypothesis, had grown into a stage of civilization so advanced as that implied by the formation of trade guilds, without the institution of caste, should have suddenly invented it.

Taking the law of exogamy forbidding marriage between persons belonging to the same section first, we find that

it is as carried out in the practice of the Indian castes, almost entirely founded on prohibitions of intermarriage between agnatic relations, or those on the father's side, while on the mother's side the marriage rules range from excessive laxity, as among the Oraons and Sonthals, the latter of whom say, "No man heeds a cow track or regards his mother's sept" to absolute prohibition of intermarriage "so long as any relationship, however remote, can be traced between the parties."[1] This law is evidently founded on the customs of a people who traced descent on the father's side, and which must have been a different race from that which traced descent like the Nairs of Southern India in the female line. It is this last custom which must have been the general rule throughout Southern India, for the principal race in those regions, called the subjects of King Nala of Mahishmati, who were conquered by the Paṇḍava Sahadeva, whose name means "the driver" and who represents the fire-god, are said in the Mahābhārata to have given complete liberty to their women, who were not obliged to restrict themselves to one husband.[2]

If the reckoning of descent by the female side was a Southern custom, the law of agnatic exogamy followed by the Bengal castes, which are divided into totemistic sections, must have been introduced by Northern invaders, and this conclusion is confirmed by the very elaborate system of relationships which is shown by Mr. Morgan in his "Ancient Society" to be common to the totemistic Iroquois Indians of North America and the totemistic Dravidians of Southern India.[3] The method of naming relations in both races agrees in every single instance, and both call a man's sister's son and a woman's brother's son nephew, while a man's brother's and a woman's sister's son are called sons. It is impossible for any one who has studied the carefully prepared tables given in Mr. Morgan's work to avoid the

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Introductory Essay, pp. xlix. l, Oraon, vol. ii. p. 141.

[2] Mahābhārata Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi.

[3] Morgan, Ancient Society Tabular Statement, p. 744.

conclusion that this identity of totemistic usage between races so widely apart as those shown for comparison is to be traced to a Northern race who emigrated in one direction from Northern Asia to America, and who also made themselves masters of India and the Euphratean countries, and developed the Akkadian and Dravidian languages, both of which show strong affinity with the dialects spoken by the Ugro-Altaic Finns, who again as the Indian Dravidians and as the Northern Finns, are regarded, both in India and Northern Europe, as the race most skilled in witchcraft and sorcery.

But this rule of agnatic exogamy is not only applied in castes where the septs are totemistic, but it is also followed by those which, like the Kandhs of Orissa, are divided into fifty strictly territorial divisions called "Gochis," each of which bears the name of a "Muta," or group of villages, and each of these "Gochis" is split up into sub-septs called "Klambus," the members of which are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, and, according to the marriage rules of the tribe, a son cannot marry into the "Klambu" to which his mother belonged. But the fact that, though the divisions are territorial, descent is reckoned on the father's side, combined with the national and marriage customs of the Kandhs, seems to point to a conquest by a warrior race of a country where, before their advent, marriage was forbidden between people of the same village. This custom they retained, but in order to prevent marriages between persons nearly related in blood, they divided the "Gochis" into "Klambus," a change which Mr. Risley admits to have been of later origin than the earlier division into villages.[1] That the rulers of the Kandhs are a conquering warrior race is rendered probable by the fact that the sword called Khanda is still the totem of the tribe, as it is of some of the Bhuiyas of Chota Nagpore and the Rajput clans,[2]

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Kandh, pp. 399–401.

[2] The sword is an object of worship in some of the hill-shrines in Chota Nagpore, and I distinctly remember seeing a sword as the only image in one of

while their northern origin is attested by their custom of burning their dead,[1] their abstinence from polygamy,[2] by their belief in witchcraft,[3] and also by the custom of human sacrifices, which have been so recently abolished. They were formerly usual in Rajputāna, and were only abolished in Jeypur by Raja Jai Singh in the last century, and the earth goddess Tara Pennu, to whom these victims were offered, still has her shrine at Buddh-Gya, and is spoken of by Hiouen Tsiang as one of the most popular goddesses of ancient Magadha.[4] Their national name of Kui-loka, or the Kui people, is the same as that of the Gonds, who call themselves Koi or Koi-tor, and both names mean people of the mountain, a name which connects them with the ancient and wide-spread clan of the Malli, or mountain folk, a race who formerly ruled the country about Multan, which under Kashyapura was called Mallis-thana, the place of the Mallis, and who are mentioned in the accounts of the campaign of Alexander the Great. It was they who gave their name to Malwa, and who divided the sovereignty of Northern Behar with the Licchavis in the days of Buddha as the Vajjian confederacy, which then ruled the country now known as Ghorakpore, Chumparan, Tirhoot, and Durbhunga, and was composed of nine tribes of Mallis and nine Licchavis.[5] But while the Kandh organization gives us an instance of a tribe divided into territorial clans, but among whom marriages were also regulated by family septs, there is a still more strict territorial division preserved among the hill Binjhias, with whom the village takes the place of the sept, and the rule of exogamy requires that a man must take his wife from another village than that to which he belongs.[6] This rule, when compared

these. I think it was in Burwa in the Lohardagga District, but I cannot be certain, as I have not any note here to refer to.

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Kandh, p. 407.

[2] *Ib.* p. 402.

[3] *Ib.* p. 408.

[4] Monier-Williams, Buddhism, p. 216; Beal's Records of the Western World, vol. ii. pp. 103, 174.

[5] Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, Kalpa Sūtra, 128; S.B.E. vol. xxii. p. 266.

[6] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i.; Binjhia, p. 135.

with two separate customs mentioned in these volumes, seems to point to a time before marriage and family-life were known in India, and when the children born were the children of the village and the tribe. These customs are: (1) That described by Col. Dalton when he tells how during the orgies of the great annual Magh festival the girls of one village sometimes pair off with the young men of another, and absent themselves for days, and how among the Bhuiyas of the Tributary States of Chota Nagpore the young men of one village pay a visit of courtship to the maidens of another, offering presents and receiving a meal, after which they spend the night in dancing and singing[1]; (2) The second custom is that of the Dhumkuria or bachelor's dormitory, common not only to the Oraons, the Juangs, the hill Bhuiyas of Keonghur, and Bonai, and the Jhumia Maghs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, mentioned by Mr. Risley,[2] but also to the Naga tribes of Assam and the Marya or tree Gonds of Chanda in the Central Provinces. Under this custom the children of the village, both male and female, are separated from their parents at a very early age, and brought up under the guardianship of those appointed by the village to superintend their maintenance and education. When we recollect that among the Madras Nairs and the coast tribes of Malabar the maternal uncles are always guardians of their sister's children, we are led to look back to a time when the village children were begotten at the sacred festival dances, held in the Akhra or village dancing ground under the shade of the holy Sarna or village grove, and when their fathers were not the men of the village, but those of a neighbouring village, who came in the way related by Col. Dalton to dance with the maidens of that where the dance was celebrated. But the men who in after life gave a father's care to the village children were not those who begot them, but the brothers of their

[1] *Ib.* vol. i. Ho, p. 328; Bhuiya, p. 114.
[2] Ethnograpic Glossary, vol. ii. Oraon, p. 140.

mothers, and hence the custom, which I have already alluded to, arose of calling a man's sister's son his son. It was in connection with this custom, which looked on the sacred grove with the holy tree as the womb of the village, guarded by the sacred snake, that it became usual after marriage was substituted for the system of tribal concubinage I have described to marry both the husband and wife first to a tree. The meaning of this custom is best shown in the Kurmi wedding, which is thus described: "Early on the wedding morning the betrothed pair, each in their own homes, are separately married to trees, the bride to a Mahua (Bassia latifolia), and the bridegroom to a Mango (Mangifera Indica). This curious rite merits a full description. Wearing on the right wrist a bracelet of the leaves of the Mahua, the bride walks round the tree seven times, and then sits on her mother's lap on the eastern platform built close to the trunk. While sitting in this position her right hand and right ear are tied to the tree by her elder sister's husband or by some male member of the household, and she is made to chew Mahua leaves, which are afterwards eaten by her mother. Last of all lights are lit round the tree, which is solemnly worshipped by all present. The same ritual is separately performed by the bridegroom with this difference, that in his case the tree is a Mango, and that it is circled nine times instead of seven."[1] Every stage in this ceremony is significant. First it is to be noted that throughout the mother is treated as the responsible parent, both of the bride and bridegroom, and that the father is throughout ignored. Next the trees are significant, the Mahua being that sacred to the goddess mother of the Magh orgies, as it is from this tree that the intoxicating drink, which plays such an important part in these ceremonies, is made, and yet this tree does not mark the earliest stage in the manufacture of strong drink, for it is only distilled spirits which are made from the Mahua, and the art of distillation

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Kurmi, p. 531.

must have been discovered long after that of fermentation.[1] The first strong drink made must have been the fermented rice-beer, which is still the national drink of the Koles, and is always made by the village women. The Mango tree to which the bridegroom is married denotes a later stage of culture, in which the sacred tree is no longer the forest tree left in the Sarna to be the home of the primæval gods, but the cultivated mango, which tells of the advent of a race of gardeners and skilled agriculturists, who united themselves with the women of a less advanced and more primitive race. It is the assumption of regal power by this race in India which is commemorated in the story I have already alluded to, which tells how the Maghada and Kushika races were born from the seeds of the mango tree, which fell into the lap of the mother queen.

Again the lights and the seven steps round the tree tell, like the lights of the Dewali festival, of the worship of the stars, the lamps of heaven led by the moon goddess whose phases are marked by periods of seven days. They tell of the worship of the gods of darkness ruled by Varuṇa, the god of the dark night, while the nine circuits of the mango tree tell of the worship of the gods of light, the number nine being both in Indian and Akkadian mythology sacred to the sun-god, who, as the god who ripens fruits, the god Bhaga of the Rigveda, was the chief god of the gardening races.

This custom of the double marriage to the Mahua and Mango tree is apparently still observed by the Rajwars.[2] It was also till recently practised by the Mundas of Chota Nagpore, among whom a still earlier form of marriage survives called the "dhuko era," in which the woman

[1] But at the same time distilled spirits must have been made at a very early period, for in the Mahābhārata Arjun and Krishna are represented as drinking Mahua liquor, and this incident must have belonged to the early form of the poem before the introduction of the Brahmanical revisions which made Krishna the slayer of Madhava the demon of strong drink, and the inspired sage who preached the doctrines of the Bhagavat-gita.

[2] Ethnographic Glossary, Rajwar, vol. ii. p. 193.

of her own accord comes to live with her husband without any ceremony whatsoever, and yet these marriages are legitimate.[1] Among other tribes the Bagdis marry the bridegroom to the Mahua tree,[2] and the Bhuiyas, Kharwars, and Rautias marry both parties to the Mango tree.[3]

The marriage customs of the Cheroos, who are a branch of the Kharwars, are also extremely significant. They were as I have shown once the ruling race in Behar, and in their marriage ceremonies both tree marriage and its connection with matriarchal customs together with those of a later age which recognized the authority of the male ruler of an agnatic household are conspicuously recorded. For "after the binding rite of Sindurdān has been completed, the bridegroom's elder brother washes the feet of the bride, lays the wedding jewellery on her joined hands, and then taking the 'pat mauri' from the 'maur' or pith head-dress worn by the bridegroom, places it on the bride's head," and thus as the head of the family receives her into her husband's "gens" or clan. But before the bridegroom starts for the bride's house and after the bridal procession has arrived there, the mothers of the bridegroom and bride put a Mango leaf into their mouths, thus eating the Mango leaves as is done both by the bridegroom's mother and himself at the Kurmi wedding. The mothers then burst into tears and loud lamentations, while the maternal uncle of the bride and bridegroom, the head of the clan, according to matriarchal usage, both consecrate the marriage by pouring water on the leaf.[4]

The matriarchal customs here shadowed are still more conspicuously shown in those of the Doms, who, besides being scavengers and professional buriers of the dead, are musicians who perform at marriages and festivals. It is

[1] *Ib.* Munda, vol. ii. p. 102.
[2] *Ib.* Bagdi, vol. i. p. 39.
[3] *Ib.* Binjhia and Kharwar, vol. i. pp. 136, 475; Rautia, vol. ii. p. 201.
[4] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Cheroo, p. 201.

in this capacity they worship the drum, a worship which is doubtless a survival from the days when they used to beat it at the seasonal dances of the earlier matriarchal races.[1] The Doms also worship the fish-god, called Dharm-raj,[2] the ruler of the Dharm or Dharma, the immutable laws of nature, and this is the same god who in the Song of Lingal is said to have become the father of the Gonds, where he became a man after he had first been a fish swimming in the Nerbudda. The Doms are thought both by Dr. Caldwell and Sir H. Elliot to represent the older and blacker races who preceded the Dravidians, and who were one of the aboriginal tribes of India.[3] That they ruled the country to the North of the Gogra, the home of the Northern Gonds called Gaudia or Gondia, is proved by the old forts such as Domdha and Domangarh, which still retain their names, and by native tradition which makes them the ancient rulers of the country, and calls the forts of Ramgurh and Sahankot on the Rohini, the river of the red cow, sacred to the Sākya race Dom forts. Mr. Carnegy also mentions Ali Buksh Dom, who became governor of Ramlabad, one of the districts of Oude, and tells how the Doms used to rise to high office under the Oude kings.[4] Among the great landholding race of the Babhuns of Behar, to which the Maharajas of Benares, Bettiah, Tekari, and Hutwa belong, there is a section called the Dom-katar or Dom's knife, which shows their connexion with the Doms, and the Babhuns also show their relations with the tree-worshipping races, the Bhars and the tortoise tribes, by including among their sub-septs two descended from the Bel-tree (*Ægle marmelos*) one of the parent trees of the Bhars, and from Kush, the sacred grass of the Kush or tortoise race, while others of their sub-septs have clearly territorial names.[5]

[1] *Ib.* vol. i. Dom, pp. 250, 246.
[2] *Ib.* vol. i. Dom, p. 246.
[3] Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 546; Elliot, Races of the North-West Provinces, p. 84.
[4] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Dom, p. 240; Carnegy, Notes on the Men of Avadh (Oude), p. 24.
[5] *Ib.* Babhun, pp. 30, 32, 34.

Among the Doms of Behar, "the sister's son or occasionally the sister (sawāsin) repeats Mantras and acts generally as priest," while "the son of a deceased man's sister or of his female cousin officiates as priest at his funeral, and recites appropriate Mantras."[1] This custom is also followed by the Musahars or Behar branch of the Bhuiya tribe,[2] and by the Tatwas, the name of the Behar branch of the Tanti or weaver caste. The latter supply the place of Brahmins by the sister's son of the person at whose instance, or for whose benefit, a particular religious office is performed.[3] The Pasis also employ the sister's son as priest.[4] And when we recollect the close connexion between the Doms and the Gonds, and remember that the Marya or tree Gonds belong to the tribes who separate the young of both sexes from their parents, the conclusion is irresistible that the general preference of the maternal relatives of which I have adduced so many instances, point to a time when marriage was unknown, when the mothers were the responsible parents of their children, when they did not live with the fathers of their offspring, who were not consulted as to their education or maintenance.

This evidence is strongly corroborated by the universality of the worship of the Sakti or goddess mother of life. This is the worship both of the Tatwas and Pasis, and it is also common among the Babhuns of North Behar.[5] The Baruis,[6] the Bhats of Eastern Bengal,[7] the Madhyaseni Brahmins,[8] the Kahars,[9] the Kulin Kayasths of Bengal,[10] and of the Sonars.[11] This worship of the mother goddess is among the Babhuns of North Behar, and the Kahars

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Dom, p. 245.
[2] *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 117.
[3] *Ib.* *Ib.* p. 300.
[4] *Ib.* *Ib.* p. 167.
[5] *Ib.* vol. i. p. 33.
[6] *Ib.* p. 72.
[7] *Ib.* p. 101.
[8] *Ib.* p. 156.
[9] p. 372.
[10] *Ib.* p. 442.
[11] Vol. ii. p. 257. Sakti worship leads to licentious orgies, like those denounced by the Hebrew prophets in connection with the worship of the Ashera, or pole, the husband of the land.

connected with that of Siva, the god of the linga or father god, who is worshipped by numerous members of both tribes, and the evidence thence derived adds great force to the proofs already adduced of the antiquity and universality of the matriarchal customs I have described, and of the conquest of the matriarchal tribes by northern immigrants who made the father the head and leader of the tribe. But the connexion between the aboriginal and earliest immigrant races and the territorial aristocracy represented by the Babhuns, is also most strongly marked in the marriage ceremonies common to them all, for both among the Babhuns, the Lower Hindu castes, and the aboriginal tribes, the Sindurdān, or smearing the bride's hair with vermilion, is the leading portion of the ceremony. A number of Babhuns in Patna assured Mr. Risley of this "with much particularity of statement," and said that it was the Sindurdān and not "the circumambulation of the sacrificial fire" which in Behar, where as I have shown the fire-god was especially worshipped, "takes the place of the Vedic Saptapadi."[1]

It is this custom of consecrating the marriage by the Sindurdān ceremony, which gives us further insight into the process by which the Hindu nation was formed, from the interwelding of the heterogeneous elements which were united in the component tribes, and which also shows clearly how the custom of exogamy arose. The origin is clearly explained in the Kurmi marriage ceremonies, which show us not only, as I have already explained, how patriarchal were united with matriarchal tribes, but also how the primitive marriage ceremony of the earliest patriarchal immigrants was reproduced in a symbolical form by their successors. In the Kurmi wedding, after the union of the mother and not of the father's stocks, from which the

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. p. 32. These seven steps (Saptapadi) are according to the Grihya Sūtra taken round the Stheya water, sacred to the water god, Indra or Sakra, and the ceremony precedes that in which the bride is led round the fire. Oldenberg, Sânkhayana Gribya Sûtra, i. 13. 9. 13; i. 11. 5. 6; S.B.E. vol. xxix. pp. 36–38, p. 36, note 9.

wedded pair were born, has been celebrated by the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom exchanging plates of rice, the bride and bridegroom circle the fire, an earlier form than that of the circling of the Stheya, or holy water, and then "sit down together on a platform of dried clay, built under the canopy, and the bridegroom touches the bride between the breasts with a drop of his own blood, drawn by cutting through the nail of his little finger and mixed with lac dye." This transfusion of blood is followed by the Sindurdān, or smearing the parting of the bride's hair with vermilion,[1] which is the symbolical form of the original ceremony. This is marked still more strongly in the Kewut marriage, which also contains several ceremonies pointing to a series of changes in the national customs of the members of the tribe. In the Kewut marriage the ancient custom by which the women choose their own temporary husbands is perpetuated by that which obliges one of the tribal women, generally the wife of one of the brothers of the bride, to drag the bridegroom by a scarf which she places round his neck to the bride's house, and he is thus captured by the women and received into the mother clan. Before Sindurdān is performed, the marriage to the tree is celebrated by the "purohit," or family priest, for the Kewuts employ accredited Brahmans, writing "the names of the bride and bridegroom and their ancestors to the third degree, on two mango leaves, one of which is bound round the wrists of each of the pair." After this the Sindurdān, or essential part of the ceremony, takes place, and then "the bridal pair are taken into one of the rooms where two dishes of boiled rice and milk are standing ready. A tiny scratch is then made on the little finger of the bridegroom's right hand and of the bride's left, and and the drops of blood from these are then mixed with the food. Each then eats the food with which the other's blood has been mingled."[2] Here it is quite clear that the essential part of the ceremony was the mingling of the

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Kurmi, p. 532.
[2] *Ib.* vol. i. Kewut, p. 456.

blood, which was discontinued when bloody sacrifices ceased to be looked on as orthodox and respectable ceremonies. It is in this ceremony that we find both a Hindu repetition of the custom of making blood brotherhood so common among savage races all over the world, but also the explanation of the origin of exogamy. For, as blood brothers were bound together by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, so exogamous marriages, consecrated by the mingling of the blood of the two allied tribes, was a most effectual means of uniting neighbouring tribes, and both this custom and that by which the men of one village were fathers of the children of a neighbouring village were necessary factors in the making of a nation. As long as each tribe and agricultural settlement remained isolated, and hated and feared its neighbours, national progress was impossible. All superfluous energy beyond that required for providing for daily wants was expended in guarding crops and herds, and in preventing their appropriation by outsiders, and it was not till these isolated communities had formed alliances with their neighbours, and thus formed themselves into a body too powerful to be attacked, except by those who could bring into the field equal or superior forces, that they were able to see the advantages to be gained by making improvements based on experiments, to gain leisure for making them, and to accumulate wealth without the constant fear that it would be stolen from them.

Therefore the original castes represented among the Southern agriculturists, the peaceful tillers of allied and neighbouring villages, and among the Northern pastoral or hunting races the warrior sons of different totemistic fathers who had formed offensive and defensive alliances binding them to act as one united body, and to follow the orders of one supreme leader who was head of the village or chief of the tribe. It was for the purpose of keeping these alliances in remembrance that the totemistic names were retained among the wandering tribes, while the principle of cementing alliances by marriages or unions between the men and women of distinct tribes was made an integral

part of the national policy by the perpetuation of the rule of exogamy and by making the breach of it an unpardonable national sin.

It was tribes so organized who descended from the North upon the cultivating races of India, the sons of the forest-trees begotten in the sacred Sarnas of their respective villages, and who thus formed the successive ruling confederacies which have governed India.

Among these may be mentioned the Gonds, who are both sons of the Northern bull and of the forest trees, and who are in the Central Provinces divided into the worshippers of (1) seven, (2) six, (3) five, and (4) four gods. They include among them forms gradating from Marya or tree Gonds, to whose matriarchal customs I have already referred, to the Raj or Royal Gonds, whose chief god is Sek-nag, the great snake. After the first Gond conquest came the sons of the tortoise, the worshippers of Parasu Rāma or Rāma with the double axe, the moon ruler of the stars. It was these people who brought in the Northern crops, the Kassari (Lathyrus Sativus) and Jowari (Holcus Sorghum) of the Song of Lingal, and the sacred barley which is still worshipped at the Kurrum festival in Chota Nagpore, a festival which is observed not only by the aboriginal but also by the Hindu tribes. It is a festival which is shown by its ceremonies to date back to most primæval times, and to have received additions made by later conquering races to the festivals of an earlier faith. "It is celebrated at the season for planting out the rice grown in seed beds," and thus originally marked the festival celebrated in honour of the young rice plant, which was still, when I was Settlement Officer of Chattisgurh in the Central Provinces, accompanied at the festival called Gurhpuja by distribution as emblems of the wild rice, just as barley is still carried round Chota Nagpore villages. It was the festival originally founded at the stage of civilization, described in the account of the first Gond immigration in the Song of Lingal. This tells how the four Gonds (the descendants of the fish), and Mahadeva,

who had escaped his vengeance after he had beguiled their brother into a cave in the form of a squirrel (the totemistic ancestor of the Bhuiya race[1]), became the fathers and ancestors of future races. They were taught by Lingal, the god of the linga, to clear the forest and cultivate rice, and were united to the seven daughters of the sons of the forest tribes, Rikad Gawadi, who knew the secret of getting fire from wood instead of from flint, which had previously been used by the Gonds. The three eldest brothers each married, without any marriage ceremony, two of the sisters, thus showing that the earliest northern invaders were polygamous like the Bhuiyas, Bagdis, Bauris, and many of the semi-aboriginal tribes, but the youngest had only one wife. But these wives all fell in love with Lingal, and when he refused their advances, they and their husbands killed him and rebelled against his laws. It was when Lingal was revived by the "Amrita," or water of immortality, sent by the supreme god Bhagavat, that he went to seek another and better class of Gond ancestors, and found them in the Gonds who had been imprisoned while hunting the squirrel, and who were released at his request by Mahadeva. It is this second or rather, if we include the aboriginal races represented by Rikad Gawadi, or Rikad of the village (Gawa),[2] and his daughters, third stage in civilization which is marked by the ceremonies of this festival. In it the rice plant has no place, and it is preceded by a fast which is quite unknown among purely aboriginal ceremonies, and was introduced by those who sought magical inspiration by fasting. "On the first day of the feast the villagers must not break their fast till certain ceremonies have been performed. In the evening a party of young people of both sexes proceed to the forest and cut a young karma tree (Nauclea Parvifolia) or the branch of one, and bearing this they return in triumph dancing and singing and beating drums, and plant it in

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. p. 112.
[2] Gawa is the Kol word for village.

the middle of the 'Akhra'" (dancing place), thus introducing a strange tree which does not belong to the ancestral trees of the village Sarna. "After the performance of a sacrifice to the Karma Deota by the Pahn, or village priest, the villagers feast and the night is passed in dancing and revelry. Next morning all may be seen at an early hour in holiday array; the elders in groups under the fine old tamarind trees that surround the 'akhra,' and the youth of both sexes arm-linked in a huge circle dancing round the 'karma' tree, which, festooned with garlands, decorated with strips of coloured cloth, sham bracelets and necklets of plaited straw, and with the bright faces and merry laughter of the young people encircling it, reminds one of the gift-bearing trees so often introduced at our Christmas festival, and suggests the possibility of some remote connection between the two. Preparatory to the festival, the daughters of the head man," a relic of matriarchal custom, "cultivate blades of barley in a peculiar manner. The seed is sown in moist sandy soil, mixed with a quantity of turmeric, and the blades sprout and unfold of a pale yellow or primrose colour. On the karma day these blades are taken up by the roots as if for transplanting, 'like the rice plants,' and carried in baskets by the fair cultivators to the 'akhra.' They then approach the karma tree, and prostrating themselves, reverentially place before it some of the plants. They then go round the company, and, like the bridesmaids distributing wedding favours, present to each person a few of the yellow barley blades, and all soon appear wearing generally in their hair this distinctive decoration of the festival. They all join merrily in the 'karma' dances, and malignant indeed must be the bhut or evil spirit who is not propitiated by so attractive a gathering." The morning revel closes with the removal of the karma tree, which is the thrown into a stream or tank,[1] and thus dedicated to the water-god, the god to whom the rainy season, in which this festival is celebrated, is sacred.

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. Oraon, pp. 145, 146.

It is this god whose worship is also celebrated in the Oraon form of the Sarhul or spring festival held at the time of the flowering of the Sal tree, the parent tree of the Kolarian races. The day after the flowers have been collected, the pahn, or village priest, with some of the males of the village, pays a visit to every house carrying the flowers in a wide open basket. The females of each house treat him as they always do honoured strangers who visit the village, and "take out water to wash his feet as he approaches, and kneeling before him make a most respectful obeisance. He then dances with them and places over the door of the house and in the hair of the women some of the sal flowers. The moment this is accomplished they throw the contents of their water vessels over his venerable person, heartily dousing the man whom a moment before they were treating with such profound respect. But to prevent his catching cold they ply him with as much of the home-brew as he can drink, consequently his reverence is generally gloriously drunk before he completes his round."[1] It is this ceremony of consecration to the water-god, the god of the water of life which revived Lingal, which is also observed at the Oraon marriages, which conclude by "vessels of water placed over the wedding bower being capsised, so that the young couple and those who are with them receive a drenching shower bath." This custom of throwing water at the spring festival is also one which appears in Burma, where it is customary for the young women to go about throwing water over everybody, and especially over their male favourites. The whole series of ceremonies together with that connected with the growing of the barley, points back to the days of the rule of the Irāvata, or sons of the water and cow-mother Idā, who was raised from the waters of the purifying and sanctifying flood by Manu, who caused her to emerge after a year by throwing into the water the heavenly seed, clarified butter, sour milk,

[1] *Ib.* vol. ii. Oraon, p. 147.

curds, and whey.[1] The barley, which is especially worshipped at the karma festival, is called in the Brāhmaṇas Varuṇa's corn,[2] and is thus the grain dedicated to Varuṇa, the god of the dark night lit with stars. It is also parched barley grain which is, after rice has been offered to the Pitarah Somavantah, the earliest of the three classes of Fathers worshipped at the autumn Pitriyajña or sacrifice to the Fathers given to the Pitaro Barishadah, or Fathers seated on the Barhis or the sacred Kuṣ grass strewn on the altars and dedicated to the fathers of the Kushite race. It is also part of this barley cooked in a porridge and "mixed with the milk of a cow suckling an adopted calf," which is offered to the youngest race of the fathers the Pitaro Gnishvāttāḥ, or "the fathers consumed by the fire," that is those who burn their dead.[3] These three races of fathers are also mentioned in the Rigveda,[4] and the youngest of them are the people who gave to Bundelcund, the name by which it is known in Hindu geography of Vatsa bhumi, or calf-land, and who were the ancestors of the Brahman gotra of the Batsyas or Batsas, which is found in the list of gotras of all the chief Brahman tribes.[5] They belonged to the race of the Sakyas, and it is at the festival called the Sāka- Medha or sacrifice (medha) to the god Sāka that the Pitriyajña are celebrated, and the ritual conclusively proves that the Sāka- Medha is a sacrifice to the rain-god, for it consists of little else except offerings of cooked rice boiled with butter to Indra, the rain-god, and the Maruts, the storm-goddesses.

It is in this name Sāka that we find a clue as to the origin of the race who introduced the worship of barley as the grain sacred to Varuṇa. I have hitherto connected the name with the Sākas or Scythians, who are called in Darius's inscription the "Shaka-hauma-varza," the Shakas who prepare the Haoma or Soma, the intoxicating drink

[1] Eggeling's Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8. 1. 7; S.B.E. vol. xii. p. 218.
[2] *Ib.* *Ib.* ii. 5. 2. 1.; *Ib.* p. 391.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 6. 1. 4–6.; *Ib.* p. 421.
[4] Rigv. x. 15.
[5] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. app. i. pp. 15, 16, 18-25.

used in the later forms of the Hindu Soma sacrifice, but a further study of the question has convinced me that this form of the Soma festival is one which was developed from the original festival to the sacred water consecrated to the water-god who guarded the "amrita" or water of life. The whole subject, when exhaustively treated, leads to such wide-spread ramifications that it is impossible fully to discuss it in the space now at my disposal, and I must here be contented only to deal with a part of the question, and to use only a few selected proofs.

It was the sacred Soma, or life-giving rain, which is said in the Rigveda to have been guarded by Kṛishanu, the footless archer, a name which Grassmann has shown to mean he who draws (karsh) the bow and who is in other words the rain-god, whose sign, as the giver of the quickening showers which nourish life on the earth, is the rainbow. It was he who shot Galyātri, the bird of song, and Suparna, the bird with the fortunate (su) feather (parna), who was carrying Soma to earth.[1] It was this holy water of life which was brought to earth in the two cups called in the Brāhmaṇas Consecration and Penance,[2] and this was the "amrita" which the sacred bird Gadura in the Mahābhārata took from the heavenly snakes which guarded it.[3]

Kṛishanu, again, is the seventh of the seven Gandharvas, or Soma guardians,[4] and the name Gandharva is connected with the Akkadian word Gan, or enclosure, which appears in the name Gan-Edin, or garden enclosure of the plain, the name by which the Garden of Eden is known in Genesis. The Gandharvas are the sons of the Gan of the pole (dhruva), but this word "dhruva" is a Sanskrit word, and to find the original form of the word when first conjoined with the Gan of the pole, we must turn to pre-Sanskrit

[1] Eggeling's Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa i. 7. 1. 1; S.B.E. vol. xii. p. 183; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 26; Rigv. iv. 27. 3.

[2] Eggeling's Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 6. 2. 9–11; S.B.E. vol. xxvi., pp. 150, 151.

[3] Mahābhārata Adi (Astika) Parva, xxxiv.

[4] Eggeling's Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 3. 3. 11; S.B.E. vol. xxvi. p. 72.

legends. It is one of these given in the Mahābhārata which tells of the birth of the eponymous ancestors of the five royal races of India whose names appear in the Rigveda, and who are the sons of Yayāti, the son of Nahusha, the Great Snake. Yayāti married two wives. The first of these Devayāni was the daughter of Shukra, called Ushana and Bhargava, the priest of the Asuras, who proclaims himself to be the rain-god, for he says, "It is I who pour down rain for the good of creatures, and who nourish the annual plants which sustain all living things." She had two sons, Yadu and Tur-vasu, who appear together as two united tribes in the Rigveda, and it is by their bards called the sons of Kanva that the whole of the hymns in the Eighth Maṇḍala are said to be written. They were non-Aryan tribes living to the west of the Jumna along the Indus, for we find that the Yadu and Turvasu were defeated by the Arṇa and Çittra ratha, who are called in the account of the battle distinctively the Aryans on the banks of the Sarayu or Sutlej.[1] When we turn to the history of the god Vasu, whose name appears in Tur-vasu, we find that he set up on the Sukti range of the Vindhyan hills, in the central country called Jambu-dwipa by Hindu geographers, a bamboo pole as the sign of the divinity,[2] and it is this pole which was the god of the Tur-vasu. The Akkadian name of the pole or meridian is "tur," and this was the sign of the rain-god. This was the Ashera of the Jews, the pole set up by the early Semites as the husband, or Bāal of the land, whence we find it said in the Talmud "the rain is the husband of the land."[3] It was this pole, the sign of the rain-god, which became the meridian or centre of Kushite race, symbolized by the mountain of the East, called by the Akkadians χarsak kurra, and by the Zend cosmographers Ushidhan, whence the holy river Haetumaṇt, the modern Helmund, flows, and empties its waters into the

[1] Rigv. iv. 30, 18.
[2] Mahābhārata Adi (Adivamsavatarna) Parva, lxiii. p. 171.
[3] Review of Robertson Smith's Lectures on the Religion of the Semites by Prof. Hirschfeld, J.R.A.S. July, 1891, pp. 507, 508, 510.

lake Kūsava. This sacred land was the home of the kings of Kushite race called Kavi Kush, or the wise sons of Kush,[1] and it is to this race that Shukra, or Ushana, the father Devayani belonged, for he is called in the Rigveda Ushana, the son of Kavi.[2] It was the sacred mountain of this holy land which was the mountain of Sākadwipa, said in the Purāṇas to be that from which Indra which collects the rain, and it was of this land that Gandhari the wife of Dhritarashtra, the blind king, the eyeless pole, the husband of the land, was queen. It was here that she laid the egg which was as hard as iron, and from which, after it had lain two years in her womb, the hundred sons of the Kauravya or tortoise (kaur) race were to be born. This egg, after it was sprinkled, that is, sanctified with the water of life, by the Rishi Vyasa (the uniter), divided itself into a hundred and one parts, "each about the size of a thumb," and these were then put into pots of clarified butter, and from these, after two full years, Dhritarashtra's hundred sons and his one daughter Das-shala were born.[3]

It was the sons of the land (Gan) of the pole (tur) who were the first worshippers of the Supreme God of Heaven, the god who gives rain and fruitful seasons, and is the father of life on earth; and as the sons of the god of heaven they became in Indian mythology the Gandharva, or holy race, the stars round the pole, who were the mates of the Apsaras, or cloud mothers, and this name Apsara is like "tur," derived from the Akkadian Ap-sa, the abyss or home of the Nun, or sacred watery element, and the name of Nun is reproduced in the first of the ideographs which represent in the Akkadian writing the sign for the sacred "tur" or meridian.[4] We thus find evidence either

[1] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Zamyād Yaşt, x. 6; S.B.E. vol. vol. xxiii. p. 302, also p. 222, note 5; West's Bundahish, xxxi. 25; S.B.E. vol. v. p. 136.
[2] Rigv. i. 51. 11. i. 83. 5.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxv-cxvii. pp. 337-342.
[4] Sayce's Assyrian Grammar Syllabary, Nos. 67 and 66. No. 67 [cuneiform] is the ideograph for tur and [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] the three ideographs for nun, thus the essential sign is [cuneiform] for the suffixes [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] are signs denoting divinity.

of transference to India or of the simultaneous origin there of Akkadian terminology in every stage of the myth of the god of the pole, the rain-god. We find that the race who made him their god called the pole by the Akkadian name "tur"; that they also called the clouds the mothers of the rain, the Apsaras or daughters of the Akkadian watery abyss Ab-zu the Assyrian Ab-su. They gave to the land sacred to the pole of the Kushite race the Akkadian name Gan, and the mother river of the land of the Kushika they called the Gan-gu, the Vedic name of the Ganges, or river of the Gan, and in this suffix "gu" we have another instance like that I have already alluded in speaking of the name Bhri-gu of the use of Dravidian formative suffixes in words adopted by the later Sanskrit-speaking writers.

Under these circumstances it is certainly a most probable hypothesis that the names of the god, whose worship laid the foundations of the mythology of the Gandharvas and Apsaras should also be of Akkadian origin, and in discussing the name of the race who inhabited the land of the Delta of the Euphrates called the Sumir, I have shown on Lenormant's authority that the various forms of this name, and that of the country they dwelt in such as Shinar written with a Hebrew ע, which replaces an original "g," Singar, Sinker, Sindjhar, all point to two roots of the word sum, meaning to be low, and suk, meaning to water.[1] It is this root Suk or Shuk which we find in the Akkadian name of the Goddess Istar, called Shuk-us, and her ideograph [cuneiform] contains the sign [cuneiform] denoting rain, which also appears in the ideograph of the god Sukh or Tiskhu [cuneiform].[2] It is this Tishkhu who is said to be the joint ruler of the heavens with Anu, answering to the Sanskrit Varuṇa, the god of the dark night, and also to be a star which shines at night.[3] She is clearly the star

[1] Lenormant, Chaldæan Magic, pp. 395, 402. See note 3, p. 444.
[2] Sayce's Assyrian Grammar, Syllabary, Nos. 99, 100, 101, 462.
[3] Lenormant, Chaldæan Magic, pp. 206, 18.

which sends the rain, and she afterwards, like the Hindu Shukra, becomes the planet Venus.

But we know from the theology of the Zendavesta that before the days when the planets and moon were worshipped and their paths in the heavens calculated the fixed stars were looked on as the supreme rulers of heaven, and their apparent motions were reckoned as the surest indications of the lapse of time. Throughout the Zendavesta the Pairikas or wandering stars are denounced as the enemies of law and order, and the great enemy of the Pairikas is the star Tishtrya or Sirius, which afflicts and destroys the Pairikas.[1] It is this star which rules the East,[2] which is the seed of rain,[3] and it is its rising at the summer solstice which ushers in the rainy season, in North-eastern India, the land where the Kushika race were the supreme rulers, and where they had worked out the myth which made them the sons of the tortoise earth. In the Tīr Yaṣt in the Zendavesta, the battle of Tishtrya, the star which brings the rain with Apaosha the black demon horse, the clouds which keep it back is fully described, and the account opens with an invocation in which the worshippers say, "We sacrifice unto the rains of Tishtrya."[4] In Zend chronometry, the month sacred to Tir or Tishtrya, the star Sirius begins with the summer solstice.[5]

We have here in this astral theology evidence of the supersession of a reckoning of time which was based only on a recurrence of the seasons, ruled by the black cloud god Apaosha, by one which measured it by the movement of the stars, their rising, culmination, and setting, and it was the star Tishtrya, the leader of the stars indicating time, which was the first star of the year beginning with the Indian rainy season at the summer solstice, and it is the star called this Egyptian Satit, a name of Isis,

[1] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Tīr Yaṣt, vi. 33; S.B.E. vol. xxiii. p. 104.
[2] West's Bundahish, ii. 7; S.B.E. vol. v. p. 12.
[3] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Tīr Yaṣt, ii. 4; S.B.E. vol. xxiii. p. 94.
[4] *Ib. Ib.* vi. 12; *Ib.* p. 97.
[5] *Ib.* Introduction to Tīr Yaṣt; *Ib.* p. 92.

the goddess mother, whose rising marks the beginning of the Egyptian year, and the royal race of the Egyptian kings were called sons of Kush, who all wear on their foreheads the sign of the Uræus snake. But the star god, who introduced order and regularity into the reckoning of time, was obliged in Mythic language to coerce the god whom he superseded, the god of the rain-cloud and of the heavenly bow, and in the account of the contest between them, the rain-god is called in Zend Apaosha, a name which again appears in the Egyptian Āpapi the black snake of darkness, and, in the Apām Napāt, the son of the waters of the Rigveda and Zendavesta. He is, as Darmesteter shows, the lightning god, born in the clouds, who is said in the Tīr Yaṣt "to divide the waters among the countries in the natural world in company with the mighty wind," and the name Napāt means, as Darmesteter tells us, both "navel" and "offspring,"[1] so that the name means the centre or navel of the waters, the central point or meridian, where the pole of the rain-god was set up. The central mountain whence the rains descend in the rivers which are its sons to water the earth, the central point of the central region appropriated according to the Kushika distribution of the provinces of the kingdom to the residence of the king or supreme ruler.

But in all these names of the rain god we find the root *ap* or *ab*, which appears in the Akkadian ab-zu, the watery abyss, whereas in the Rigveda we are introduced to another form of the rain-god, Indra from Indu, meaning sap and essence, a peculiarly Aryan name, and the demon of drought whom he conquers is called Shushṇa, whose name must therefore probably be one which is derived from non-Aryan roots. When we remember that the rain-god of the race of the sons of the Tur was called Shukra, and that this god becomes in Pali Sakko, who, according to the Buddhist theology, is the leader of the thirty-three Naga gods of

[1] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Sīrōzah, 7; Tir Yaṣt, vi. 34; S.B.E. vol. xxiii. p. 6, note 1, p. 102.

the Tavatimsa heaven or the heaven of the thirty-three,[1] that these were the thirty-three Lords of the ritual order of the Zendavesta,[2] who arranged the order of sacrifices, and the thirty-three gods of the Rigveda and Brāhmaṇas, it is clear that Shukra or Sakko was a god of time. I have shown in a former article in this Journal that these thirty-three gods were the twenty-eight days of the lunar month and the five seasons of the Hindu year.[3] In the great annual Soma festival to the gods of time, after cups of Soma have been drawn for the thirteen months of the lunar and the twelve months of the solar year, there are five cups drawn for the year of Prajāpati, the year of five seasons, and the first of these cups is the cup to Shukra, and it is preceded by a call to Indra, the rain-god.[4]

This evidence makes it very probable that in the names of this god Shukra, or Sukko, we have a reproduction of the Akkadian root Shuk, which appears in the name of the mother star, the rain mother; and the weight of this evidence is greatly increased when we remember that a Northern *k* becomes *sh* in Sanskrit. Thus the Greek κύων is the Sanskrit Shvan, the Greek kerberos, the Sanskrit Sharvara, the spotted star-dog, and the syllable καθ in the Greek καθ-αρός and its cognate words, appears in Sanskrit as "Shudh."[5] Thus the Sanskrit-speaking writers of the Veda would naturally change Shuk, the root of the name of the Kushika and Asura rain-god, into Shush, and hence it is by this Sanskritised form of his name that he would be spoken of in the Vedic poems as the demon Shushna slain by Indra. Again, in the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the victory of Indra over Shushna, the god of the Asura Rakshas, is spoken of, it is said that Indra put out his eye, what is changed him from the leading god of light, the
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Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v. Tavatrimso.
1 Darmes... Yasna, i. 10. iv. 15. vi. 9, etc.; S.B.E. vol. xxxi. pp. 198, 216, 220.
2 West's... Sept. 1890, Art. X. pp. 561, 567.
3 Darmes...'s Ṣat. Brāh. iv. 3. 3. 1 and 2, iv. 5. 5. 12; S.B.E. vol. xxvi.
4 *Ib. Ib.*
5 *Ib.* Intr... Griechsiche Etymologie, No. 26, p. 138.

single star, the chief god of the year, into a blind guide.[1] The name Shushna is in the Petersburgh Sanskrit Dictionary said to mean the hisser, or the piper, that is, the hissing snake, and it is as the snake that the Zend Tishtrya is named, for the name is an almost exact reproduction of the Akkadian "tsir," the divine snake. Also, as the ancient Akkadians were a race who, as Lenormant says, possessed "a complete scientific nomenclature for astronomy and astrology," quite independent of the later scientific languages of the Kushite Semites of Assyria, and that they cultivated the science of the stars, it is probable that as the Indian people obtained their later reckoning of time from the Assyrian astronomers, they learnt their first astronomical knowledge from the earlier race, who, living in the mountain lands of Elam, the ancient name for Irān, worked out the study of the stars, and brought their newly discovered science down to the Euphratean countries and India. It was these people who, in tracking their way through the pathless deserts of Central Asia, first learnt to find the practical value of the stars as guides to record their way from place to place, whence they proceeded to observe their times of rising and setting, and it was these people who, as the ancient Parthians, bore the Naga snakes as their national emblem on their shields. It was they who would thus naturally call the star which they looked on as the leading star in the heavens, the great snake, and use this name as a synonym for his earlier name of Shuk, the god who brings rain.

But in this victory of Indra over Shushna, or the star Sirius, we find evidence of the supersession of the Asura-Kushika religion by that of the Indra worshippers, and we find in the history of the contests between these three rain-gods a series of three methods of reckoning time in India and Irān, the first that by the seasons, beginning with the rainy season; the second that determined by the movements of the fixed stars, ushered in by the rising of

[1] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. iii. 1. 3. 11. 12; S.B.E. vol. xxvi. pp. 14, 15. Indra changed the star-god, who brings the rain into the rain-pole, or Ashera, consecrated by Vasu.

Sirius at the summer solstice, which brought in the rainy season; and the third that of the worship of Soma, the moon goddess, who ruled the lunar year, and whose votaries were the ancestors of the earlier Rajput races, who took the name of Sombunsi, or sons of the moon, and who were again succeeded by the Suraj-bunsi, or sons of the sun. We also find that the rain-god and rain-star were both called by a name which reproduces the root of the Akkadian name for Istar, and that the theology in which they were the supreme gods dates from a time long before the Rigveda was written, or the races that elaborated the later Vedic theology entered India. We find in the Rigveda a distinct account of the contest between Indra and Varuṇa, showing that Indra superseded Varuṇa,[1] and Varuṇa, the god of the dark night, is like Indra, a rain-god, for the root Var means rain,[2] and in the Zend cosmogony the name of the god Varuṇa, or Varaṇa, became that of the mythical region called Varana, which was the scene of the battle between the Zend Thraētaona, the Trita Aptya of the Rigveda, and the biting snake-god Azi-dahāka. This land is called in the Zendavesta the four-cornered Varuṇa, an epithet which, as Prof. Darmesteter points out, agrees exactly with that of the "Çatur-aṣrir Varuṇo," the four-pointed Varuṇa applied in the Rigveda,[3] to the Agni or fire-god who superseded the worshippers of the triangle or the earlier triad of gods, and thus Agni is the land ruled by the four stars, each pointing to a separate quarter of the heavens, of which Tishtrya, who rules the East, is the chief. It is Varuṇa, the predecessor of Indra, the snake-god, who rules the year, divided into three seasons in the Brāhmaṇas, in which the autumn season, called Sāka-medha, the season of the sacrifice (medha) to Saka is the last, for in this division the summer season is called Varuṇa-praghasaḥ, and it is to Varuṇa that the barley is

[1] Rigv. iv. 42, 9, gives the dialogue between them in which they state their pretensions to rule.

[2] Justi, Zend Dictionary.

[3] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, S.B.E. vol. iv.; Introduction to Vendidād, iv. s. 12. p. lxiii; Vendidād, i. 18, p. 9, Rigv. i. 152. 2.

offered and dedicated at this sacrifice. It was these people who worshipped Varuṇa, the god of the dark night and the rain-cloud, the ruler of the stars, who called their rain-god and rain-star by the name Sụk, Shuk, or Sak, and named him as the god to whom the sacrifices of the rainy or autumn season were offered. He, again, is the chief god of the Raj Gonds, the Sek-nag, who as Sak becomes Shush in the Rig-veda, becomes in the Mahābhārata the Shèsh-nag, who is there called the oldest of the snakes, who was placed by the supreme god Prajāpati under the earth to support it while his place as leader of the five snake kings or seasons was taken by Vāsuki.[1] Vāsuki, again, is the god Vasu, the god of the Northern spring, the ruler of the year, which begins, like the present Hindu year, not with the summer, but with the winter solstice, whose name appears in the Greek name for spring ἔαρ, which is a later form of Ϝεσάρ,[2] and in the Sanskrit Vasanta. It was these five seasons—the rainy season, autumn, winter, spring, and summer—which were by the Brahmans worshipped in the new and full moon festival, and also as I have shown in the Soma sacrifice, and it was these which were replaced by the three seasons of the Varuṇa-Saka theology. This religious revolution was thus one which was led by the Northern, or rather Central Asian star-worshippers, who came to India from the Euphratean countries, which are pre-eminently the land of barley. It is from barley that the principal offerings to the fathers in the Sāka-medha Pitri-yajña are made, but it is whole-grained rice (kara) mixed with milk which is offered to Indra and the seven Marut mothers, the seven evil winds of the Akkadians, the seven daughters of Rikad Gawadi in the Gond Song of Lingal, who take their name from Maroti, the Gond tree-god.[3] These are the principal offerings of the Sāka-medha sacrifice,

[1] Mahābhārata Astika Parva, xxxv. and xxxvii.
[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, chap. xiii. p. 372, note
[3] Their name may also be connected with that of Martu, the god of the West, among the Akkadians, for it was as the wind-goddess of the South-west Monsoon, that the Maruts assumed such a prominent place in Indian nature-worship.

which replaced an earlier sacrifice to the Triambakah or three mothers, called in Mahābhārata Amba, Ambikā, and Amvālikā, which is still countenanced in the Ṣatāpatha Brāhmaṇa.[1]

These sacrifices of rice mixed with milk show that the races to whom barley was sacred succeeded that formed from the union of the cultivators of rice with the sons of the mother cow, and that they worshipped the water-mother called Sak, called the land which they made sacred to her the land of Saka, which was adopted by Sanskrit writers in the name Sākadwipa. As they first looked on the living principle in the water which made it the author of life as a manifestation of the mother Istar, who was the weeping mother of Tammuz or Damu-za, the only son of life, they called the goddess of life Sak-ti, and made her the mother goddess of the Sakta form of worship.

They were succeeded by the star-worshippers, whose special gods in the Vedic Pantheon are the Ashvins or heavenly horsemen, the twin stars in Gemini, and it is to them that barley is especially sacred, for they are said in the Rigveda to have first sown barley with the plough.[2]

It is the Oraons who claim to have first introduced plough cultivation into Chota Nagpore, and the connexion of the Oraons with the Ashvins is further shown by their reverence for the ass. They hold it to be sacred, will not kill it or eat its flesh, and assign "to the animal much the same position and dignity as the Hindus give to the cow."[3] The ass is shown both in the Brāhmaṇas and the Rigveda to be especially sacred to the Ashvins, for they are represented as drawn in their chariots by asses, while in the same passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in which the Ashvins are said to have been drawn to the wedding of Soma and Surya, the moon and sun, by asses.

[1] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. ii. 6. 2. pp. 437-444. I have discussed the whole subject in Art. VIII. April, 1890, J.R.A.S. pp. 357-374.
[2] Rigv. i. 117, 21.
[3] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. Oraon, p. 148.

Agni, the fire-god is said to have been drawn by mules, Ushas, the dawn, by red cows, and Indra, by horses.[1] They were the race to whom the three-legged ass, that is, the ass of the three seasons of the year, who is described in the Bundahish,[2] was sacred, and it is there said that "Tishtar seizes the water more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass." They were the race of the star-worshippers who became among the Santhal tribes the sons of Saren, the Pleiades. But we find in the Kurma festival further evidence as to the race to which the cultivation of barley belonged, for the mixing of turmeric with the barley seed seems to show that they were a yellow race, and this conclusion is corroborated by the worship in Oude of Kapila, the Rishi, whose name means the yellow, and who gave his name to the eleventh month of the Hindu lunar year. It is this series of eleven lunar months which is in Hindu ritual peculiarly sacred to the gods of generation, and it is to their gods that in the great annual Soma festival to the gods of time eleven victims are offered, the last being offered to Varuṇa, the god of the star-worshippers.[3] Turmeric, as a sacred tribal plant seemed also to have belonged to the race who offered living sacrifices to the gods, for it was to secure good crops of turmeric that the Khonds offered human victims to the Tara Pennu,[4] or female star mother, for they argued that the "turmeric could not have a deep red colour without the shedding of blood," and before the Meriah victim was sacrificed he was anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric."[5] These human sacrifices were not peculiar to the Khands, but were formerly universal among all the Bhumij and Bhuiya races. Human victims were till comparatively recently offered to the goddess Rauhini

[1] Ait. Brāh. iv. 2. 9, Die Gubernatis Die Thiere in der Indo-Germanische Mythologie, German translation by Hartmann, p. 221; Rigv. i, 34. 9, i. 116. 2.

[2] West's Bundahish, xix. 11; S.B.E. vol. v. p. 69.

[3] Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. iii. 9. 1. 4-22; S.B.E. vol. xxvi. pp. 218-221. See the question further discussed in my article, J.R.A.S. April, 1890, Art. VIII. pp. 400-402.

[4] Pennu is the Tamil for woman.

[5] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Khand, pp. 404, 405.

by the Bhumij Rajas of Dalbhum, and at a still earlier period in Pachete in Manbhum,[1] while during the abeyance of British authority in the year of the mutiny human sacrifices were offered in Chota Nagpore. The custom seems to have been one which the yellow race of the star-worshippers brought with them from Central Asia. Wellhausen and Robertson Smith have shown that human sacrifices and the sacrifice of the first-born were customary offerings among the early Semites, and it was among these same people that the custom originated of offering their first-born to Moloch, as King Ahaz did.[2] It was the race who introduced these customs who added further improvements in the village organization to those introduced by the Gonds, for, while the Gonds set apart in each village royal lands, they did not appoint a special officer to look after them apart from the head of the village. It was this functionary, called by the Oraons and also in Orissa the Mahto or accountant, who is never found in the Gond villages of Chuttisgurh in the Central Provinces, whom they added to the village officials, and it is the Mahto who appears in all Hindi villages as the well-known Patwari. It was this race who were ruled by the kings who called themselves the sons of the Sek-nag or great water snake, the cobra whose hood represented the rain-clouds, and which is always depicted in Buddhist sculpture as overshadowing the Buddha and guarding him from the heat of the sun.

It therefore appears from the above analysis of the caste system and the lessons to be learnt from it that we can trace in caste formation three distinct stages. The first that in which matriarchal customs prevailed, and in which alliances with neighbouring villages and tribes were formed and cemented by the custom which obliged each village to look to its neighbours for the fathers of the village children. This was accompanied by the educational institutions which

[1] *Ib.* vol. i. Bhumij, p. 120.
[2] Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, Lecture x. note 7, pp. 445, 446; 2 Kings, xvi. 3.

separated the children of both sexes from their mothers and brought them up under the care of the village elders. The great antiquity of this custom is shown as being adopted by the Juangs, who are still in such a primitive state of civilization as not to have learnt to weave, and who consequently clothe themselves in leaves. But these people have like all jungle tribes with whom I am acquainted a national religion, and it is their priests called Nāgam who offer sacrifices to the mother earth, and they have also "Deharis" or village priests, and the matriarchal origin of their customs is shown by the maternal uncle of the deceased officiating at funerals.[1] I may here notice the only error which I have detected in this work. It is in the account of the Korwas, who are said by Mr. Risley to have no priests. This is not correct, as in Sirgoojya, the home of the Korwa race, there is a separate Byga or priest for every separate Pāt or hill plateau, which is occupied by Korwa tribes. This first matriarchal organization was followed by a northern invasion of the sons of the bull and by the adoption of the earliest forms of polygamous marriage, which was a union of Southern matriarchal with Northern tribal and patriarchal customs. It was these people who substituted tribes boasting of a common parentage for the original villages, and thus formed the first germs of the caste system, while they still retained the proof of its origin from the village in the custom which makes the panchayat or caste council a relic of the village council called by the same name. Thus among the Rautias, one of the ruling tribes, who, like Bhuiyas, represent the intervening stage between the aboriginal and Hindu races, the caste panchayats appointed as the arbitrator and judge in all social questions are divided into separate councils, which regulate all disputes in each group of villages consisting of from ten to fifteen. Each village sends a member to the council, and it is presided over by a hereditary president called the Mohunt.[2] It was these people who

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Juang, p. 353.
[2] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. ii. p. 208.

constituted the ritual of witchcraft and sorcery which is unknown to the Juangs.

They were followed by the more cultured races, who worked out the conception of the tortoise earth, making the centre of the Indian tortoise the land of Central India called Jambu-dwipa, but which was dedicated to the water mother, who gave it the name of Sakti, which has been adopted as the name of the Eastern Vindyan hills by the Hindu geographers. It was they who worshipped the rain-god as the father of life, and divided the country into kingdoms organized on the model which places the royal province in the centre and surrounded with frontier and subordinate provinces. It is this model which we find in the old Gond kingdom of Sirgoojya, where the central province belongs to the Gond family, whose chief is the hereditary Dewan or Prime Minister of the present Raja, who belongs to a later race.

It was these people who were succeeded by those who were descended from the fish-god, and who are the Matsya or fishermen of the Rigveda and Mahābhārata. They were the great trading race, and their descent is in the Mahābhārata traced to the father god Vasu, but who, in the genealogy of Vasu's descendants, were said to spring from a different stock from that to which his first five sons belonged. The father of the Matsya race was born from the Apsara or cloud mother of Akkadian origin, called Adrika the rock, whereas the mother of the remainder of Vasu's children were Girika, the mountain. Adrika, as the mother of the fish race, was swimming as a fish in the river Sukti-mati, the mother Sakti descending from the Sakti range into the Jumna, and it was there her children were born under the form of the heavenly twins, the gods of the Asura star-worshippers. But they were not, like the later star twins, the heavenly horsemen, both father gods, but a brother and sister, Matsya, the father of the race of fishermen, and Satya-vati, she who is possessed of truth (Satya), who was the wife of the god king Shan-tanu, he who stretches (tan) the

year (Shan) and the ancestors of the royal races of India. It was these Matsya, who appear in the Rigveda as holding the country watered by the Jumna, and who, in the account of the battle of the ten kings in the Rigveda, appear on the non-Aryan side. But these people were, like all the later ruling races of India, of foreign origin, and belonged to the great race of the Shus or Saus, but they were not the earlier trading races whose name was derived from the root Sak, but the later race who became the Sumir of Assyrian history, and who, as the maritime traders of the Persian Gulf, lived in the country of the Euphratean Delta, of which the capital was the great seaport town of Eridu. It was there, according to Akkadian tradition, that the great national fish-god, Ia, also called Hia, appeared,[1] and it was he whose name shows that he was the original rain-god, for the name Ia means the god of the house (I), of the waters (a). This god became the god Assōr, the fish-god of the Assyrians, and the patron god of Nineveh, the name of Nineveh being ideographically expressed by the symbol of a fish swimming in a basin of water. As patron god of Nineveh, he succeeded Istar, who had been formerly worshipped there under the name of Adma-Ghanna-ki-lugga.[2] It was by this people that the original form of the name of the people of the Delta were changed into one which can be derived from the root *sum*, meaning low, which Lenormant shows to be the alternative derivative of Sumir. But this name could only have taken this later signification after it came to be contrasted with that of the Akkadians, whose name meant "mountaineers."[3] It was these people who became in India the ruling race called Haio-buns, or sons of Haio, a name which reproduces that of Ia, and who are generally known as Haiheyas, and their name of Shus appears in that of the Persian

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, Lecture iii. pp. 134, 135.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, Lecture i. p. 57, ii. p. 104. F. Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, pp. 327, 328.

[3] Lenormant, Chaldæan Magic, pp. 401, 404.

province of Shushan. It is the name of the distinctive fish-god Assōr, which appears in that of the Hindu Asura, and, according to Professor Brunnhofer, in the name of the month Ashaḍha,[1] now called Assur, while the planet Mars is called Ashadhabhava, or the son of Ashadah. It was he who was born as the fish-son of the virgin mother Ardvi Sūra Anāhita, the heavenly spring, whence all the waters on earth descend, and who is the offspring of the sacred mountain called in the Zendavesta Hu Kairya, the active (Kairya) begetter (Hu) who wears on her head a diadem of one hundred stars and is clothed in garments of beaver skins,[2] showing that she was the mother goddess of a star-worshipping and building race. It was she who was the mother river Euphrates worshipped under the form of a fish. It was there Shus or Saus, who came to India as the people called the Shu-varna or Sauvira, that is the people belonging to the tribe (varna) of the Shus or Saus. They were also the earliest Rujputs, the Sombunsi, or sons of the moon, and it was they who, in their name, Som, Sinha, and Singh, reproduced the similarly different forms of their name Sumir, which I have already noticed in the names of Shumir, Shinar, Sinker, and Sindjhar. It was they who, from their original settlement at Pātala, which General Cunningham has shown to be the modern Hyderabad, the capital of Sindh, advanced to the land of Gujerat, which they called Saurashtra, or the kingdom of the Saus, and thence extended their trade and rule throughout India, till they at last settled in Western Bengal, which they called Karṇa Suvarna.

It is in this name and that of India, originally Sindhava or Sindva, that we find a further clue to the origin of this trading and fighting race. This name marks the country of Western India, whence they first settled as one that belonged to the race of the Sumir, and the god of the Sumerians was Sin the moon-god, and this Sumerian word

[1] Brunnhofer. Irān and Turān, p. 216.
[2] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Abān Yaşt, 128, 129; S.B.E. vol. xxiii, p. 83.

was, as Dr. Hommel shows, derived from the Akkadian zu-inna the lord (in or inna) of wisdom (Zu), and in an Akkadian hymn to the seven gods, the sons of Bel, the moon-gods, the moon-bull is called the offspring of the god Zu.[1] It was as sons of the moon-god that the Shus came into India and were called the sons of the horned moon, hence the meaning horn was attached to the word Singh, which also means the lion, the animal sacred to the moon, and it was as the sons of the moon-lion that the Licchavis obtained their name. They were the Jain trading race who shared the sovereignty of North Behar with the Mallis, and ruled the great trading city of Vaisali in the days of the Buddha, and their name is derived from the Akkadian *lig* or *lek*, the lion, a word of which the ideograph [cuneiform sign] is derived from two symbols, [cuneiform sign] meaning to rise like stars or the moon, and [cuneiform sign][2] meaning king, so that the name Licchavi means the sons of the rising king or the moon. But we also find the horned sons of the moon in the Zend mythic hero Keresashpa whose name means the horned (Keres) horse (ashpa), and he who is called in the Zendavesta the son of Ṣāma or Shem[3] is said to have turned and married the moon called the Pairika kñathaiti, meaning the wandering star (pairika) adored (khnat) by men.[4] Keresashpa again appears in Hindu mythology in the mythic hero Karna, born from Prithu, the mother of the Pandavas, without the intervention of an earthly father, on the river Ashva, where he was placed in a boat as an infant and floated down the Jumna and Ganges to Champa, the modern Bhagulpore, the capital of Karna Suvarna, where he was adopted by the king of the tribe of Sutas or charioteers called Adhiratha or the supreme charioteer. He was distinguished by his golden mail and earrings which he never put off till he

[1] Dr. F. Hommel, Geshichte Babyloniens and Assyriens, bk. i. chap. iii. s. 4, p. 376; Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, appendix, ix. p. 495.
[2] Sayce's Assyrian Grammar, Syllabary, Nos. 494, 455, 427.
[3] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Fravardin Yaṣt, 136; S.B.E. vol. xxiii. p. 223.
[4] *Ib.* Vendidād Fargard, i. 10; S.B.E. vol. iv. p. 7.

was beguiled by Indra to part with them, and in these earrings, the golden mail, and in the name Karna, which reproduces the Semitic word "keren" a horn, we find that he is the horned and yellow moon, sacred to the sons of the horse, whose name is preserved in that of the river Ashva, and who were also sons of Shem. Keresashpa is a name in which the word *horn* appears in the Zend form keres, instead of as in the Hindu myth in the Semitic form Keren, and he is described in the Zendavesta as the club-bearer with plaited hair,[1] ringlet headed, and bearing a bludgeon.[2] He is said to be the brother of Urvakhshaya, the (Ur) speaker (vaksh), "a judge confirming order," and his aspect as depicted in Zend mythology is the same as that of the Hindu Shiva with plaited hair called Kapardin. Shiva again is throughout the Mahābhārata called Sankha or Sankhara, the god of number (Sankha), and it is as the god of the number seven, sacred to the moon-worshippers, that he obtained the name of Shiva, the Hebrew word for seven, from the same Semitic race who gave to Indra the name the Semitic moon-god Sin.

It was these people who were called the Karna Suvarna, or the horned race of the Shus, and we find from the legend of Karna that it was they who, from their capital at Chumpa[3] in Bengal, introduced into India the lunar year, and it was they who instituted in its honour the thirteen libations to the thirteen months of the lunar year offered at the Soma sacrifice. In the Mahābhārata the conquest of India by Karna is introduced as an episode, which occurred after the first victories of the Paṇḍavas, and during the period of their exile for thirteen years, the number of the thirteen lunar months, before they emerged to defeat the Kauravyas, with whom Karna was allied in the final battle of the war.[4] It was these water-drinking sons of the moon whose name is

[1] Mahābhārata vana (Kundalāharana) Parva, ccxcix-cccix.
[2] Darmesteter's Zendavesta, Fravardin Yaṣt, 136; Mill's Yasna, ix. 10; S.B.E. vol. xxiii. p. 223, and vol. xxxi. p. 234.
[3] The modern Bhagulpore.
[4] Mahābhārata Vana (Ghosha-Yatra) Parva, cclii.

preserved in that of Karna and of the river Ashva, who made it disgraceful for the twice-born to drink spirituous liquor, and it was they who imposed the ceremony of the Dīkshaṇīya, or bath of consecration and initiation upon all who were thus made sufficiently pure to observe the Soma sacrifice, a sacrifice which was restricted to Brahmans, Kohatriyas or Rajputs, and Vaisyas.[1] It was this baptismal bath of consecration, the ceremonies of which are elaborately explained in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which introduced one who was impure before into the ranks of the twice-born,[2] and it was this ceremony which is said to have brought from heaven one of the two cups called Consecration and Penance in which the Soma was brought to earth.[3] It was these ardent votaries of the cleansing and purifying water who introduced all the elaborate ceremonies of purification which make Hindu ritual so like that of the Jews. It was also they who, as the Jains, whose ascetic rites can be traced back to Western India, the land of Saurashtra, introduced the religion of asceticism and Penance, which formed the second branch of the religion inculcated by the moon-worshippers, and which has since their conquest of the country occupied such an important place in Indian religious history. It was these Jains, the horned (Karna) Suvarna, who came to Bengal, who made Parisnath their sacred mountain. But it was not they who first consecrated it, for it was originally the Mount Mandara of Hindu mythology, the mountains where the gods distilled from the ocean the "amrita" or life-giving rains, led by Vasuki, the snake-god, enthroned after the deposition of Sek, or Shesh-nag, who held the rope. It was these people who called themselves Yadus, or Ya-devas, the sons of Ya, the form of the name of the Akkadian god Ia adopted by the Semites, and it was they who were the descendants of Yadu, the brother of Turvasu, the son of Devayani and Yayāti. It was these immigrant Jains, or Yains, who

1 Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. iii. 1. 1. 8-10; S.B.E. vol. xxvi. pp. 4-5.
2 Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 395, 398.
3 Eggeling's Ṣat. Brāh. iii. 6. 2. 9; S.B.E. vol. xxvi. p. 150.

marked the road from Benares to the Bengal port of Tamralipta (Tamluk) by the Jain temples, which can still be traced through the Maubhum district, and we find distinct evidence of their rule and of their occupation of the Western Bengal country in Mr. Risley's Ethnographic Glossary. For in his account of the great cultivating caste of the Kaivarttas who call themselves Kewuts, the name given to the caste of fishermen in Behar, he says that they are said by tradition to be among the earliest inhabitants of Bengal. While still more cogent evidence of their rule and of the position they occupied in the country in the great maritime trading race is given by the fact that it was Kaivartta families who founded "the five separate princedoms" of Tamralipta or Tamluk, Bālasita, Turka, Sujamuta, and Kutubpur, in the Midnapur district. It was as rulers of these lands that they were able to control the whole maritime trade of North-eastern India which found its way to the great port of Tamralipta.[1]

The origin of the Kaivarttas, as the sons of the royal race of the sons of the fish-god, is also shown by their claim to be descended from the Rishi Vyasa, who is also said to be the ancestor of the Vyasokta Brahmans, who officiate as priests of the Kaivarttas.[2] The Rishi Vyasa, whose name means the uniter, was the son of Satyavati, the daughter of the fish-mother goddess Adrika, before she married the great king Shantanu. He was said to have been begotten by his father the Rishi Parasura in a mist, that is to say, he was the son of the mist-god, called by the Akkadians Nun, or the father of life, and it was he who, on the death without children of his half-brother Vichittra Virya, the male representative (Virya) of the races of two (Vi) colours (Chittra), begot on his wives the blind king Dritarashtra, the god of the pole sacred to the rain-god, and his brother Pandu (the fair) prince, the fathers of the Kauravyas and Paṇḍavas, It was he who, as the black and terrible priest, so frightened Ambikā, the mother

[1] Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i. Kaivartta, p. 376.
[2] *Ib.* *Ib.* p. 377.

of Dhritarashtra, that her son was, according to the legend, born blind, but the whole story shows that Vyasa was the god of the rain-cloud, the father of the pole-god, of men, and all living things.

It was under the rule of these trading Saus that the formation of castes based on the community of function received still further development, and it was to them that the castes forming the merchant guilds of the Banyas and that of Kayasths, or writers, which constitute the aristocracy of trade, owe their origin. It is the Kaivarttas, the earliest representatives of these castes of merchant traders, who exhibit the changes of hereditary type consequent on the admixture of foreign blood, for they, as Mr. Risley says, occupy an intermediate position, "equally removed from the extreme types of Aryan and Dravidian races found in Bengal," and it is from them that the more highly Aryanized races of the upper class traders, writers, Rajputs, and pure-blooded Brahmans rose in an ascending scale.

In summing up the lessons to be learned from the most instructive series of facts contained in these volumes it may be unhesitatingly asserted that it cannot be proved that the members of one single caste are descended from a common ancestry, and they also supply unmistakeably clear proof that all castes are formed from originally heterogeneous elements. But this negation of previous assertions does not by any means exhaust the historical instruction they impart, for while they give us the means of proving conclusively that the hitherto accepted theory of caste formation is not consonant with the facts, they enable us to trace through caste customs the various stages traversed by the people of India before the original caste law of exogamy assumed an endogamous form, and before the leading classes of Indian society began to look on purity of descent and the preservation of the family as objects to be preferred before the older aspirations based on the welfare of the village and the tribe.

They show how Indian society was originally founded

on the union of neighbouring villages cultivated by the forest agricultural tribes, who cemented their alliances by the rule which forbade the men of any village to be the fathers of children within its limits, treated all the older members of the community as sisters and brothers, and traced all descent through the mothers, as the fathers of the children were not permitted to live with the mothers or to look after their offspring. The next stage in the national progress is that marked by the immigration of pastoral northern races, the Turanian Gonds, who, while they agreed with the matriarchal tribes in making exogamous alliances between the men and women of different tribes a fundamental rule of their policy, yet differed from them in tracing descent through the father, in making the father and not the maternal uncles the guardians of the children, and in making unions between fathers and mothers permanent marriages, during which both parents lived together. They cemented their alliances with the matriarchal races by the use of the ceremony of Sindurbān, or the making of blood brotherhood, and led the matriarchal tribes, with whom they were especially associated, to substitute marriages for their former custom of temporary connections. It was these people who restricted the liberty of intermarriage between persons of different clans, by the rule that persons belonging to the allied tribes must not marry anyone outside the confederacy, unless the stranger left his own people and joined that into which he intermarried as a permanent member, and in this way they combined the rule of exogamy with that of endogamy.

As property and wealth increased, and the northern race of artisans and workers in metal brought fresh immigrants to join the pastoral and agricultural tribes, the kingly goverment of the Kushite race was introduced, and castes or trading guilds of handicraftsmen and skilled agriculturists were formed, and it was then that separation of castes by community of function began. The rule of the Kushites was followed by that of the trading Semite

Aryans, the worshippers of Ja or Ya, who called themselves the sons of the moon, and they in their turn were superceded by the Aryans. Both these last classes made pride of birth their ruling principle, and introduced the fiction that all the leading castes were descended from a common ancestry.

It thus appears that the whole of the apparent anomalies of caste organization can be explained by refering each phase to its proper place in the historical order of events, and that the evidence of history proves that though the Kushite, Semite, and the Aryan invaders always held themselves aloof from the earlier races as a superior class, yet that long before this advent the earlier tribes, though originally heterogeneous, had formed an elaborate national organisation, which had established throughout the whole country the rule of law and order, had fostered trade, grouped all races living in India under the Imperial rule of the Kushite kings, and had begun those investigations into the causes of national phenomena, which led to the discoveries in astronomy and the measurement of time, which made the Euphratean and Egyptian astronomers the earliest effective teachers of the true methods of scientific discovery.

In conclusion I would point out that if the inquiries into caste customs by the Bengal Government has been so conspicuously fertile in results, no less valuable information still lies hid in the similar customs of the Panjab, the North-West Provinces, Oude, the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras, and Burmah, and that if a similar exhaustive account of the castes and tribes of these provinces was prepared we would probably find it possible not only to obtain an accurate knowledge of the people of the country, but also to trace out a much clearer account of the past history than I have been able to do in the present rough sketch I have attempted.

Note.—Since writing the above essay Mr. Peppe, manager of the estates of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpore, has given

me most valuable evidence corroborating my conclusion that the name Karna Suvarna means the horned caste (Varna) of the Sus, for he tells me that the state head-dress of the Maharajas of Chota Nagpore, who have always claimed to be Lords Paramount of the country known as Karna Suvarna, is a turban cap twisted into the semblance of a horned head-dress thus , and that the family who possess the secret of making them and who supply these caps to the Maharaja, have from time immemorial held a grant of land in payment for their services. The part of Karna Suvarna visited by Hiouen Tsiang and described by him, is the district of Manbhum, which belongs to the family of the Rajas of Pachete, who were always held to be inferior in dignity to the Maharajas of Chota Nagpore. Their crest is a bull.

I would also call attention to the evidence of the imperial rule of the Kushite or tortoise race supplied by the marriage customs of the Bhandaris or barbers of Orissa, the Khandaits, the village watchmen and warrior caste, and the chasas or cultivators of the same province. By those of the Savars, that is the Su-vars or Su-varna, who, as I have shown, and as tradition affirms, conquered Behar and Western Bengal (Karna Suvarna) from the Cheroos or snake races, and those of the Kockh or Rajbûnshi, the great cultivating caste of Eastern Bengal, as among all these tribes the binding together of the hands of the wedded pair with kuṣ or Durba grass (Poa Cynosuroides) is an essential part of the ceremony, and marks these tribes as the descendants of the skilled gardeners who were like the Kurmis, sons of the mango tree and tortoise. The kuṣ grass was the sacred grass spread over the national altars or Barhis by the sons of kuṣ, and still continued in the furnishings of the altar prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas (Ethnographic Glossary, vol. i, pp. 93, 192, 463, 497; vol. ii, pp. 243 242, s.v. Bhandari Chasa, Khandait Kockh, Savar).

Art. VIII.—*Dr. Serge D'Oldenburg "On the Buddhist Jātakas."* By H. Wenzel, Ph.D.

[Dr. Serge D'Oldenburg has been kind enough to send me a copy of his monograph on the Jātakas, written in Russian, from the Proceedings of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society. As it deals with a subject of very general interest, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the history of the Jātakas, it seemed advisable that the paper should be made accessible to Western scholars; and Dr. Wenzel has been kind enough, at my suggestion, to prepare the following translation of the greater portion of the paper.—Rh. D.]

I.

The extensive literature of Buddhist legends may be divided into three groups: (1) the legends on the rebirths of the Buddha anterior to his last life in this world, these are the 'Jātakas' (proper); (2) legends of the Buddha in his last, historical, existence; (3) legends of the Buddhist disciples, these are the 'Avadānas,' which last name, however, is also applied to legends in general.

We confine our remarks chiefly to the Jātakas, which class occupies a specially prominent position in this literature, thanks to the manifold themes and 'motifs' touched upon therein. In them Buddha appears in the most various shapes, from god to beast; and, accordingly, the outward form varies between stories, moral tales, fairy tales, and fables.

The Jātaka, like most productions of Indian literature, has its fixed pattern, strictly preserved in the Buddhist (Pāli) canon, which in general distinguishes itself from the Sanskṛit and Prākṛit books by its propensity to systematize. Therefore, before we pass on to a further examination of

the Jātakas, we give here the translation of the Khantivaṇṇanaj., which is, as far as we are aware, not yet translated.[1]

The actual text of the Jātakas consists of the verses, according to the number of which the 550 of the Pāli canon are disposed, beginning with those having only one verse. These verses, together with the actual prose commentary (*vaṇṇanā* or *atthakathā*), form the so-called *atītavatthu* 'relation of the past,' and therewith is connected the *paccuppanna-vatthu* 'relation of the present,' *i.e.* the occasion on which Buddha tells the Jātaka. Finally follows the *samodhānam*, the identification of the persons in the *atīta-vatthu* with those in the *paccuppanna-vatthu*. Besides this, the verses have a grammatical and lexical commentary, in which only rarely remarks concerning the matter find place.

The verses, accordingly, must be regarded as the most essential, and also the oldest part of the Jātakas, which is proved, first by the archaical word-forms occurring in them, and then, by the great(er) similarity between the various recensions of the Jātakas in their metrical parts, while they widely diverge in the prose. And this is only what might have been expected. The original narrator strove to embody the chief facts of his tale in the simplest form, viz. verses; usually a dialogue, or monologue, was chosen: the painting of the situation, the transitions, had not yet acquired such importance, as this dialogue or monologue might serve for different personalities and situations. But if it was desirable to connect them with distinct events, hints to that purport were inserted into the verses, while it was left to the individual genius of each successive recitator to redact the connecting prose. How far already in the remote antiquity of India this literary type was

[1] I have omitted this translation of Jātaka, No. 225, as the Pāli is easily accessible, and as the form and scheme of the Pāli Jātakas is well-known here from the versions published by Prof. Rhys Davids and others.

developed, is shown by many Vedic hymns (*itihāsa*), which now often are the despair of the translators by the utter obscurity of their verses, seemingly jumbled together at hazard. Only in the latest redactions of the subjects of such hymns, which are far removed from the original type, the prose connection of the verses is sometimes preserved.[1]

As a further development in the same direction must be considered the *argumentum*, *i.e.* a verse put at the head of the tale, which gives the substance of its contents; these *argumenta* are very generally in use in Indian literature, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist, or Jain.[2] As a final offshoot (of this development), we may regard the abridgment of a tale to a single proverbial phrase, as *e.g.* *ajākṛpāṇiya* 'unexpected'—properly, 'as (in the tale of) the goat and the knife.'[3]

Besides this special collection of 550 Jātakas, the Pāli canon contains yet two other books of Jātakas—the *Cariyā-piṭaka*, of which we shall speak in more detail below, and the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Moreover, many other Jātakas occur separately, either in the collection of 50 Jātakas (*L. Feer*, Les Jātakas, Première partie, 417–422), or dispersed in the commentaries to the different books of the canon, most

[1] The first to call attention to these facts was, as far as we know, *E. Windisch*, see his Ueb. d. Altirische sage des Táin Bó Cúalgne, der Raub der Rinder (Verh. 33, Phil. Vers. Gera, 1878), Leipzig, 1879, 15–32; and, regarding India, p. 28, where the legends of Hariṣcandra, Ṣunahṣepa, Urvaṣī-Purūravas, are mentioned. Further investigations by *H. Oldenberg*, Das altindische Akhyāna, in ZDMG. 37, 54–86, and Akhyāna-hymnen im Rigveda (ZDMG. 39, 52–90); *R. Pischel* and *K. Geldner*, Vedische Studien, i. ii. 1, Stuttgart, 1889–92; particularly Geldner's monograph 'Purūravas und Urvaṣī,' pp. 243–295; cf. review by Oldenberg in GGA. 1889, 1 *sq.* and 1890, 405–427. See also the interesting remarks in the same province in *H. Zimmer's* review of Hist. littéraire de la France, t. xxx. (GGA. 1890, 806–808, and *Th. Nöldecke*, Persische Studien, ii. 11, Wien, 1892 (Sitz.B.W.A.H.Ph. Cl. cxxvi).

[2] Sometimes it happens that, while the tale itself is lost, the argumentum only remains; *e.g.* in the Jain collection Samyaktvakaumudī (*A. Weber*, S.B.Berl.Ak. 1889, pp. 741–743 *sq.*), the tale of the potter crushed by a falling wall is only preserved in one MS., while the two others give only the argumentum. This tale, in a somewhat different shape, is also found in the Pāli canon, in No. 432, Padakusalamāṇavaj., of which below a translation will be given [omitted here.—H. W.], together with a comparison with the Samyaktva-kaumudī.

[3] To the abundant literature that has already accumulated about this little fable we may add the version in *Takkāriyaj.* (481). It is interesting to see that this fable, in a very similar form, occurs also in the Makames of Hariri, see *Fr. Rückert*, Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug. Stuttgart, 1837, i. 9.

of which are not yet published.[1] From the Northern—Sanscrit, Prākrit—documents, the following, as far as we know, contain Jātakas: *Mahāvastu*, *Avadānaṣataka*, and the collections related to it (Dvāviṃṣatyāvadāna, Ratnāvadānamālā, Kalpadrumāvadānamālā), Divyāvadāna, Jātakamālā, Dsanglun [Dhamamūkho], Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, Aṣokāvadānamālā, Avadānasārasamuccaya, and separate Jātakas; cf. also Lalitav. ch. 13. The large Jātakamālā, with 565 tales, of which Hodgson speaks (Essays on the Languages, etc., of Nepāl and Tibet, London, 1874, p. 17 *sq.*), is at present unknown, though it is possible that it may be found even yet, so *e.g.* it is known that a collection of 101 tales exists, under the same title, in a Tibetan translation, including the Jātakamālā of *Ṣūra*.[2]

The extraordinary popularity which the Jātakas, as well as the legends of Buddha's earthly life, enjoyed is evidenced by the numerous representations on the stūpas and monasteries, beginning with the famous *Bharhut* stūpa. The history of these sculptures, doubtless, merits greater attention than has been as yet extended to it, and surely will help us not a little in the clearing up of the entangled questions about the chronology of the Buddhist literature.[3] Thus we cannot as yet answer with any precision the question to what date the now existing Jātakas are to be referred. Only this seems certain to me, that they, in one shape or the other, belong to the oldest product of Buddhist literature[4] They must have proved an especially convenient

[1] See Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. lii., who discusses this question at length and gives instances.—H. W.

[2] Further details on this collection will be given by *A. O. Ivanovski*. Doubtless a closer examination of the Chinese and Tibetan literatures will supply us with translations of most, if not all, Jātakas and legends found in the Pāli canon; and we may also hope to find yet many Indian originals, when once Tibet becomes more accessible.

[3] Prof. Rhys Davids has a comparative table in his 'Buddhist Birth Stories' showing the instances in which the Bharhut sculptures could be identified, when that work was published, with particular Jātakas. There remains a good number still unidentified. See also *Cunningham* and *Hultzsch* in the Bibliography at end of this article.—H. W.

[4] [I would respectfully point out that it is quite certain that the Jātakas belong, not to the oldest period, but to the oldest period but one, of Buddhist literature. As I showed in the Introduction to my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,'

material for the explanation of the many unintelligible and doubtful cases of the due reward of good and bad actions—so important in every religious doctrine. We do not pretend, of course, that the very 'relations of the present' which we find now in the Jātakas give us real events in Buddha's life, but only that the actual occasions for the appearance of the Jātaka stories often were analogous to these 'relations.' The great importance, within the history of Indian narrative literature, which has been ascribed to the Jātakas and the Buddhist legends in general, particularly since the publication of Benfey's famous 'Pañcatantra,' is certainly justified. But this importance lies elsewhere than is commonly supposed. It was not Buddhism with its legends that produced such really artistical creations as the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeṣa, which are in fact the offshoot of the ancient *itihāsas* and *akhyānas*, products of free creative genius, not bound in the trammels of ecclesiastical dogmatics and utilitarian convictions. To Benfey only fragments of this monastical literature were accessible. And it is safe to say that, if he had known these Jātakas, Avadānas, the Peta Vatthu, Vimāna Vatthu, etc., which we have at our command now, he would have changed his opinion. But these Buddhist documents have one great advantage. They have preserved for us, though only in pale and tendentious reflection, the subjects and the spirit of the ancient products of the Indian genius, and thus make it possible for us to reconstruct a whole period in the development of Indian literature, which, without them, would be scarcely known to us.

there are a fair number of what are now included as Jātakas in the Jātaka Book, which appear, not as Jātakas, but simply as stories in the older books, such as the Nikāyas and the Vinaya. The stories in the Cariya Piṭaka are already Jātakas. It follows that the transition from stories to Jātakas took place in the intervening period; that is to say, that the stories first became Jātakas after the oldest period of Buddhist literature had closed. We can even go further and fix the date at approximately between 450 and 250 B.C., and probably nearer to the earlier of the two.—Rh. D.]

II.

Jātaka Mālā.

The *Jātaka Mālā*, 'The Garland of Jātakas,' the work of the Buddhist poet *Sūra*, is the only Sanscrit text known up to now, consisting entirely of Jātakas. Unfortunately the history of this book is very obscure. Prof. Kern, to whom we owe the excellent edition, does not speak with any certainty on this point, and we can only (from some remarks in the preface to his edition, and his essay on 'The Buddhist poet Sūra,' Festgruss an Otto v. Böhtlingk, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 50 f.) form some conception of his opinion. He places the work approximatively between 550–650 A.D.; and thinks that the tradition, found in Tāranātha, viz. that the author of the 34 tales of rebirths at first had had the intention to write 100 tales, not probable, though he concedes that there may be 'a residue of truth in the story' (Preface, vi). He thinks it not impossible that there existed a collection of 35 Jātakas in the *gāthā* dialect (*ibid.* vii), which latter conjecture seems necessary to him for the explanation of the presence, in one MS., of the *Kacchapa* Jātaka—but this Jātaka is taken from the Mahāvastu (ii. 244 *sq.*), and apparently only added by the scribe. Our materials for forming an opinion of the importance and position of the work are very meagre. All known MSS. are almost certainly derived from one, probably not very old, original.[1]

The Chinese translation, with which we owe our acquaintance to *A. O. Ivanovski*, not only clears nothing up in the

[1] Preface, v.—Of the MSS. which Prof. Kern did not inspect, we may observe that that of the Petersburg University entirely coincides in its text with those used for the edition, and the same is the case with the MS. of the late Prof. J. P. Minayev (now in the Public Library, fol. 130, l. 7). The MS. of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Rājendralal., 49–57) probably belongs to the same family of MSS.; the different beginning there seems to us to have got there erroneously from the immediately following Bhodisattvāvadāna-Kalpa-Latā, where it really is in its place; there are not a few examples of a like negligence in this, otherwise most useful, catalogue.

history of our text, but makes the question still more obscure; nor does the Tibetan translation give any further data in this respect. There remains, then, only the tradition communicated by Tāranātha (Schiefner's translation, p. 92), who indeed wrote his 'History of Buddhism' only in 1608, but who had in his hands older sources. It is to the following effect: 'The teacher *Mātṛceṭa* is no other than the same *Durdarshakāla*, of whom we spoke above. He is known under different names, as *Śūra*, *Aṣvaghosha*, *Mātṛceṭa*, *Pitṛceṭa*, *Durdarsha*, *Dharmika*, *Subhūti*, and *Maticitra* . . . . Besides the rebirths of Buddha, mentioned in the Sūtras and other books, he proposed to put down in writing the ten times ten rebirths of Buddha, which up to his time circulated only orally, and which corresponded to the ten Pāramītas, but, when he had finished 34, he died. In some legends it is related, that, pondering on the Bodhisattva's gift of his own body to the tigress, he thought he could do the same, as it was not so very difficult. Once he, as in the tale, saw a tigress followed by her young, near starvation; at first he could not resolve on the self-sacrifice, but, calling forth a stronger faith in the Buddha, and writing, with his own blood, a prayer of 70 ṣlokas, he first gave the tigers his blood to drink, and, when their bodies had taken a little force, offered himself.'

We think it is quite clear that Tāranātha had our collection in view. The probability of the facts of this tradition is, in some manner, established (1) by its great verosimilitude, (2) by the fact that apparently the MSS. of the Jātaka Mālā have preserved a trace of it, for after each ten stories, that is after the 10th, 20th, and 30th, follows an *uddāna* or 'table of contents.' Prof. Kern says that 'the official number of Jātakas according to the Northern Buddhists' is 34 (Preface, p. vi; Buddhismus, transl. Jacobi, i. 327), but does not indicate the source whence he has taken this 'fact.' The epithet of Buddha: catustriṃṣajjātakajña ('Who knows the 34 Jātakas') occuring in Hemacandra (v. 233), to which he appeals, might have been formed just on the ground of this collection,

an opinion which seems to be supported by the commentary, which runs as follows[1]:

catustrimsatam jātakāni Vyāghrī prabhrtīni jānāti catu° | yad Vyādih
jātakāni punar Vyāghrī Sibih Sreshthī Saso Bisam
Hamso Visvantarah Sakro Maitrībala-Supāragau
Aputro Brāhmanah Kumbhah Kulmāshapinda jātakam
Avishahyah (?) Sreshthījātonmādayantī Mahākapih
Bodhir Brahma Mahābodhir Vānarah Sarabho Ruruh
Kshāntivādī ca Hastī ca Kuthas (?) cotpacamādayah (?).

The Pāli text *Cariyāpitaka*, somewhat akin to the Jātaka Mālā, and apparently belonging to the latest documents of the Southern canon, unfortunately gives us scarcely more light on this question, at least as long as the commentary is not published. In the printed text there are 35 Jātakas; but there is a circumstance, unfortunately not mentioned by the editor, that calls forth some doubt as to the real number, and also the composition of the Jātakas of this collection, viz. that in the introduction to the large Jātaka-collection, the *Nidānakathā*, there is found *as an excerpt from the Cariyapitaka*,[2] a table of contents of 34 Jātakas, only half of the titles agreeing with those in the printed text, in which also we only partly find the verses quoted in the *Nidānakathā*.[3] Below we shall give a comparative table of both texts. With the materials accessible at present we must renounce the hope of clearing-up this entangled question.[4]

Regarding the chronology of the Jātaka Mālā we may add to the indications of Prof. Kern, that it apparently could not have been written after the end of the seventh

[1] We had only the use of Böhtlingk and Rieu's edition, trying, in one instance perhaps even too boldly, to reconstruct the titles of the Jātakas.

[2] See Fausböll Jātaka, i. 45–47. In Morris' edition we must read, p. xiv. ii. 1 = 455; ii. 5 = 278; in ii. 9, 2 (p. 90), *sutadhammo* is not a proper name, and, in the same v. read *Alīnasattu*, p. xvi, *Jātakamālā* is the same book as *Bodhisathvāvadāna*.

[3] According to this, Rhys Davids' Birth St. p. 54, note 2, must be corrected. *Ibid.* p. 55 (written before the publication of the *Cariyapitaka*), instead of *Snake king Sīlavā* read *elephant king Sīlavā*, and, further on, *elephant king Chaddanta*.

[4] Cf. also *Hardy*, Manual of B. 101–103.

century, as it seems that the Chinese traveller I-tsing speaks of it.[1] He may have meant another work with the same title; only the circumstance that, as he says, the Jātaka Mālā was, in his time, not yet translated into Chinese, would argue that he saw *Ṣūra's* work, as in fact this was only translated much later.

We now give a detailed account of the Jātaka Mālā,[2] then comparative tables of the Jātaka Mālā and the Cariyapiṭaka, and an account of the contents, with excerpts from the text of the *Sutasoma* Jātaka according to the version in the Bhadrakalpāvadāna (ch. 34), which proves to be a slavish imitation of our text. For the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* we make use of the MS. of the Paris Asiatic Society, to whom we express our thanks.

THE GARLAND OF JĀTAKAS.

1. VYĀGHRI. *The Tigress.*—Born in a Brahmin family, the Bodhisat becomes an hermit. Once he sees in the jungle an hungry tigress, who is just about to devour her fresh-born young ones. He sends off his disciple to collect food, while he himself, filled with compassion, throws himself down before the tigress, who at once joyfully begins to eat his body. The disciple, returning, finds the dead body of his master, and, weeping, goes to inform his companions, while the remains of the Bodhisat are strewed with a rain of garlands, jewels, and sandal-powder.

2. ṢIBI.[3] *The king of the people of Ṣibi.*—The Bodhisat was king in the land of Ṣibi, distinguished by all virtues, and particularly that of charity. But, not content to give away his riches only, he conceived a desire to offer also his own body. From this, his desire, the earth trembled. *Indra* remarked this, and, on reflection, finding out the reason, goes in the shape of an old blind Brahmin to tempt

[1] *Ryauon Fujishima*, Deux chapitres extraits le memoires d'I-tsing, J.A. 8. xii, 424.

[2] In this excellently edited text we have found only four unimportant misprints: 42, 33 read *svastyayana*; 58, 7 r. *ṣoka*; 97, 8 r. *payoda*; 111, 24 r. *Ṣakras*. [Two more are on p. 21, 21, where we expect jānānas ca rivatyayatām.—E.L.]

[3] [This Jātaka is apparently a combination of the Brahmanic tale relating to Ṣibi and of the Jain tale concerning the offering of one's eye (ZDMG. xlvi. 611).—E.L.]

the king, and begs of him one of his eyes. The king asks whether somebody had not instigated him. The Brahmin answers that *Indra* had instructed him. The king promises to give his two eyes. The ministers dissuade the king, particularly one of them. The king first gives one eye, which, by a miracle produced by *Indra*, adheres to the face of the Brahmin (*Indra*); then the king tears out his other eye, and gives it likewise to the Brahmin. After some time *Indra* appears again before the king, who is sitting on the bank of a pond in his park, and promises him the fulfilment of a wish, and, one after the other, the eyes of the king appear again; the earth trembles, the sea overflows, and other wonderful phenomena are seen. Then *Indra*, furthermore, adds to his present to the king the abilities to see one hundred leagues in every direction, and even what is hidden by mountains, and then disappears, but the king, rejoicing, turns to his people with a sermon, admonishing them to be liberal.

3.[1] KULMĀSHAPIṆḌĪ. *The giver of a dumpling of fruit-pap.*—The Bodhisat was king of Koṣala, pious and charitable. Once he remembered his foregoing rebirth, and pronounced two verses about what he had done then. Nobody understood them, and the queen asked him to explain them. The king explained that he formerly was a slave in the same city. Once he gave to four *sramaṇas*, who asked for alms, fruit-pap (*kulmāsha*) with pious thoughts; for this good action he had attained such a high position. The queen, again, urged by the king's questions, remembers her former rebirth: when she was a servant, she fed a hermit, for which action she now had become queen. The king, finally, speaks in praise of charity.

4. ṢRESHṬHI. *The Merchant.*—The Bodhisat was a rich and pious merchant. A pratyekabuddha once came to his house for alms. *Māra*, wishing to hinder the merchant's charity, made, between the pratyekabuddha and the threshold of the house, a deep, flaming abyss. The merchant sends his wife to give food to the Buddha, but she returns in

[1] [A Jain parallel to this story occurs in the commentaries on the Avaşyakaniry.—E.L.]

fright. Then he goes himself. *Māra*, from the sky, dissuades him. But the merchant, seeing that these are *Māra's* tricks, boldly steps into the fire, in the place of which, in consequence of his virtue, suddenly appear lotuses; he comes up to the Buddha and hands him the food. The Buddha flies up into the air, but *Māra* disappears confounded.

5. AVISHAHYAṢRESHṬHI. *The Merchant Avishahya* ('Unconquerable').—The Bodhisat was a rich merchant called Avishahya, and distinguished himself by boundless generosity. *Indra* wished to try him, and little by little made all his wealth disappear, leaving him at last only a sickle and a string. Avishahya begins to seek his livelihood by collecting grass and selling it, continuing at the same time to help the needy. Then *Indra* appears to him and tempts him, but Avishahya does not succumb, and shows the necessity to give away all. *Indra*, satisfied, overwhelms him with praises, and promises that in future his wealth will not decrease.

6. ṢAṢA. *The Hare.*—The Bodhisat was a hare in the forest; with him together dwelt an otter, a jackal, and a monkey. They lived in friendship, and the hare taught the other three the law. Once the hare observed from the moon that on the following day would be full moon, and, consequently, the feast of *poshadha*, and that they must prepare food for possible guests. The hare began to ponder what he was to do, because all other animals may gather something, but he not; he decided to offer himself. From this his resolve the whole nature is agitated; *Indra* remarks it, and goes to try the hare; he shows himself in the shape of a hungry Brahmin, and asks for hospitality. The otter brings seven fishes, forgotten by the fisher; the jackal, a lizard and a vessel with milk, forgotten by somebody; the monkey, mango-fruits; the hare gives himself. *Indra* says that he, of course, could not kill him; then the hare throws himself into the fire. *Indra* reverts to his proper shape, praises the hare, and embellishes with his likeness the moon, thence called *ṣaṣāṅka*. The three other animals

are reborn in the world of the gods and reunited with their friend.

7. Agastya. *The hermit Agastya.*—The Bodhisat was born in a rich Brahmin family, and distinguished himself by his generosity. He became a hermit, and the fame of his virtue attracted many people, so that he went away and settled down in *Kāvādvīpa.* *Indra* decides to try him. He gradually makes disappear from the forest, where *Agastya* lives, all fruits and eatable roots. *Agastya* then begins to eat the leaves. *Indra* burns up leaves and grass; he eats the fresh leaves lying on the ground. *Indra* appears to him in the shape of a begging Brahmin, and asks him to what purpose he had undertaken this penance. The hermit declares that he wishes to be freed from the wheel of births. *Indra,* seeing that the hermit does not covet his (Indra's) own seat, promises to give him whatever he may wish.[1] In the subsequent conversation the hermit gives *Indra* a whole series of moral rules.

8. Maitrībala. *The force of pity.*—The Bodhisat was a king, *Maitrabala,* righteous, pious, and charitable. Once there entered into his kingdom five *yakshas* (*ojohāra* 'taking away one's force), expelled by their lord for some transgression. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, they were not able to rob even one inhabitant of his force, thanks to the king's virtues. Once they met in the forest a shepherd, sitting under a tree, and singing merrily. On their wondering how it was that he had no fear in such a lonesome place, he answers that he has nothing to fear, because there is in the land a guard for all men—the king *Maitrabala,* and counsels them to go and see the king. They go and ask the king for food, but reject that which is brought them, remarking that they eat only human flesh. The king, notwithstanding the dissuasion of his ministers, gives them his body; the physicians open his veins, and the *yakshas* drink his blood; he cuts off his flesh, and they eat it. Finally, astonished at the endurance of the king, they ask

[1] Necessarily we observe here the similitude of this conversation with that of *Yama* and *Nāciketas* in the first *vallī* of the *Kāṭhakopanishat.*

him what for he does all that. He answers that his aim is to free the world out of the wheel of births. They beg him to pardon them: he says that as they had only helped them in his purpose he had nothing to pardon, and takes a promise of them not to destroy in future living beings. The *yakshas* disappear. The whole world rejoices, *Indra* appears, and, with magic medicaments, heals the king.

9. VIṢVANTARA. *Prince Viṣvantara.*—The *Sibi* (v. above) had a king with name *Saṃjaya.* The Bodhisat was born, as his son, under the name of *Viṣvantara,* a prince resplendent with every talent and virtue. He distinguished himself by an extraordinary charity, and on feast days he used to ride about on a white elephant to inspect the places where, according to his orders, the poor were fed. The neighbouring king much wished to have this white elephant, and sent his Brahmins to beg it of the prince. He at once gave it. The inhabitants, irritated at this generosity towards a foreigner, demanded the punishment of the prince. The king was compelled to consent to his expulsion. The prince and his wife *Madrī,* with their children, willingly go into exile. *Viṣvantara* tries to persuade his wife to remain behind, but gives way to her entreaties (to go with him). All their wealth they distribute before their departure. A throng of people accompanies them, whom the prince, only with some pains, persuades to return. On the way some Brahmins ask him for the horses of his waggon; he willingly gives them. Suddenly four *yakshas* appear and drag the waggon. Further on, another Brahmin asks the prince for the waggon itself. He gives away that also. *Viṣvantara* leads by the hand his son *Jālin,* and *Madrī* her daughter *Kṛshṇājinā.* They settle down near Mount *Vaṅka,* in a hut constructed, on *Indra's* orders, by *Viṣvakarman.* Once, when *Madrī* had gone out to gather fruits, a Brahmin came, sent by his wife, to ask for a servant. He begs *Viṣvantara* to give him his children as servants. *Viṣvantara* asks him to await the return of their mother, that she might take leave of them, but the Brahmin does not consent. Then *Viṣvantara,* remarking that such little

children would only be ill servants, counsels him to go to their grandfather, the king of the *Sibi*, who would give him a ransom for them. Again, the Brahmin does not consent. Then *Viṣvantara* hands him the children, and, according to custom, pours water over his hands. The children ask to wait for their mother, but the Brahmin drives them off. The little girl weeps; the boy thinks with emotion on the grief of his mother. *Viṣvantara* sees all this, but remains firm. *Madrī* returns, and, not seeing her children, is disquieted. On her questions *Viṣvantara* gives no answer, so that she falls down despairing. *Viṣvantara* brings her round again, and tells her how he had given the children to a Brahmin. She entirely approves him. The earth trembles from the effect of such high virtue. *Indra*, in order to finish the trial, goes to *Viṣvantara* in the shape of a Brahmin, and asks him for his wife. *Viṣvantara* gives her away with her full consent, and, in token of the delivery, pours water on the hands of *Indra*. *Indra* praises *Viṣvantara*, and, returning to his proper shape, gives back *Madrī*, prophesies that also his children and kingdom will be returned to him, and disappears. The children are ransomed by the grandfather, and the people, hearing of the wonderful virtue of *Viṣvantara*, calls him back.

10. YAJÑA. *The sacrifice.*—The Bodhisat was a king. Once in his country there was a drought. The king, ascribing it to his own or his people's sins, turns to his councillors and Brahmins for advice what to do in this affliction. They counsel him to bring a sacrifice of a hundred living beings. The tenderhearted king becomes thoughtful, and considers how he shall proceed. Finally, he calls the Brahmins, and declares that he proposes to bring a sacrifice of 1000 men. The Brahmins are content, but afraid lest the people revolt. The king answers, he should manage it thus, that the people would remain quiet. He announced to the people that he would bring a sacrifice of 1000 men, but that he only would take such as should behave badly and sin. Every day it was proclaimed in the kingdom that well-behaved people would not be molested,

but all evildoers would be seized for the royal sacrifice. At the same time the king erected everywhere refuges for the poor. All now lived well, fearing the sacrifice; and in this manner the king brought the 'sacrifice of the law;' the earth again began to bear fruit, and abundance returned. Seeing this, the councillors praised the king.

11. ṢAKRA. *Indra.*—The Bodhisat was *Indra.* Once the *Asuras* invaded the gods; in the battle the gods' army fled, also *Indra.* On his flight he remarks that in the forest, from the movement of his car, the birds' nests fall down; from pity towards the birds he bids *Mātali*, his coachman, to return. The latter points out the persecuting enemy. *Indra* prefers to perish by the hand of the foe rather than destroy the birds, and they return. The enemies are confounded by his return, and victory remains with *Indra* and the army of the gods.

12. BRĀHMANA. *The Brahmin.*—The Bodhisat was born in a Brahmin family. On attaining the proper age he began to learn. The master, in order to try the virtue of his disciples, begins to complain of his oppressing poverty. The disciples eagerly collect alms to assist him. But he says that this would not suffice, and, on the question of the disciples, what to do? he tells them to steal, as a proper method of acquiring means. All the disciples willingly accept his instructions, except the Bodhisat, who stands silent, his face bowed down in shame. The master turns to him, to learn the reason of his disapprobation. The Bodhisat pronounces a long speech about its not being right to sin. The master congratulates him on his virtue.

13. UNMĀDAYANTĪ. *The belle Unmādayantī* ('The Maddening').—The Bodhisat was a king of the *Sibi.* To a prominent inhabitant of his capital, *Kirīṭavatsa*, a daughter of extraordinary beauty was born. The father informed the king, proposing to give her to him as his wife. The king sent expert Brahmins, who, on seeing the beauty of *Unmādayantī*, were struck with admiration. Fearing lest the king, when he saw her, might neglect his royal duties, they declared to him that the girl had bad signs, and he abstained

from taking her. Then the father gave her to a minister, *Abhipāraga*. Once, when the king passed the house of *Abhipāraga*, *Unmādayantī*, desiring to see the king, ascended the roof, The king saw her, and was amazed at her beauty. He inquired of his coachman who this was, and he told him; then the king, thinking it a sin to look at another's wife, went away. From this time he began to grow thin and wan. Seeing his grief, *Abhipāraga*, on learning the reason, presented himself before the king, and told him that at the time of sacrifice, suddenly, from somewhere, a *yaksha* had appeared, and told him that the king loved *Unmādayantī*; therefore he now offered her to him, if it really was so. The king declares he will not commit an unlawful action, and declines. *Abhipāraga* long tries to persuade him, but the king remains firm. *Abhipāraga* praises his constancy.

14. Supāraga. *The pilot Supāraga* ('Well crossing over'). —The Bodhisat was a pilot, with name *Supāraga*, in the city *Supāraga*. Once there arrived from *Bharukaccha* certain merchants, who asked *Supāraga* to come with them. At first he excused himself on account of his blindness and age, but finally consented. They went a long way, till finally a storm carried them very far, where in the sea there appeared strange fishes, resembling men, with mouths like knives. The terrified merchants asked what that was. *Supāraga* tells them that these are fish, and that this sea is called *Khuramālin*. Further on they, in similar manner, pass the seas *Udadhimālin*, *Agnimālin*, *Kuṣamālin*, *Nalamālin*, and, finally, arrive in the sea *Vaḍabāmukha*, where, as *Supāraga* informs the merchants, destruction threatens them. *Supāraga* saves them, by conjuring the ship to return, on the force of his never having deprived of life a living being. The ship obeys. On their return journey the ...chants, on the advice of *Supāraga*, collect jewels in
shoul... ...entioned seas; and then, in one night, the ship returns
He a... ...*arukaccha*.
of 10... Matsya. *The Fish.*—The Bodhisat was king of the
behave ...nd lived in a lake; once, for a long time, no rain
kingdom

fell, and the lake began to dry up. The birds collected round the lake to eat fishes. Seeing this, the Bodhisat prayed for rain, relying on the circumstance that he never had killed living beings. An abundant rain fell. *Indra* appeared and congratulated the fish king.

16. VARTAKĀPOTAKA.[1] *The young quail.*—The Bodhisat was a young quail, and lived in a nest in the forest; when his parents brought living food he did not eat, but only berries and grass. Therefore he was small and weak-winged, while his brothers grew up strong. Once a violent fire broke out in the forest. The frightened quails all flew off, and only the little one remained, who, from weakness, could not fly. He turned to the fire, pointing out his helpless condition, and begged it to stop. The fire did so.

17. KUMBHA. *The Pot.*—The Bodhisat was *Indra.* Once he saw that king *Sarvamitra*, with his subjects, was given to drunkenness: he resolves to save him. He appears to him in the shape of a god, in the air, holding in his hand a pot of wine, crying, "Who wants to buy this pot?" The king, amazed, asks him who he is. *Indra* answers that he will learn it later on; and on the question, what sort of pot that is, he says that in this pot is that on which the direst consequences will follow, whereon he accurately describes the consequences of drunkenness. This sermon so strongly impresses the king that he resolves to give up drunkenness, and wants to reward the preacher generously. *Indra* shows himself in his real shape and disappears. King and people give up drunkenness.

18. APUTRA. *The Sonless Man.*—The Bodhisat is born in a rich family. On the death of his parents he distributes all his wealth, and makes himself a hermit. Once a friend of his father visits him, and praises the condition of a family man. In answer, the young man pronounces a long speech in praise of hermitage.

[1] It is extremely interesting that the verses quoted on p. 98, 20 as coming from the *āryasthāvirīyakanikāya*, are found, in fact, nearly identical in the *Khuddakanikāya* of the Pāli canon, Dhammap. 244, 245—

sujīvitaṁ, etc. sujīvam, etc.

19. BISA. *The Lotus-stalk.*—The Bodhisat was born in a Brahmin family; he had six younger brothers and a sister. When his parents died, he declared to his brothers that he meant to take orders; after his departure his brothers and sister declare that they will follow his example. All go to the forest; with them a friend, a servant, and a maid. They dispose themselves each in a separate hut; each fifth day they assemble, and the Bodhisat preaches the law to them. The maid prepares their food from lotus-stalks, setting before each an equal portion on lotus-leaves; and announces the time by striking one piece of wood on another, when, one after the other, they come to fetch their portions. In order to test the Bodhisat's virtue, *Indra* steals his part. The Bodhisat quietly returns to his hut, thinking that someone had taken his food, and says nothing to the brothers. So the five days pass. When they all assemble to hear the law, they see that the Bodhisat has grown thinner, and ask him whence. The Bodhisat tells them; then all, to clear themselves of suspicion, swear that it was not them who took the lotus-stalks. This oath consists of wishing to him who had stolen the food all worldly enjoyments. A *yaksha*, an elephant, and a monkey hear them, and also swear. *Indra* appears, and asks them as to their strange oaths. The Bodhisat explains to him the vanity and injuriousness of the worldly enjoyments. *Indra* confesses to the theft, and, on the severe stricture on this head, answers with excuses and disappears. Identification of the person in the Jātaka.

20. CRESHTHI. *The Merchant.*—The Bodhisat was born in a merchant family, and became merchant to the king. Once, when he was with the king, his mother-in-law comes to visit her daughter, in order to learn how she lives. On her questions about her daughter's husband, she answers that it would be difficult to find even a hermit so virtuous as her husband. The mother was a little deaf; hearing the word 'hermit,' she thought that her son-in-law had become a hermit, and, commiserating her daughter, she began to vociferate; the daughter, provoked at this, repeated what

she had said before; the people (a mob) gathered. Returning home, the merchant sees this crowd, and hears complaints. He asks what it is, they answer him that the master of this house has become a hermit, and that now his relations lament his departure. He at once returns to the king to ask him for leave to take orders. The king, on learning that he had taken this resolve from the words of the multitude, dissuades him. But he is inflexible, notwithstanding all entreaties of his relations and friends, and becomes a hermit.

21. CUḌḌABODHI.—The Bodhisat is born in a Brahmin family. He becomes a hermit, his wife follows his example, and accompanies him, notwithstanding his dissuasions. They live in the forest; once the king comes there with his suite to 'make jolly.' He sees the female hermit, and, struck with her beauty, wants to steal her. He commands to carry her to his court. The hermit keeps entirely quiet; the king is struck. The Bodhisat makes a sermon on anger. The king returns him his wife, and himself becomes his servant.

22. HAṂSA. *The Swan.*—The Bodhisat was the king of a drove of swans, with name *Dhṛtarāshṭra.* He had a general called *Sumukha*; they lived on the banks of a lake. At this time *Brahmadatta* was king at *Benares.* Hearing of these swans, he vehemently wished to see them, and advised with his councillors how to allure these swans. The ministers counsel him to construct somewhere in the forest a beautiful pond, and to proclaim every day that the birds near this pond shall be undisturbed. The king accordingly has the pond dug not far from the city. Once, a pair of swans from the lake secretly flew thither, and the pond pleased them so much that they came before their leader to call him also there. *Sumukha* dissuades it, but *Dhṛtarāshṭra,* nevertheless, flies to the pond with his drove. The attendants notified the king; he sends a huntsman to catch some of the swans. He cleverly disposes his springs, and the leader is caught. In order to save the others, he cries; the swans fly away, only *Sumukha* remains, who will not

leave his master, notwithstanding all *Dhṛtarāshṭra's* entreaties. The huntsman steps up, and, in astonishment, asks *Sumukha* why he does not fly away. He answers that he could not forsake his king in misery, and tries to persuade the hunter to release them both; and when the hunter tells him to fly away, he begs him to take himself instead of *Dhṛtarāshṭra* (and release the latter). The hunter is persuaded, and releases *Dhṛtarāshṭra*. Then *Sumukha* proposes to him to bring them both before the king, unfettered. The king rejoices on seeing the swans, and asks the huntsman how so he could bring them unfettered. He tells him all. The king generously rewards the hunter; and puts *Dhṛtarāshṭra* (as king) on a golden, and *Sumukha* (as minister) on a bamboo, seat. After a long conversation with the swans the king dismisses them. After some time *Dhṛtarāshṭra* again appears before the king, and, honoured by him, preaches to him the law.

23. MAHĀBODHI. *The hermit Mahābodhi.*—The Bodhisat was a hermit, with name *Mahābodhi*, and famous for his virtue and knowledge. Once, on his wanderings, he came into the territory of a certain king, and settled in the royal park. The king received him with honour, and he constantly converses with him on the law. The king's ministers began to envy the hermit, and inspired the king with suspicion against him, saying, that probably he was the spy of some enemy. The king lends an ear to these suggestions, and begins to treat the hermit coldly; this latter remarks it, but at first gives it not much thought; only when he finds that the people about the king treated him worse than usual, he resolves to go away. The king seeks to persuade him to remain. While they speak together, the favourite dog of the king, barking, attacks the hermit. He calls the king's attention to this, and tells him that the best evidence of the changed feelings of the king was this dog, formerly fawning, but now barking at him. The king continues his entreaty, but the hermit persists in his purpose, and even will not give the promise to return. The hermit becomes absorbed into meditation,

and soon attains the four contemplations and the five knowledges; then he remembers the king, and sees in his mind that the king is in the hands of his five ministers, who confess to the five false doctines—(1) *ahetuvāda* ('causelessness'), all depends on the proper nature of a being or a thing; (2) *īṣvarakāraṇa* ('God, the cause'), the world is created by a divinity; (3) *pūrvakarmakṛta* ('what was done in former births'), everything depends on that what has been done in former rebirths; (4) *ucchedavāda* ('the doctrine of annihilation'); (5) *kshattravidyā* ('the knowledge of government'), for the king there is no lawlessness. The Bodhisat resolves to save the king. He creates by magic a large monkey, in whose hide he clothes himself, and comes before the king. After the salutations, the king asks by whom the monkey-skin was given to him. He answers that he himself has killed the monkey and taken his skin. The ministers malignantly exclaim at this fearful sin of the hermit—the murder of a living being. The Bodhiṣat, on his part, shows to each one of them that from the standpoint of their different doctrines there was no sin in it. Then he explains that he had not killed the monkey, but that it was only a magic trick, turns the king and his followers towards the right path, and then, flying up in the air, withdraws.

24. Mahākapi. *The Great Monkey.*—The Bodhisat was a great monkey, living at the Himālaya. Once a man, going in search of a lost cow, lost his way in the neighbourhood. As he was hungry he tried to pluck the fruit from a tree, standing on the verge of a declivity, and fell into a deep ravine. Unable to disengage himself, he began to cry and weep. On his cries the monkey came up and drew him out. Then, tired from his exertion, the monkey lay down and slept. The man, with the purpose to use his flesh for food, resolved to kill him, and threw at him a stone; but this failed to kill. The monkey, awaking and seeing that the man had tried to kill him, only reproved him, and then led him on his way. This man afterwards fell ill of a disgusting malady, so that the people drove him away.

Once in a forest a king, in hunting, met him, and asked who he was. He told him that he was a man punished for treason against his friend.

25. ṢARABHA. *The animal Ṣarabha.*—The Bodhisat was a *ṣarabha* (kind of stag), and lived in the forest. Once a king, in hunting, came to the same forest. Seeing him, the king gave chase, but, on his way, fell into a cleft that his horse would not jump. The *ṣarabha*, not hearing the sound of the hoofs behind him, turned round, saw the king in the cleft, carried him out of it, and showed him the way home. The king invites the *ṣarabha* to settle down in his city, but the *ṣarabha* declines, and begs the king to abstain from the murder of living beings.

26. RURU. *The deer Ruru.*—The Bodhisat was a *Ruru*-deer. Once he heard the cries of a man, borne along by the river. He drew him out. The man profusely thanks him. The *ruru* asks him to promise to tell nobody who had saved him, that the people, attracted by his beauty, might not come to hunt him. At this time the queen of this country always had dreams that, afterwards, were realized. Once she saw in her dream a golden deer preaching the law to her, and asked the king to find this deer. They call together all huntsmen, promising them a large reward for the capture of this deer, but no one can find him. Then the man who had been saved by the deer promises to point him out. The king marches with his army and they surround the deer. This latter asked the king who had led him. The king pointed to the man; the deer reproves him for his ingratitude, but so that only he understands the meaning of his words. The king asks for explanation, and, guessing the truth, wants to kill the man; the deer intercedes for him; then, together with the king, the deer goes to his court and teaches the law. The king ceases to kill animals.

27. MAHĀKAPI. *The Great Monkey.*—The Bodhisat lived on the Himālaya, as leader of a herd of monkeys. The monkeys lived on a large *nyagrodha* tree, subsisting by

its fruits. One branch of the tree stretched out above a river. The leader cautiously ordered the monkey, before all, to cull the fruits from this branch. But once the monkeys overlooked one fruit, which, when grown ripe, fell into the river. It was by the current borne down to where the king bathed. The king was so much pleased with it that he decided to find out the tree on which such wonderful fruit grew, and, with his army, marched up the river till he saw the tree, and, on it, the monkeys, which latter he ordered to be killed, as they ate the coveted fruit. The leader encouraged the frightened monkeys, climbed to the top of the tree, and jumped from thence to a near hill, but he saw that the other monkeys would not be able to take such a jump; then he bound his feet to a strong liana, jumped back, and caught hold of the tree with his hands, so that he formed a bridge on which the other monkeys did not tarry to fly from the tree. The king and his army, beholding such force and courage, were astounded. The king ordered the monkey, who, from exhaustion, had lost consciousness, to be cautiously taken from the tree and put on a soft couch. When he had recovered his senses, the king asked him why he had acted thus. The monkey answered that such was his duty as leader, and pronounced a long sermon on the duties of a king. Then, leaving his body, he goes to heaven.

28. KSHĀNTI. *Patience.*—The Bodhisat was a hermit, with name *Kshāntivādin*, and settled in a forest. Once the king, with his women, came into the forest; when the king fell asleep the women walked about and found the hermit. They sat down near him and he preached the law to them. When the king awoke he went to seek his women, and found them listening to the hermit; he became angry and began to upbraid him. The women interceded for him, but the king grew only the more angry, and the women went off. The king drew his sword and began to hack the hermit to pieces. Though he hewed off the hermit's hands, feet, ears, and nose, the latter suffered and was silent. On completing this horrible work the king felt a great heat; and, as he

just came out of the forest, the earth opened with a crash, fire came out, and the king was swallowed down. On the noise the people assembled in fright, and asked the hermit that the whole country might not be destroyed like the king. The hermit appeased all and flew up to the sky.

29. BRAHMA. *The god Brahma.*—The Bodisat was born in the world of *Brahma*. Once he saw that king *Aṅgaddina* of *Videha* cherished heretical opinions, denied the existence of another world, and the reward of good and bad actions. He descends from heaven and appears before the king. Struck with this appearance, the king asks who he was; he answers that he is one of the *devarshi's* of *Brahma's* world, and begins a sermon on the other world; the king listens to him but is not convinced, and interrupts him by the ironical remark that, if there is indeed another world the *devarshi* should give him 500 *nishka* (cash), and he would give him back in the other world 1000. Seeing his obstinacy ('the') *Brahma* points to him the tortures of hell. The king, frightened at this, turns to the true path. *Brahma* disappears.

30. HASTI. *The Elephant.*—The Bodhisat was an elephant. Once he saw 700 people who had lost their way. They had been exiled by the king; at first they had been 1000, but after their long wanderings only these 700 were alive. The elephant conceived the thought to feed them with his own flesh, in order to save them from starvation. He shows them the way to the water, and says that on the way they will find the body of an elephant that might serve them for food. They go; he, by another way, gets the start of them, and, throwing himself from above down on their road, kills himself. At the time of this his self-sacrifice several miracles happen. The wanderers find the body, and, on looking at it, see that it is their former guide. Then some of them say that it is impossible to take of his flesh, but that they must honour his body and go their way. But others point out that this would be to act contrary to the elephant's wishes, who had died just for

this purpose. Then all satisfy their hunger with his flesh and safely go on.

31.[1] SUTASOMA. *Prince Sutasoma.*—The Bodhisat was born in the royal race of *Kuru*, and was called *Sutasoma*. He distinguished himself by knowledge and virtue. Once, on his walk, a Brahmín appeared before him, who pronounced beautiful sentences (*subhāshita*). Suddenly a noise arose, the frightened servants run up, shouting that *Saudāsa* had come. The Bodhisat, though he knew, asked, who was that. They told him that once king *Sudāsa* went hunting, and carried by his horse into the depths of the forest, met there a lioness, with whom he had relations, and who bore him *Saudāsa*. *Sudāsa* brought him up. From his mother the boy inherited the taste for different sorts of (raw) flesh, he also ate human flesh, and, for that purpose, killed his subjects (having become king after his father's death). These latter, at last, resolved to kill him. *Saudāsa* became afraid, and promised to the *bhūtas* (evil spirits) a sacrifice of 100 princes if they would deliver him from his danger. As soon as he was free from his enemies he began to steal princes, and now came here to fetch *Sutasoma*. *Sutasoma*, on hearing this, goes up to *Saudāsa*, who carries him off to his seat (*durga*). *Sutasoma* remembers the Brahmin, whom he could not hear to end, and sheds tears. *Saudāsa*, thinking that he weeps from fear, scoffs. *Sutasoma* explains the reasons of his tears, and begs *Saudāsa* to allow him to go and hear all the Brahmin has to tell, promising to return. *Saudāsa* does not believe in *Sutasoma's* resolution to return to certain death. *Sutasoma* declares to him that truth goes before all, and that he always keeps his promises. *Saudāsa*, to try *Sutasoma*, allows him to go home. *Sutasoma* hears to end the four verses of the Brahmin, generously rewards him, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of his father, returns to *Saudāsa*, who expresses his astonishment. *Sutasoma* replies that now he has heard the Brahmin's

[1] [The Jain tale corresponding to this Jātaka is found in the commentaries on Avasyaka-niryukti, ix. 32 (more exactly on Viseshāvasyaka-bhāshya, v. 189, 5); it is alluded to also in Av.-niry. xix. 164, 4.—E.L.]

four verses, he is ready to be made a sacrifice. *Saudāsa* wishes to hear these sayings, but *Sutasoma* replies that to the lawless the hearing of the law will be no use. *Saudāsa* excuses himself, saying that, as others hunt game, he hunts men. *Sutasoma* answers that also the hunt for game is sinful, much more that for men; then he speaks to him on the truth, and on the question of *Saudāsa*; how it is he does not fear death, explains why it is not to be feared. *Saudāsa* is struck by his words, renounces his resolution to kill him, again begs him to tell the four strophes, and constructs him a teacher's seat. *Sutasoma* pronounces the four verses. *Saudāsa* is so much pleased that he offers to him anything he may wish. *Sutasoma* answers, how could one give presents to others, who is not even his own master. *Saudāsa* says that he is ready to give his life. *Sutasoma* demands four things: that he be honest; do not kill living beings; set his prisoners free; and do not eat human flesh. *Saudāsa* consents to the three first demands, but asks to have the fourth one changed. *Sutasoma* explains to him that the three, without the last, had no meaning. *Saudāsa* says that it is quite impossible for him to abstain from human flesh. *Sutasoma* continues to preach to him, and he at last surrenders. The imprisoned princes are set free, and they all, with *Saudāsa* and *Sutasoma*, return to their different countries.

32. Ayogṛha. *The iron house.*—The Bodhisat was born as a prince. All the children the king had had before him had died. Therefore, when the Bodhisat was about to be born, the king erected an iron house, embellished with all precious things; here the Bodhisat was born; here he grew up and was educated. Once the king allowed him to take a ride. On the sight of all surrounding beauties of nature, and the products of human hands, he begins to meditate on the transitoriness of everything earthly, and turns to his father with the request to allow him to become a monk. The king will not give his consent; the son, by long persuasion, finally brings him round to his side. The prince becomes an hermit, and eventually is born again in *Brahma's* world.

33. Mahisha. *The Buffalo.*—The Bodhisat was a buffalo and dwelt in the forest. There also lived a monkey, who constantly tortured and tormented the buffalo, but he suffered all. Once a *yaksha* asked him why he so patiently bore the persecution of the monkey. The buffalo answers with a long sermon on patience. The *yaksha* praises him, and, throwing the monkey from his back, goes away.

34. Ṣatapattra. *The Woodpecker.*—The Bodhisat was a woodpecker. Once he saw a lion, struck with whose sorry aspect, he asked what was the matter with him. The lion told him that a bone stuck in his throat. The woodpecker put a piece of wood, as a prop, between his jaws and took out the bone. After some time he, being very hungry, met the lion, who had just killed a deer, and asked him for some meat; the lion gave him nothing, and added that he ought to be glad to have saved his head from his jaws. The woodpecker quietly flew away: the divinity of some tree there asked him why he had not torn out the lion's eyes, or at least taken a bit of meat out of his mouth while he could have done so. The woodpecker makes him a sermon—that we must not get angry (give way to anger), nor give attention to the ingratitude of others.

TABLES OF PARALLELS.

I. *The Jātaka Mālā.*[1]

Jātaka Mālā.	*Jātaka.*	*Cariyā Piṭaka.*
1. Vyāghrī	*(Hardy, Manual, 92)	
2. Sibi	499	8
3. Kulmāshapiṇḍī	415	
4. Sreshṭi	40	
5. Avishahya	340	*Nidānakathā, p. 45
6. Ṣaṣa	316	10
7. Agastya	480	1
8. Maitrībala	?	
9. Visvantara	W. 539	9
10. Yajña	cf. *50	
11. Sakra	31, p. 202 *sq.*	
12. Brāhmaṇa	*305	
13. Unmādayantī	*527	
14. Supāraga	463	
15. Matsya	75	30
16. Vartakāpotaka	35	29
17. Kumbha	*512	
18. Aputra	?	
19. Bisa	488	24
20. Sreshṭi	171	
21. Cullabodhi	443	14
22. Haṃsa	502	
23. Mahābodhi.	*528	*Nidānakathā, p. 46
24. Mahākapi	*516	
25. Sarabha	483	
26. Ruru	482	
27. Mahākapi	407	
28. Kshānti	313	
29. Brahma	*W. 536	
30. Hasti	?	
31. Sutasoma	*537	32
32. Ayogṛha	510	23
33. Mahisha	278	15
34. Ṣatapattra	308	

[1] On this table and the third compare the similar tables at the end of Prof. Rhys Davids's introduction to his 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' London, 1881.

Those signed with an asterisk are not in Prof. Kern's table (Preface, p. viii *sq.*). The greater part of these omissions is explained by the fact that, at the time when the Jātaka Mālā was being printed, the fifth part of the Jātaka was not yet published. Yet other parallels are: **1**=in another redaction Divyāv 32. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (B.K.) 51. 95. Dsanglun 2; **2**=Ds. 35; **6**=B.K. 104. Av. Ṣat. 37; **8**=Ds. 12; **9**=B.K. 23; **28**=B.K. 38. [Ds. 11. H.W.]; **29** cf. Beal, Rom. Leg. 306–310; **31**=Ds. 36, Bhadrakalpāvadāna 34.

II. *The Nidāna Kathā.*

		Nidāna Kathā.		*Jātaka.*
	1.	Akittibrāhmaṇa	dāna	480
	2.	Saṃkhabrāhmaṇa	„	442
	3.	Dhanañjayarāja	„	276
	4.	Mahāsudassana	„	95
	5.	Mahāgovinda	„	?
	6.	Nimimahārāja	„	W. 533
	7.	Candakumāra	„	W. 534
	8.	Visahyaseṭṭhi	„	340
	9.	Sivirāja	„	499
	10.	Vessantara	„	W. 539
	11.	Sasapaṇḍita	„	316
1.	12.	Sīlavanāgarāja	sīla.	455
2.	13.	Campeyyanāgarāja	„	506
3.	14.	Bhūridattanāgarāja	„	W. 535
4.	15.	Chaddantanāgarāja	„	514
5.	16.	Jayaddisa (Alīnasattu)	„	513
6.	17.	Saṃkhapālaj.	„	524
1.	18.	Somanassakumāra	nekkhamma	505
2.	19.	Hatthipālakumāra	„	509
3.	20.	Ayogharapaṇḍita	„	510
4.	21.	Cūḷasutasoma	„	525
1.	22.	Vidhūrapaṇḍita	paññā	W. 537
2.	23.	Mahāgovindapaṇḍita	„	?
3.	24.	Kuddālapaṇḍita	„	70
4.	25.	Arakapaṇḍita	„	169
5.	26.	Bodhiparibbājaka	„	528
6.	27.	Mahosadhapaṇḍita	„	W. 538
7.	28.	Senakapaṇḍita (Sattubhattaj)	„	402
1.	29.	Mahājanaka	vīrya	W. 531
1.	30.	Khāntivāda	khānti	313
1.	31.	Mahāsutasoma	sacca	537
1.	32.	Mūgapakkha	adhiṭṭhāna	W. 530
1.	33.	Ekarāja	mettā	303
1.	34.	Lomahaṃsa	upekkhā	94 (?)

III. *The Cariyā Piṭaka.*

		Cariyā Piṭaka.	*Jātaka.*	
i.		1. Akatti	480	dāna
		2. Saṃkha	442	„
		3. Kurudhamma	276	„
		4. Mahāsudassana	95	„
		5. Mahāgovinda	Mahāvastu	„
		6. Nimirāja	W. 533	„
		7. Candakumāra	W. 534	„
		8. Sivirāja	499	„
		9. Vesantara	W. 539	„
		10. Sasapaṇḍita	316	„
ii.	1.	11. Sīlavanāga	455	sīla
	2.	12. Bhūridatta	W. 535	„
	3.	13. Campeyyanāga	506	„
	4.	14. Cūlabodhi	443	„
	5.	15. Mahiṃsarāja	278	„
	6.	16. Rururāja	482	„
	7.	17. Mātaṅga	497	„
	8.	18. Dhammādhamma-devaputta	457	„
	9.	19. Jayaddisa	513	„
	10.	20. Saṃkhapāla	524	„
iii.	1.	21. Yuvañjaya	460	nekkhamma
	2.	22. Somanassa	505	„
	3.	23. Ayoghara	510	„
	4.	24. Bhisa	488	„
	5.	25. Soṇapaṇḍita	W. 524	„
	6.	26. Temiya	W. 530	adhiṭṭhāna
	7.	27. Kāpirāja	407	sacca
	8.	28. Saccavhayopaṇḍita	?	„
	9.	29. Vaṭṭakapotaka	35	„
	10.	30. Maccharāja	75	„
	11.	31. Kaṇhadīpāyana	444	„
	12.	32. Sutasoma	537	„
	13.	33. Suvaṇṇasāma	?	metta
	14.	34. Ekarāja	303	„
	15.	35. Mahālomahaṃsa	94	upekkhā [not entirely identical].

Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ch. 34 (f. 424 v.–448 v.).

The Buddha came into the city to king *Ṣuddhodana* with his disciples. The King fed Buddha and his disciples; after dinner Buddha blesses the king and his ministers, and goes back to the wood. The king follows him to hear the law. Turning to Ānanda, he (Buddha) effusively praises monkdom and hermitry, and on this occasion, remembering a former rebirth, tells the legend of *Sutasoma* (*Sutasomāvadānaka*).

In *Kāṣi* there was at one time king *Sudāsa*, a worshipper of the three precious things, and very virtuous (long description!). Once he, with his women, repaired to his park to enjoy himself. All disperse in the beautiful park; suddenly the king's horse bolts, and bears him into the jungle. Tired of racing, after four yojanas, it stands still under a tree. The king dismounts to take breath. He begins to upbraid his horse, that it had borne him to so lonesome and dangerous a place. Feeling thirsty, the king looks out for water, having before bound his horse to the tree. He hears from afar the noise of a waterfall (*prapāta*), goes there, drinks, washes himself, and takes breath: remembering his women, he is seized by love, and, loudly complaining that he is deprived of the means to gratify it, from grief falls senseless. At this time a young lioness wandered about in the wood, seeking a male. Hearing the complaints of the king, she goes up to him. The king is frightened; she speaks to him with human voice, quieting his fears, and expressing her desire; from fright the king again falls into a swoon, but the lioness with blandishments brings him round, and persuades him to fulfil her desire. Then the lioness tries to induce him to live, as her husband, entirely with her in the wood, as she too was the daughter of a king, that of the beasts. The frightened king does not decidedly refuse her, but, under the pretext that she must find food, he sends her off, himself mounts his horse and flies. He falls in with his suite, and, returning to the city, tells what had happened to him, only concealing his relations with the lioness. The lioness, returning, and not

seeing the king, from grief falls into a swoon. Soon it appeared that she was with child; upbraided by her parents, she goes out into the wood, and there brings forth a beautiful boy. Until the twelfth year she nourished him in the wood, but then she gave him to some merchants coming through the city, and goes herself back into the wood. The merchants were struck with the boy's likeness with the king, and decided that this must be his son, born, in some miraculous way, by a lioness, when he had been carried away by his horse into the wood. They brought the boy to *Benares*, and presented him to the king, who gladly acknowledged him as his son, giving him the name of *Saudāsa Narasiṃha* ('Son of Sudāsa, Man-Lion'). In the course of time the king married him, and afterwards, being old himself, went with his wife to the forest, after having anointed his son as king. The young king was fierce, and ate very much meat; constantly animals and birds were killed for him. But, not content with this, he himself went into the forest, killed animals and ate them, trying all kinds of raw meat. His councillors tried to dissuade him from eating raw meat, as that was not seemly for human beings. He retorted that raw meat, more than anything else, gives force, and declared to them that he was resolved even to eat human flesh, as the best of all. In the night the king secretly goes to the gaol, fetches a man, and eats him; so he did every night. This was remarked, and the councillors were informed of it. They took counsel together, and also questioned queen *Dharmagañjā*, who confirmed the information as to the king's behaviour. The councillors go to, and remonstrate with, him, but he does not listen to them, and objects. Then they decide to drive him away, and, in the following night, meeting him in the place of his crime, drive him out of the kingdom, notwithstanding his entreaties. In the forest he meets his mother, the lioness, who asks him who he is: he answers, and she tells him that she is his mother, and then asks him what his father is doing, and why he has left *Benares*. He tells her all that has happened. Then

she counsels him to collect a hundred princes for a sacrifice, telling him not to kill them before the hundred is full.[1] The son obeys his mother; he seizes prince after prince, and puts them into a cavern; soon he has collected ninety-nine.

At this time the pious king *Sutasoma*, of the race of *Kuru*, was reigning. Once, in spring, he repaired with his suite to the park to enjoy himself. There a monk presents himself before him, who wishes to communicate to him some beautiful sentences. *Sutasoma* promises him a liberal reward, and prepares himself to listen; suddenly a noise rises, the servants come running and shouting that the terrible *Saudāsa* has appeared. On the question of *Sutasoma* (who, of course, knew what he asked about) who this was, the servants relate: Once the king went hunting and his horse carried him far into the forest; here he met a tigress, and, inflamed by love, had relations with her. She bore a son, who, later on, was brought to his father, who gladly acknowledged him; he succeeded to his father. *Saudāsa* very much liked flesh, and ate even that of men. His subjects resolved to kill him and he fled. Finding himself in the forest, he made a vow for his deliverance from misery to bring a sacrifice of a hundred princes. The servants bid *Sutasoma* save himself, as *Saudāsa* apparently had come for him. But *Sutasoma* wishes to turn *Saudāsa* to the right path and goes to meet him. *Saudāsa* says he came to seek him, seizes him, and carries him off to his cavern. Here *Sutasoma*, remembering the monk from whom he was to hear the beautiful sentences, and whom he had promised to reward, weeps, thinking of the disappointment of the poor monk. *Saudāsa*, seeing his tears, thinks that he is afraid of death, and ridicules him. *Sutasoma* explains to him the reason of his tears, begs to be allowed to go and reward the monk, and promises afterwards to return. *Saudāsa* at first expresses a doubt whether *Sutasoma* would return to a certain death, but then, to try his truthfulness, dismisses him. The relations, seeing *Sutasoma*

[1] The text apparently is corrupt, and it is not clear to whom the sacrifice is to be brought, and what is its aim.

return, rejoice. *Sutasoma* tells them he is only come to hear the monk. The monk pronounces his verses; *Sutasoma* gives his presents. *Sutasoma's* father finds his liberality excessive, and reproaches him. The son justifies his act, and declares that he must return to *Saudāsa*. His father decidedly dissuades him, but *Sutasoma* is firm, and returns to the man-eater, who is struck with wonder. *Sutasoma* thanks him that he had allowed him to hear the beautiful sentences. *Saudāsa* wishes to hear them also, but *Sutasoma* declines to impart them to one living so lawlessly. Between them a conversation takes place, in which *Saudāsa* is struck so much by the merits of *Sutasoma*, that he renounces eating him, and again begs him to tell him the verses. He, as disciple, sits down below his teacher, and *Sutasoma* tells him the sentences of the monk. *Saudâsa*, charmed by them, bids him take anything he likes. *Sutasoma* asks him (1) to be true to his word; (2) not to destroy living beings; (3) to dismiss the prisoner princes; (4) not to eat human flesh. With the three first points *Saudāsa* agrees, but says that he cannot fulfil the fourth: at last he surrenders to the persuasion of *Sutasoma*. All princes and *Sutasoma* are released, and return each to his kingdom; after a sermon of *Sutasoma's* that we must aspire to *brahmacaryā* and always be honest,

Buddha identifies himself with *Sutasoma*.

Content with the sermon, king *Suddhodana* and the people return to the city.

This extract will suffice to show how near the author of the Bhadrakalpāvadāna kept to his original in its prosaical parts; the verses he mostly copies word for word.

Closing herewith our remarks on the Jātaka Mālā, I would point out yet another, though not quite convincing datum, on the question of the chronology of this collection. In Bunyin Nanjio's catalogue (No. 1349), a work of *ārya Sūra* is enumerated, as translated into Chinese in the year 434 A.D. If this date is correct, and our author is really meant, then the Jātaka Mālā could not be later than the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

III.

Jātakas in the Mahāvastu.

In the Mahāvastu are found a considerable number of Jātakas, partly complete and partly abridged. The following list thereof is compiled after the excellent edition of Mr. Senart, and the Catalogues of Rājendra Lal Mitra and Bendall; we have included all the rebirths of the Buddha mentioned in the work, notwithstanding that, according to the indication of the Mahāvastu itself, Jātakas are only to be found in the 8th, 9th, and 10th *bhūmi* ('grades' which the *Bodhisattva* must traverse before he becomes a *Buddha*), since this indication is directly contradicted by the mention in the 3rd and 7th *bhūmis* of Jātakas, which occur in the Mahāvastu and other collections.

1. Buddha was a cakravartin king, by name *Dṛḍhadhanu*, and lived at the time of Buddha Aparājita-dhvaja; he honoured him for 1000 years, and on his death erected him a stūpa, i, 1. 60 *sq.*

Buddha was a merchant's son under Śākyamuni, to whom he gave a rice soup, i, 1. 47 *sq.* 111.

—— was a cakravartin king, living under the Buddha Samitāvin, to whom he gave a palace built of the seven precious materials, i, 1. 48–53.

—— was the young Brahmin Megha, who lived under Buddha Dīpaṃkara, i, 1–2. 193–248; cf. Dharmaruci. Divyāv. xviii; Bodhisattvāvadānak. lxxxix.

—— was the monk Abhiji (Abhiya), who lived under Buddha Sarvābhibhu, i, 2. 35–45.

—— was the Brahmin Jyotipāla, who lived under Buddha Kāçyapa, i, 2. 317–338.

—— gave to Buddha of his time 80 sandal palaces, i, 54.

—— was king Arka, who gave to Buddha Parvata 80,000 caverns for the monks, i, 54.

—— was under Buddha Ratnendra, who taught him during six years.

Buddha was a cakravartin king, who lived under Buddha Ratna, for whom he made 84,000 palaces embellished with jewels.

—— gave away his wife and children in order to hear a wise saying, i, 91 *sq.*[1]

—— gave his head to a brahmin, to hear from him a wise saying, i, 92.

—— was king Surūpa, with the same purpose, gave his wife, his son, and himself, to a rākṣhasa, i, 92 *sq.*

—— was minister Saṃjaya, with the same purpose, gave his heart to a piṣāca, i, 93.

—— the merchant's elder Vasuṃdhara, gave, with the same purpose, all his wealth to a poor man, i, 93 *sq.*

—— was king Surūpa, gave, with the same purpose, all Jambudvīpa to some man, i, 94.

—— the deer Satvara, gave, with the same purpose, his body to a huntsman, i, 94 *sq.* This is the *Mṛgarājaj.* Mhv. ii, 255–257, where the deer is called *Surūpa*, and the 'wise saying' is read with slight variation.

—— was king *Nāgabhuja*, with the same purpose, gave away his kingdom over the four dvīpas, i, 95.

—— with the same purpose, threw himself into an abyss, i, 95.

—— with the same purpose, left a ship (?) in the sea, i, 95. As we do not know what tale is alluded to here, we can translate only tentatively; *pota* might mean also 'a young one.'

—— with the same purpose, gave away his eyes, i, 95; cf. Dsanglun, i.

—— with the same purpose, threw himself into the fire, i, 95; cf. *ibid.*

—— was the cakravartin king *Dharaṇiṃdhara*, who lived under Buddha *Sudarçana*, to whom he gave all necessaries of life, i, 111 *sq.*

[1] In this place the text is very much corrupted, and we cannot form a clear idea what tale here is related, as also further on there is a lacuna; also the tale, how Buddha obtained a wise saying from the snake-charmer, is not clear.

Buddha was the cakravartin king Aparājita, who lived under Buddha Nareşvara, to whom he gave eighty-four monasteries, i, 112.

—— was minister Vijaya, who lived under Buddha Suprabha, to whom he gave an entertainment, i, 112 *sq.*

—— was the cakravartin king Acyuta, who lived under Buddha Ratnaparvata, for whom he constructed 84,000 palaces, i, 113 *sq.*

—— was the cakravartin king Priyadarşana, who lived under Buddha Kanakaparvata, to whom he gave his kingdom, i, 114 *sq.*

——[1] was king *Durjaya*, who lived under Buddha Pushpadanta, to whom he gave a luxurious entertainment, i, 115 *sq.*

—— was a king who lived under Buddha Lalitavikrama, to whom he gave forty koṭis of palaces and yet another magnificent palace, i, 116 *sq.*

—— was king Mṛgapatisvara, who lived under Buddha Mahāyaşas, to whom he gave a magnificent entertainment, i, 117 *sq.*

—— was the cakravartin king Maṇivishāṇa, who lived under Buddha Ratnacūḍa, to whom he gave ninety-two myriad koṭis of palaces, i, 118 *sq.*

—— was king Kuşa, i, 128–131. This redaction is entirely different from the other Jātakas about Kuşa; only this it has common with them, that also here they wish to carry off the queen.

—— was king of the snakes Ugra, charmer of snakes, who pardons the ignorant, i, 131.

—— was a lion, wounded by the hunter with the poisoned arrow, i, 131 *sq.*

—— was leader of a caravan, misled by the treacherous guide, i, 133.

—— was a king, pardoning his transgressing wife, i, 133 *sq.*

—— was a nāgarāja ('king of elephants' or 'of nāga's'; it is not clear, from the tale, which is meant) Atula, who lived under Buddha Maṅgala, i, 248–252.

—— was a brahmin, who erected an umbrella on the stūpa of his son, who was a Buddha, absorbed into nirvaṇa, i, 267.

*Trisakunaj. 282=Tesakuṇaj. (521) (translated from the MS. by T. P. Minayev).

Buddha was the hermit Rakshita, who saved the city of Kāmpilya by appearing from the sea, i, 283–6.

—— was an elephant in Vārāṇasī; he saved from the sea the city of Mithilā, i, 286–8.

Rshabhaj. i, 288–290.

Buddha was the leader of a herd of deer, of name Nyagrodha, who wanted to sacrifice himself in order to save a deer, i, 359–366; cf. Nigrodhamigaj. (12).

*Mañjarīj. ii, 48–64=Sudhābhojanaj. (535); cf. also the Biṭārikosiyaj. In regard to the uncertainty expressed by the editor (p. 509) as to the title of this Jātaka, we allow ourselves to opine that this title refers to the flowers that call forth the quarrel of the goddess. On the *rôle* of Nārada cf. the Mārkaṇḍeyapur. and Siṃhās. Introduction (dispute between Rambhā and Urvaṣī).

Godhaj. ii, 64–67=Jātaka, 333; cf. Beal, Rom. Leg. 82 *sq.*

Hārapradānaj. ii, 67 *sq.*

Yaṣodharā-vyaghrībhūtaj. ii, 68–72; cf. Beal, 99 *sq.*

*Dharmapālaj.=Mahādhammapālaj. (447).

Ṣara-kshepaṇaj. ii, 82 *sq.*

Amarā-karmāra-dārikāj. ii, 83–89; cf. Sūcij. (387).

*Mahā-ummaggaj. Channa-patha-panho; *Mahaushadha and Viṣākhā: Schiefner, Tibetan tales—Ralston, particularly p. 157. *Minayev, Buddhism, i, 151–4; Beal, Rom. Leg. 23–6. *Divyāv. xxxvi, 521 *sq.* Ṣirij. ii, 89–94.

*Kinnarīj. ii, 94–115; cf. Divyāv. xxx. Sudhāna-kumārāvadāna. Schiefner-Ralston, Sudhana-avadana, 44–74.

*Ṣyāmaj. ii, 166-177; cf. Kaṇaveraj. (318); cf. also No. 419 and Petavatthuvaṇṇanā, i, 1.

*Campaka-nāgarāja-j. ii, 177–188=Campeyyaj. (506). Cariyāpiṭaka, 85 *sq.*

*Ṣyāmaka-j. ii, 209–231. Sāmaj. Westergaard, 532.

Ṣiriprabhaj. ii, 234–7. Suvaṇṇamigaj. (359).

Ṣakuntakaj. ii, 241–3.

Kacchapaj. ii, 244 *sq.* This tale, as was mentioned above, found its way into one of the MSS. of the Jātakamālā.

Markaṭaj. ii, 246–250; cf. Jāt. 208. 342 (also 57. 224).
Ṣakuntakaj. ii, 250–5.
Surūpa-mṛgarājaj. ii, 255–7; cf. Mahāvastu, i, 94.
Kuṣaj. ii, 420–496; cf. Kusaj. (531). Schiefner-Ralston, 21. Dsanglun, xiii, p. 91 *sqq*. Bhadrakalpāv. xxx; cf. Mahāvastu, i, 128–131.
Vrshabhaj.[1]
Vānaraj.
Vānarīj. (?).
Puṇyavantaj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xvi and Tib.; Benfey, Pantschatantra, i, 535–7 (Nachtrag).
Vijitāvij.
Rakṣhasadvīpa-pākshika-j.; cf. below Dharmalabdhaj. Valāhassaj. (196). Divyāv. 119–121. 523–8. Avalokiteṣvaraguṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha (ed. Calc. pp. 52–59; cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 223 *sq*. Rājendralāl. p. 96 *sq*.). Wenzel, A Jātaka tale from the Tibetan. Beal, Rom. Leg. 332–340. Hiouen-Thsang (St. Julien, ii, 131–140. Beal, ii, 240–6); cf. also Telapattaj. (96).
Kākaj.
Hastinīj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xxxii.
Nalinīj.; cf. Nalinīj. W. 519. Bhadrakalpāv. xxxiii.
Padmavatīj.; cf. Bodhisattvāvadānak. lxxxiii. [Candra-Sūryaj.]; cf. Bhodisattvāvadānak. lxxxiii, Bhadrakalpāv. xxvii. Beal, Rom. Leg. 361–3.
Upāligaṅgapālaj. Gaṅgamālaj. (421); cf. a similar story in the collection Karpūraprakarāvacūri: Kapilabrāhmaṇakathā.[2]
Mahāgovindaj.; cf. Cariyāp. i, 5.
Dharmalabdhaj.
Ājñāta-kauṇḍinya-j.
Pañcabhadravargīyaj.

[1] Here M. Senart's edition stops unfortunately at present. The remainder of the titles, here added by the author from Rājendralal, p. 145 *sq*. and Bendall, p. 56 *sq*., will doubtless be found in the forthcoming volume of M. Senart's edition.—H.W.

[2] This collection is apparently very near related, if not identical, with the Kathā-mahodadhi of the poet Somacandra.

Ṣarabha[ṅga]j.; cf. Sarabhaṅgaj. (522). Commentary on the Upālisutta (Feer).

Pūrṇa-maitrāyaṇī-puttraj.

Yaṣodaj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xv. Beal, Rom. Leg. 250–6; cf. Minayev, Buddhistische Fragmente, 584 n.

Ashtisenaj.

Uruvilvā-kāṣyapa-nadī-kāṣyapaj.

Arindamaj.

As we do not feel ourselves justified, before the completion of the exemplary edition by *Senart*, to enter into a critique of the text, we confine ourselves here to adducing some more parallels: ii, 166 and 198–200=Suttanip., Pabbajjas. pp. 71–74; ii, 238-240=Suttanip., Padhānas. pp. 74–78; ii, 191–5 = Kaṇṭhakavimāna, Vimānavatthu, p. 73 *sq.* (No 81).

Misprints, i, 27. 4 read *tiryag°*; i, 630. 32 read *359*; ii, 54. 37 read *brāhmaṇa*; ii, 78. 17 read *imāni*; ii, 83. 17 read *adhvānam*; ii, 363. 11 read *sphāteshu*; ii, 362 *sqq.* is found, with rather considerable variants and transpositions, as a quotation in the Sikshāsamuccaya of Ṣāntideva, beginning of ch. 17:

ukto vandanāvidhiḥ | tena puṇyavṛddhir bhavatīti kuto gamyate || *āryāvalokanasūtrāt* | evaṃ hi tatroktam ||
varjayaty akshaṇāny ashṭau ya ime deṣitā mayā
kshaṇaṃ cārāgayety ekaṃ buddhotpādaṃ susobhanam, etc.

(Copy of Minayev, from MS. in India Office, fol. 174 v. *sq*).

IV.

The Jātaka of the "Young Trailhunter" and the Jain parallels to it.

(Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka, No. 432.)

Interesting parallels to this Jātaka are found (1) in the Jain collection *Samyaktvakaumudī*.[1]

(2) In the commentaries to the Uttarajjhayaṇa, ii, 44.[2]

The parallelism extends to the general idea as well as to the tales. There is no doubt of the relation between the Buddhist and the Jain texts, though the character of this relation, on account of the insufficiency of the material, is at present difficult to define. This only is certain, that those Jain texts which we could make use of are younger than the Pāli text.

In the Samyaktvakaumudī the group of tales and the 'frame' to them are the following:

At the time of the campaigns of king *Suyodhana*, the general of police *Yamadaṇḍa* represented him; and he governed so wisely that he conquered the love of all. The king, returning from his campaign, began to envy him, and resolved to destroy him. In the night, together with a councillor and the house-priest, he robs the treasure-house, and on the following day, under pain of death, demands of *Yamadaṇḍa* the discovery of the thiefs. *Yamadaṇḍa*, inspecting the place of the burglary, finds the king's shoe,

[1] Cf. Weber, A. Ueb. die Samy.; SBBA. 1889, xxxviii. For the text we had the use of the MS. from Minayev's collection, which resembles the redaction AB. of Weber (fol. 133, ll. 9-12; Saṃvat, 1629). It is in different hands—Jain Devanāgarī; we denote it by M.; this MS. is now in the Imperial Public Library. The tales that are not found in M., or that are different from the redaction ABM., we give after Weber.

[2] Cf. Weber, p. 30 (756), after the indication of Prof. Leumann: for this text we only could make use of the Calcutta edition (Saṃvat. 1936), and two MSS. from Minayev's collection, nearly coinciding with the Calcutta text, viz. i. Saṃvat, 1839, fol. 293, with a tāba in bhāshā; ii. The Commentary (Uttarādhyāyanasūtrārthadīpikā) of Lakshmīvallabha, fol. 470, l. 16; Saṃvat. 1909. Besides, we had a MS. of the Avacūri to the Uttarajjhayana, from the same collection, fol. 73, ll. 20-21, s.a.; it gives the tales nearly in the form of a conspect, not differing in any material point from the text of Lakshmīvallabha.

the seal of the councillor, and the priest's Brahmanic string. Understanding the king's purpose, he gives him, in the shape of tales, seven cautions, in the course of seven days of respite which the king had accorded him at the people's request.

i. On a tree there lived flamingoes. Once near the root of this tree a liana-creeper began to grow. An old flamingo bade the young ones to root it up, as it might become the source of disaster. The young ones laugh at him. A huntsman comes there, and, by the help of the liana, catches the birds; the birds, fallen into captivity, call to the old flamingo for aid; he counsels them to feign themselves dead.[1] The huntsman, thinking them really dead, climbs the tree; he throws them down and they fly away. [B. according to Weber more detailed.][2]

ii. The clever potter *Pālhaṇa*, who, having grown wealthy little by little, liberally gives alms, was eventually crushed by the earth of the pit, whence he used to take his clay.[3]

iii. In the country of *Pañcāla* was the town *Varaṣakti*, where king *Sudharma* lived, given to Jainism; his wife was *Jinamati*. His minister *Jayadeva* was a Cārvāka; his wife was called *Vijayā*. Once the king, after a victorious campaign,[4] wished to have a triumphal entry into his capital; but the principal street fell in and continued to fall for three days, notwithstanding all props. Then *Jayadeva* counsels the king to make the street firm by the

[1] This conceit is often repeated in Indian tales.

[2] Weber has already remarked (*l.c.* p. 18) that the *Samyaktvak.* has many quotations in common with the Pañcantantra and the Hitopadeṣa; we do not think it superfluous to adduce three argumenta from the Pañcantantra that we have found in the *Samyaktvak.*

i. tale: varaṃ buddhir na sā vidyā vidyāto buddhir uttamā
buddhihīnā vinaṣyanti yathā te siṃhakārakāḥ (Pañc. v, 5, Koseg.).

ii. tale: vṛddhavākyaṃ sadā kṛtyaṃ prajñaih ca guṇaṣālibhiḥ
paṣya haṃsān vane baddhān vṛddhavākyena mocitān (Pañc. Benfey, ii, 139 *sq.*).

'. tale: bubhukshitaḥ kiṃ na karoti pāpaṃ kshīṇā narā nishkaruṇā bhavanti
ākhyāhi bhadre priyadarṣanasya na Gaṅgadattaḥ punar eti kūpam (Pañc. iv, 1, Koseg.).

The tale is in C.; in the other MSS. only the verse; in M. only a reference potter.

Veber does not mention the campaign.

blood of a man, whom he had killed himself; this, he says, was a *kaulavāk*.[1] The king does not consent, though the people assure him that they will take the sin upon themselves. Then they give another advice,[2] *viz.* they make the figure of a man in gold and carry it about in the city, announcing that this golden statue and a *koṭi* of gold will be given to the mother who herself will poison her son, or to the father who will suffocate his son. A poor brahmin *Varadatta* and his wife *Nirghṛṇā*[3] are found, who are ready to sacrifice their seventh son *Indradatta*. The youngster laughs, and, on the question of the king, why he, at a time so terrible for him, is joyful, replies by pointing out the strangeness of his position. But the gods are pleased with the courage of the youngster and the behaviour of the king, who had not the intention to kill him, and everything ends happily.

iv. A deer with many young ones lived quietly in a park; the king of this town, *Ripumardana*, had many sons, to one of whom a huntsman once brought a little deer; the other princes also wished to have little deer, and a hunt was made in the park.[4]

v. In *Nepal*, in the city *Pāṭalīputra*, lived the poet king *Vasūpala*, whose wife was *Vasumatī*. His minister, *Bhāratībhūshaṇa*, had a favourite wife, *Devakīrtimanoharā*.[5] Once, in the assembly, the minister criticized a poem of the king's; the latter, becoming angry, had him thrown into the Gaṅga. Being in the water, the minister pronounces some beautiful sentences, and the king pardons him.

vi. In the country of *Kurujāṃgala* is the city of *Pāṭaliputra*,[6] where king *Subhadra* lived with his queen *Subhadrā*. This park is devastated by monkeys, drunk with palm-wine. He sends, for the protection of the park, his domestic

[1] Weber, *Kulamatam*.
[2] Cf. Jacobi Ausg. Erz. in Māhārāshṭri, p. 51 *sq.*
[3] Weber, *Niḥkaruṇā*, both = 'pitiless.'
[4] The tale is in B. only; the others have no more than the verse; from the fragment, preserved in M., it is still apparent that the deer begs for forbearance.
[5] Weber does not mention the wife.
[6] Weber, *Pāṭalipura*.

monkeys, notwithstanding the objections of the park-keeper.[1]

vii. In the country *Avantī* is the city of *Ujjayinī*; there lived the rich merchant Subhadra. Going out once, he left his two wives under the care of his mother. Returning suddenly home, he finds his mother in the embraces of a paramour.

The king *Suyodhana* does not understand these hints. *Yamadaṇḍa* then shows the shoe, the seal, and the string, and makes known the thieves; the people expel them, and put their sons in their places.

As is seen from this abridgment, the theme is the same in the Pāli and the Jain texts—the king with some men placed near him, commits a robbery, and demands that the thieves be found; the person to whom he addresses himself knows the thieves, but before exposing them before all the people, tries by tales to hint that the truth is known to him. Every tale includes a verse as a kind of argumentum, always ending by the proverb "from the protection the injury arose," corresponding with the contents of the tales, which are about occasions when a thing or a human being, which or who should have been a refuge, turns out the source of misery. In the case put, the occasion for all these tales, *i.e.* their 'frame,'—the king-guardian, who ought to be the refuge for all his subjects, becames a thief, the source of damage. This explanation, the undoubted correctness of which is attested by the Pāli version, makes all the tales completely clear, and removes all scruples, formerly felt by Weber and myself.[2]

Of the tales only two are identical: Pāli i=Jain v. and Pāli ii=Jain ii; and even then in the first of these the tale presents great variations, and only the verses in both, taken together, have a remarkable likeness.

[1] B. adds that the domestic, together with the wild, monkeys devastate the park.

[2] The doubts of Weber arose from the explanation of the hidden meaning of the tales "die (*i.e.* the tales) sämtlich darauf hinausgehen, dass man durch Unvorsichtigkeit und Unklugheit, gelegentlich freilich auch ohne eigene Schuld, zu Schaden komt;" *l.c.* 14).

	Jātaka.	*Samyaktvakaumudī.*
i.	yena siñcanti dukkhitaṃ yena siñcanti āturaṃ tassa majjhe marissāmi jātaṃ saraṇato bhayaṃ	jena bīyā parohanti jena sippanti pāyavā tassa majjhe marissāmi jāyam saraṇao bhayaṃ
ii.	yattha bījāni rūhanti sattā yattha patiṭṭhitā sā me sīsaṃ nipīḷeti jātaṃ saraṇato bhayaṃ	jeṇa bhikkhaṃ baliṃ demi jeṇa posemi appayaṃ tena me puhiyā bhaggā jātaṃ saraṇato bhayaṃ

i. Amidst that, by the aid of which the seed grows, with which they water the trees
I die, from the refuge (my) misery arose.

In the translation of the second verse we allow ourselves to differ a little from Prof. Weber: *appayaṃ* we take as an accusative sing. 'myself'; *jeṇa* we do not understand in the sense of 'because,' but simply 'that by which,' 'by the aid of which,'—this refers to the clay, which gave the potter the means to live—accordingly we translate:

ii. That by the aid of which I give alms, and bring sacrifices wherewith I feed myself
That crushed my back, from the refuge misery arose.

The other group of tales which we bring together with the Jātaka, differs considerably in the subject, though the same 'motif' of the hint or admonition lies at the root of them all. The abridgment of this version, to which we now pass on, is made after the Calcutta edition, with the help of the above-mentioned two MSS. We give an abridgment only, thinking that a translation of a text not yet critically constituted, has no superiority over an abridgment, and, moreover, lacks an advantage the latter possesses, viz. brevity.[1]

[1] By reason of deficient material for the constitution of a good text, we had to renounce the production of all Prākrit verses, and confine ourselves to those that are parallels to the Pāli ones; to omit those we thought not advisable, in consideration of the importance of showing the identity of particular expressions in the compared texts.

In the country of *Vatsa*, among the followers of the sect of *Āshāḍhabhūti*, there was this custom: to the dying they said,[1] "You will become gods in heaven, show yourselves then to us." But the dead transferred to heaven did not appear any more, and among the followers of this sect doubt about a life after death arose. Once a disciple died, and, before death, they said to him: "You by all means must appear again to us when you become a god in heaven; do not forget it." But he, having become a god, distracted by the various enjoyments and representations of heaven, forgot to show himself. After having in vain waited for some time for his appearance, all the followers of this sect were confirmed in their doubts regarding life after death, and dispersed, fallen into error. At this time a disciple, after becoming a god, driven by love for his teacher, showed himself on earth, and saw that his teacher had fallen into error. In order to instruct him, he held at the end of some village representations; his teacher amused himself for six months with these representations, feeling neither hunger nor thirst; when the god ceased his representations the teacher went away. In order to try his self-command the god sent six youths, embellished with jewels; the first youth was called "He of the Earth." When the teacher saw him he said to him, "Little one, give me your ornaments?" When he would not give them the teacher seized him by the throat. The frightened youth said: "I am the youth of the earth (*Pṛthvīkāyika*); in this terrible forest I have come to you for aid; it is not seemly for people like you to act thus; I will tell you a story, listen to it."

i. *He of the Earth.* A potter, digging clay in a pit, was crushed by the earth, and complained that he was

[1] Here, and further on, the plural number is used; apparently only a pl. majest. On *Āshāḍhabhūti*, who in the Avacūri is called *Āshāḍhācārya*; cf. *Leumann, E.*, Die alten Berichte von den Schismen des Jaina, Ind. St. xvii, 109–112 (Drittes Sch.). In the *Karpūraprakarāvacūri* (MS. of Minayev) there is a story about *Āshāḍhabhūti*. In the Brahminical literature this name is known from Pañcat. i, 4, where a clever thief, robbing a monk, is called thus.

struck down by that which had been his source of subsistence.[1]

The teacher, notwithstanding the youth's prayers, took his ornaments and put them into his bowl.[2]

ii. *The youth of the Water* (*Āpkāyika*) relates: The actor *Pāṭala*, taking a walk, went into the Ganges; when the current carried him away, some one standing on the bank said: "O wise *Pāṭala*, pronounce some beautiful sentence." *Pāṭala* pronounced a verse, wherein he bewails his situation.[3]

iii. *The youth of the Fire* (*Agnikāyika*) relates: A hermit's hut burned down, whereon he pronounced a verse describing his situation.

iv. 2. tale of the same youth: Some wanderer, from a fear of tigers, had recourse to fire, and, being severely burned by it, pronounced a verse.

v. *The youth of the Wind* (*Vāyukumāra*): There was a corpulent youth, whom once the wind(-disease) crippled; seeing him going in the streets, leaning on a stick, some one asked him: "How have you, so strong, become such"; he answers with a verse.

vi. *The youth of the Tree* (*Vanaspatikāyika*) relates: On a tree there lived some birds, who had many young ones; from the root of the tree a liana began to grow, and, winding round the tree, reached the summit; once a snake climbed up by this liana, and ate up the young ones; the birds, complaining, pronounced a verse.

vii. (Not in the *Avacūri*). *The Moving youth* (*Trasakāyika*): In a certain town they expelled the *caṇḍālas*, who had come in from fear of defilement; the fair-minded (*madhyastha*) of the people expressed their disapprobation by a verse.

[1] We shall not repeat again this proverb, already known from the Jātaka and the Samyaktvak.

[2] The robbery of the ornaments is repeated on the appearance of each following youth, and therefore, without repeating this circumstance, we give just the series of the remaining tales.

[3] Those verses of these tales, which offer parallels with the tales in the Jātaka, we give below with a translation.

viii. 2. tale of the same: In a certain town the king and his house-priest were thieves; the people, seeing this criminality, pronounced a corresponding verse.

ix. 3. tale of the same: In some village a brahmin had a beautiful daughter; he was inflamed by passion towards her, but, being ashamed of it, told nobody; his wife remarked his unhappy appearance, and, learning the reason, contrived to help him. She said to her daughter that they had the custom, before marrying their daughter, to deliver her to a *yaksha*, and announced to her that on the fourteenth day, between full moon and new moon, the *yaksha* would come to her at night, and bade her not to light a fire. At the appointed time the father appeared to her in the night under the shape of a *yaksha*, and had relations with her. When he fell asleep from exhaustion, she took a candle to look at the *yaksha*, and recognized her father. She said, "What must happen cannot be avoided," and again gave herself to him. Her mother, seeing in the morning that they are long in waking, breaks out in complaints; the daughter, on awaking, tells her she herself is guilty, now she might find out another husband for herself. The mother again (in verses) complains that her own daughter had deprived her of a husband.

x. 4. tale of the same (not in the *Avacūri*): In some village a brahmin dug a pond for the use of sacrifice, and thereby planted a grove, and brought his sacrifices there. In his next birth he became a goat in the same village; and walking about he came to the pond, and remembered his former existence. Once his son, about to bring a sacrifice, took this goat (not knowing it to be his father), and led it to the grove. The goat bellowed; a hermit, hearing it, addressed him (the goat), reminding him how he had dug the pond and planted the grove. The goat was silent. The son asked the hermit what was the meaning of all this, and he informed him that this was his father, who, precisely because of his bringing sacrifices, had fallen to such a state. The hermit adds that the goat could, with her foot, indicate the place, in the courtyard of the house, were a treasure

was hidden in the earth. This was done, and afterwards father and son were transferred to the world of gods.[1]

In the same manner the teacher, not listening to the warnings of the six youths, robbed them, and went away. In order to try his piety the god sends a woman to meet him on the way, but the teacher drives her off; going, she pronounces a warning, but he pays no attention to it. Then, going on his way, the teacher meets the king, who bade him to hold out his bowl, wishing to fill it with sweets. Fearing to show to the king the jewels he had stolen, and which were in the bowl, he answered that on this day he did not take food. Then the king by force takes hold of the bowl and discovers the jewels. The king says, "How is this? you scoundrel, then, have killed my sons!" The teacher, frightened, was silent.

Here the god explains that all this was a magic trick for the instruction of the teacher.

As we have in our hands only the very modern text of *Lakshmīvallabha*, and the very much abbreviated text of the *Avacūri*, we cannot enter at present into an examination of the relation of our text to the Jātaka on one side and the *Samyaktvak.* on the other, and therefore confine ourselves to the pointing out the parallels, and the remark that, in our opinion, our text most probably is only a slight variation of an ancient text. The parallels with the Jātaka are the following: i=Jātaka ii; ii=Jātaka i; iii, iv are here similar to Jātaka iii; v=Jātaka v; vi similar to Jātaka vi (cf. verse in viii B.); viii=frame of Jātaka. With the *Samyaktvak.*: i=*Samyaktvak.* ii; ii similar to *Samyaktvak.* v; vi=*Samyaktvak.* i; viii=frame of *Samyaktvak.*

Uttarādhyayanasūtrārthadīpikā.

ii. jeṇa rohanti bīyāṇī jeṇa jīvaṃti kāchavā[2]
tassa majjhe marissāmi, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka i, yena siñcanti.)

[1] The meaning is this, that the sacrificial grove round the pond, which the Brahmin had planted, thinking to merit a reward by this, became the source of misfortune for him, as in it himself nearly was offered up as a sacrifice, having been reborn for his sacrifices in the shape of a goat.

[2] kāsavā.—E.L.

i. jeṇa bhikkhaṃ balim demi jeṇa posemi nāyae
sā me mahī akkamai, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka ii, yattha bījāni.)
iii. jaṃ ahaṃ divā ya rāo ya tappemi mahusappiṇā
teṇa me uḍao daḍḍho, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
iv. mae vagghassa bhīeṇaṃ pāvao saraṇīkao
teṇa daḍḍhaṃ mamaṃ aṅgaṃ, jāyaṃ saranao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka iii, yena bhattāni.)
v. jeṭṭhāsāḍhesu māsesu jo suho hoi māruo
teṇa me bhajjae aṅgaṃ, jāyaṃ, saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka v, gimhānaṃ.)
vi. jāva vucchaṃ[1] suhaṃ vucchaṃ[1] pāyave nirupaddave[2]
mūlāo uṭṭhiyā vallī, jāyaṃ saranao bhayam.
(Jātaka vi, yaṃ nissitā.)
viii. jattha rāyā sayaṃ coro bhaṇḍio ya purohio
disaṃ bhayaha nāgaragā, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka, p. 513, v. 60, rājā vilumpate.)

Translation of the Jain verses:

ii. Thanks to which the seeds grow, by which the tortoises live,
In midst of this I die, from the refuge etc.

i. Thanks to which I give alms, and offer sacrifices, with which I feed my relatives,
This earth crushes me, from etc.

iii. That which I feed day and night with honey and fat,
That has burned down my hut, from etc.

iv. From fear of a tiger I took my refuge with the fire,
But it burned my body, from etc.

v. The wind that is (a friend) beneficent in the months of Jeṭṭhā and Āsāḍha,
That has broken my limbs, from etc.

vi. As long as we lived on the dangerless tree, we lived happily,
From the root a liana sprang up, from etc.

viii. Where the king himself is a thief, and the priest a scoundrel,
From there fly, O citizens, from the refuge the misery arose.

[1] vutthaṃ.—E.L. [2] niruvaddave.—E.L. [See note on p. 356.]

V.

Bibliographical List.

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With an asterisk are denoted those works which we have not seen ourselves.

St. Petersburg, October, 1892.

Note.—Prof. *E. Leumann*, of Strassburg, has communicated to me a few additional notes in reference to the Jain parallels (see pp. 309, 310), and also some corrections to the Prākṛit verses, p. 349 *sq.* below, all of which appear there signed with his initials (E.L.).—H.W.

Note.—It does not seem out of place to mention here that Dr. D'Oldenburg has given a short bibliography of works on the Indian collection of tales 'Bṛhatkathā' (and Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara) in vol. iii. of the same Journal; and, in vol. [illegible] review of *Weber's* Ueb. die Samyaktvak. (see above, p. 341), also with a bibliographical list of works relating to this literature.—H.W.

ART. IX.—*Temiya Jātaka Vatthu.* From the Burmese. By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.A., Wadh. Col. Oxon.

THIS Jātaka stands No. 541 in the Ceylon list under the title of Mūgapakkha or "The dumb cripple." The Burmese, however, prefer to call it by the name of the Prince, who is the hero of the story. It is the first of the ten greater Jātaka, and, unlike the Bhūridatta, contains little or no folk-lore, but illustrates the value of asceticism.

According to the Nidāna-kathā, p. 57, of Professor Rhys Davids' "Birth Stories," this Jātaka is said to be a state in which the Buddha acquired "The Perfection of Resolution," according to these words:—

266. Father and mother I hated not, reputation I hated not.
But omniscience was dear to me, therefore was I firm in duty.

This is the eighth perfection or Pārami called "Adhiṭṭhānam" or fixity of purpose.

The Mahā Janaka which I translated in the Indian Magazine, and which has also been translated by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, is on the same subject.

There is one point to which I would draw special attention. At page 53 of the "Birth Stories" it is stated in the Nidāna-kathā:—

252. So the men, perfect in every part and destined to Buddhahood,
Traverse the long road through thousands of millions of ages.

253. They are not born in Hell nor in the space between the worlds;
They do not become ghosts torn by hunger and want.
And they do not become small animals even tho' born to sorrow.

257. Though they dwell in heaven they are not born to the unconscious state.

Yet in this Jātaka it is related that the Bodhisat had been 8000 years in the Ussada Hell.

There is also another point which requires explanation.

These last *ten* are always called the great Jātaka, but they are not all longer than the others.

For instance, Khaṇḍahāla (545), or, as the Burmese call it, Canda Kumāra, is quite short, and the Sivi Rājā (502?) is long.

The style of the Sivi, which is on the Pārami of Alms-giving, is also similar to some of those in the last ten.

These longer Jātaka, and some of a similar character, should, I think, be classified separately from those which appear to be folk-lore tales of an earlier date, adapted to Buddhism by Gotama himself or the early teachers.

The drift of this Jātaka also appears to be directed against the Brahminical idea that a man ought to be the father of a family and enjoy life prior to becoming an ascetic, and though the chief discourse is on the duties of friendship, the end of the story points out that the ascetic life can not be embraced too soon, and that *now* is the time, *now* is the day of salvation.

The Burmese version here translated was written in the year A.D. 1787, during the reign of Bo-Dawe, or Badun-min, the grandson of Aloung-pharā, when he was engaged in building the huge unfinished pagoda at Mingun (*vide* Phayre's Hist. p. 218). It was printed in Rangoon, at the Hanthāwati Press, in A.D 1888.

I have endeavoured to render the only Pali gātā given faithfully to the meaning, though the translation may be somewhat free and the metre different.

TEMI ZĀT-TAWE-GYEE, *alias* MŪGAPAKKHA JĀTAKA VATTHU.

On a certain occasion the Sangha of disciples and Rahans (Araham) were in the hall of assembly praising the Lord's (Gotama Buddha) "perfect abnegation of the world"

(nikkhama-pārami). The Lord came forth from his cell (gandha kuṭi, perfumed chamber), and seating himself on his dais said: "My children, what were you conversing about just before I came out?" and his disciples answered: "We were praising your 'Great Abnegation,' and unable to do so sufficiently."

On hearing this the most excellent Lord said: "My children and disciples ye do well in praising that great renunciation made by me who can now never incur a bad transmigration, and who have arrived at the summit of all things after being brought to a right frame of mind through beholding 'the four warnings' (nimitta); but much more ought ye to praise that most excellent virtue (pārami) which enabled me, in a former birth, when I was the son of a king, of whom the Brahmans had prognosticated that I should become a universal monarch, at a very early age, to renounce that kingdom, through being terrified by words spoken by my father to certain thieves."

On the request of his disciples he then related the following Jātaka:—

CHAPTER I.

Long ago in the city of Bārāṇasi, in the kingdom of Kāsi, a prince reigned called the Rājā of Kāsi. He was a giver of offerings, a man of strong religious feelings, ever open-handed and ready to assist, self-denying, not harsh to his relations and attendants, long-suffering, slow to anger, not oppressive, straightforward and tender, ever acting in accordance with the "ten laws" which ought to guide the conduct of kings. His concubines numbered sixteen thousand, and his chief Queen was Candā, the daughter of Madda Rājā, of the city of Sāgala,[1] in the country of Madda, one of the most lovely of women.

[1] Sākala or Sangala in the Panjab.

She did everything that her lord and master desired, and delighted in making religious offerings, never neglecting the fast days. However, notwithstanding all this, not one of the royal ladies from the Aggamahesi (chief queen) downwards was blest with an offspring, and the people of Bārāṇasi murmured and said: "Our Rājā has no heir to carry on his royal line, and we know not whether the person whose lot it may be to succeed to the throne of our protector may be well disposed: let us assemble in the plain in front of the palace and represent to the Rājā that it is his duty to pray for a son." So they came together to the gate of the palace and cried, saying: "O most excellent and glorious Lord, who ever reignest in accordance with the 'ten laws,' the sun that rises and casts its beams over the eastern continent and with its light dispels the darkness, for twelve hours passes towards the northern continent; when night arrives the circle of the moon, when full, like a lesser sun, lightens us with its rays; so, too, in this city of Bārāṇasi, we, who are enlightened by your majesty's glorious brightness, see no signs of a son who shall brighten us like the moon, and are filled with doubt and anxiety: we, therefore, beg that you will offer up prayer for a son."

The King hearing their cry asked his ministers the meaning thereof, and they told him, whereupon the King said: "My people, it is well; in accordance with your supplications I will cause my Queen to pray for a son; be not afraid, a son will be born." Having thus comforted and dismissed his subjects, he sent for Queen Candā and all his ladies, and said: "Royal ladies, the people of the country demand an heir apparent and I have none to give them, go, therefore, and pray for a scion of royal race; let each one pray to her especial deity."[1]

The 16,000 ladies, therefore, made supplications and offerings to their various deities, but no son or daughter was

[1] It is odd that it never occurred to any one that the fault was most probably the King's.

born to any one of them, and report was accordingly made to the King.

Then the King sent for Candā Devi, and said: "O Lady, if the abode be not pure what glorious being will enter therein? If our actions be not excellent neither a Deva nor any other glorious being will attach himself: by the virtue of original merit, however, and by being thoroughly imbued with religious feeling, such as fasting and other good practices, your prayers will be fulfilled."

Queen Candā therefore, on the next day of the full moon, kept a most solemn fast, and at night, instead of lying on a couch, lay on the floor, meditating on the purity with which she had performed her religious duties. At break of day she made the following prayer:—

"That I've kept my fast unbroken
May a son born be the token."

Thereupon, through the power of the Queen's merit, Sakka's throne, the "Paṇḍukambala" stone, became hard,[1] and looking round to see the reason he perceived that it was on account of Candā Devi's prayer.

He then considered whether there was in Tāvatimsā any Deva worthy to be her son, and saw the Bodhisat Deva.

Now the Bodhisat, before he became a Deva in Tāvatimsā, in his third state of existence, had reigned in Bārāṇasi for twenty years, and owing to his merit being interfered with, had not acted strictly in accordance with the "ten laws," so, for eight thousand years after the reckoning of men, he had been boiled in the hell called Ussada,[2] and from that hell went to Tāvatimsā. At this moment the Bodhisat had been in Tāvatimsā 16,000,000 years, which is the space of a Deva's lifetime, and on account of unexpended merit was about to transfer himself to the Yāma Deva region, which is still higher. Sakka therefore repaired to the palace of the Bodhisat, with the intention of asking him to become the son of Candā Devi, and said: "O Ḍeva,

[1] Sometimes the throne becomes hard and at others hot.
[2] Childers offers no explanation of this word. It is one of the lesser Hells.

who art even equal to me in glory, if thou goest to the upper Deva regions, as it is now thy purpose, the advantage will not be great, but if thou wouldst go to the country of men thou wilt probably obtain immense merit and be a benefit to others. Just now, in the country of Kāsi, the Queen Candā has prayed for a son endowed with the most excellent desire to perform good works." Sakka thus prevailed on him to take birth with Queen Candā, and, at the same time, caused five hundred other Deva's, who were near their time of change, to take birth as sons of the nobles of Kāsi, so as to be his companions.

The Bodhisat having consented, passed instantly from Tāvatimsā and took birth in the womb of Candā Devi. At the same instant, like the flash of a "varajina," the Queen knew that she had conceived a son in answer to her prayer, and informed the King.[1]

The King, overcome with joy, ordered that she should be guarded most carefully.

In the course of ten months (lunar) she brought forth a son, and on the day of his birth the whole of the country was overcast with clouds, and there was an abundant rain.

Now all the people were assembled together before the gate of the palace to express their congratulations, and the King, in his delight, cried out: "I have gotten a son; rejoice all of you," and the nobles and people, equally delighted, answered: "Mahā rājā, were we not all as tillers of the earth without seed, and were we not bowed to the ground with fear lest food should be wanting; now that we have been wetted by this auspicious shower, felt its cooling influences, and obtained a royal heir, destined to obtain great merit, who indeed will not rejoice?"

The King then sent for the Senapati (commander of the army) and said: "A son has been born unto me, and therefore, just as kings of the universe, when they obtain a very precious thing, guard it with innumerable attendants, so

[1] The "varajina" is a kind of celestial weapon that can penetrate through anything with its flash. I can find no mention of it in Childers. It is evidently a form of vajira, the thunderbolt of Indra.

my son must have a guard of companions to be brought up with him. If, after searching through all the houses of the nobility, you find any that have been born this day, let a list of them be made and set before me." So search was made, and a list of five hundred noble children was sent in. Suitable dress and ornaments were presented to each, and they were well looked after.[1]

And for the youthful Bodhisat they searched out 240 young wetnurses with good breasts of milk, pleasant and sweet; four were appointed for each hour of the sixty hours of the day and night; one to hold the baby, one to wash it, one to dress it, and the other to fondle and play with it.[2]

Now this is a list of women who are not faultless—

1. *The tall woman.* A child that is suckled by a tall woman, being at some distance from her breast when lying in her arms, lengthens its neck by stretching up.

2. *The over-short woman.* The flesh of her breast is constantly pressing on the child's face when it is sucking and its neck becomes short.

3. *The thin woman.* The flesh of the breasts being lean her bones hurt the child.

4. *The fat woman.* Her flesh is always in a state of quivering and the child's legs become weak and tremulous.

5. *The long-breasted woman.* Her breast is constantly pressing on the child's nose and it becomes flattened.

6. *The black woman.* Her milk is too cold.

7. *The white woman.* Her milk is too hot.

8. *The woman who coughs.* Her milk is acid and pungent.

9. *The woman who has a difficulty in breathing.* Her milk is bitter.

The King provided also an infinity of various articles for the child's use, and bestowed great gifts on Candā Devi.

[1] This custom is often mentioned. Was it universal in India? Can it be connected with the slaughter of the innocents?

[2] Nāri, commonly used for an hour, is really the sixtieth part of twenty-four hours, and the same as Pali nāḷi, a measure for holding water, and used in measuring time. It contains four pāda, according to the Burmese. Childers is not decided on the point. That *nāri* should become *nāḷi* is natural, as the Burmese cannot pronounce the letter r, and substitute y or l for it. It is not easy to see how *nāḷi* became *nāri*.

When the naming day arrived all the Brahmans who were skilled in omens were assembled and fed, and the King thus addressed them: "O Parohits, after examining my son's characteristic marks, tell me plainly whether he will be free from calamities; let nothing be concealed from me.'

The Brahmans, after careful examination, answered: "O Rājā, your son is undoubtedly possessed of the signs of future greatness. There is no cause of danger apparent. He ought to be a universal ruler." On hearing this the King was delighted, and, having overwhelmed them with gifts, said: "Sirs, I am about to give a name to my son; on the day of his birth there was an omen of great happiness to all creatures, for the whole country of Kāsi was overspread with clouds and a gentle rain fell upon it; from myself downwards all the nobles and people were wet by the rain; and since he was born, when the hearts of all my people were saturated with peace, he must not be called after a family name like others, let him be named Temiya (fr. *temeti* 'to moisten')."

About one month after this, the nurses, after washing and dressing the prince, carried him to the King, who took him in his arms and sat under the palace portico. Just then four thieves who had been arrested were brought before the King, and he, in order to terrify evil-doers, said: "As for you, thorns of the country, you villains, one of you shall receive a thousand stripes with rods covered with shark's teeth; one shall be sent to prison in irons; the third shall be done to death by gashing with spears; and the fourth shall be impaled."

The little prince, on hearing this order given in a terrible voice, thought thus: "This manner of deciding cases is not right. I have evidently not freed myself from the fringe of my third existence. If through enjoying my father's royal estate I again fall into Hell by doing some bad act, the burden will be too heavy for me."

On the third day after the passing of this decision Prince Temiya was put to sleep under the shade of a white

umbrella, and after a little woke up. Turning his eyes upwards he gazed at it and saw that it was a royal umbrella. Thereupon remembering that he had been obliged to undergo the pains of Hell through having been King, he was filled with dread, and, with the sound of the terrible decision still ringing in his ears, fearing that he would have to become king, he thought thus: "How is it that I have been born in the house of this cruel thief-slaughterer?" Then, by means of his accumulated knowledge of former existences, having looked back and cleared away the haze, he saw that he had come from Tāvatiṃsā, and again, considering as to what existences he had passed through, he saw that he had been boiled in Hell, and remembered that it was for bad actions done when he was once King of Bārāṇasi; fearing that he should constantly be born again amongst men, on account of those deeds which he would be obliged to perform when king, he thought, "I see that I am not free from the five dangers. On account of having enjoyed the pleasures of royalty for twenty years, I had to undergo that number multiplied by 4000, even 80,000 years in misery, and since in the unpeaceful state of kingship one has to put down robbers with a harsh and cruel hand, how can one be pure? How can one cleanse one's self from impurity? Born in this powerful thief-killer's house, which I have lighted upon, even I, at the tender age of hardly thirty days, have seen enough to crush my very heart's flesh, and have heard my father utter words not fit to be heard. If through a desire to inherit my father's estate I again become king, I shall a second time fall into the whirlpool and revolve like a stick of firewood."

Prince Temiya being thus troubled by his meditations whilst lying half comatose under the umbrella, the fairy who guarded it, with the affection of one who had been a mother in long past ages, seeing the Bodhisat in this pitiable condition took the form of his mother and said: "My little darling, by what thoughts are you disturbed? Do not be troubled by thinking about dreadful things; your mother is watching, and will not every wish be fulfilled? Darling, if you

really desire to escape from this pomp and vanity do not disclose your abilities, but simulate feebleness. Though you are not weak, appear to be so; though not deaf, feign deafness; and though your mouth is perfect, pretend to be dumb. Keep up these appearances with determination."

On hearing the fairy's words Prince Temiya took courage and answered, "O Fairy, I will indeed follow your advice. In their wish to see me bloom into regal magnificence, my father and mother desire only their own welfare and follow not my desires; since they do not plant for their own advantage and pleasure, and do not clear away the obstacles which hinder my desires, and since you point out to me the path which leads to great and undiminished benefits to be sought for in countless existences, I see the way clear before me, a path, too, which is in accordance with my own wishes."

Having thus determined, he refused to take suck, and endured the pangs of hunger without wailing.

The nurses not being able to understand his extraordinary condition informed his mother, and when she saw the little prince not thirsting for milk, motionless, and with wide staring eyes, endeavoured to amuse him; but he remained fixed and immovable, and she could not form any conjecture as to what was the matter with him, and caused the Brahmans to examine him.

Though the Parohits hunted through all their books they could see no reasons for his state, and informed the King that they thought he had fixed his mind on some particular object, which would pass off in time. The child, however, remained in the same condition, and his mother in great grief cried out: "My darling wants his milk. I will myself suckle him." However, only when milk was forced down his throat would he take it. He cried not out as other children, but lay motionless with unclosed eyes, noticing nothing, and steadily persevering in his determination.

The nurses consulted together and said: "Our prince remains immovable, like one who is impotent, dumb, and

deaf; but his feet and hands are not those of an impotent child, nor is his lower jaw like that of one who is born dumb; neither are the protuberances behind and in front of his ears like those of one who is deaf; some wise man ought to be able to discover what is the matter with him." They therefore addressed the King thus: "Your royal son is more than a month old, and it is not right that other means should be tried; let us try him with milk for a year, and if there be no difference we will use other tests." So they kept him for some days without milk, but the Bodhisat, though enduring terrible thirst, through fear of Hell, cried not for milk, but bore it patiently.

Then the Queen, in her agony, caused him to be fed with milk. Thus they again and again tested him for a whole year.

At the end of that time the nobles made report to the King, and he directed that other means should be resorted to.

2nd Test. Now it is the nature of children who are just one year old to bite everything that comes in their way, whether it be good or bad: so the prince was laid in the courtyard of the palace surrounded by his 500 foster-brothers, and all sorts of eatables were spread round them, so that each might take what he pleased; people were hidden round about to observe them. The 500 companions, as soon as they saw the sweetmeats, laid hands on them, and stuffed them into their mouths, but the Bodhisat thus chastened himself saying: "Child Temiya, from earliest existences, of which the beginning is not apparent, thou hast eaten times and again things both pleasant and sweet; in future existences also thou shalt doubtless rejoice, but if in the period before thou art released from the whirlpool of ages thou desirest wealth and hell-fire, these enjoyments are the entrance to that path; if, however, thou desirest to escape Hell take not these cakes."

So he remained motionless and took them not, nor did he even turn his eyes towards them.

His mother and the nurses did all they could to coax him to take them, but he remained as one who is impotent, deaf,

and dumb. Only when they chewed them and thrust them into his mouth did he swallow them. Thus they tempted him again and again for a whole year.

3rd Test. When he was over two years old the nobles again consulted and said: "When children are two years old, and their teeth are hard, they try to get all kinds of fruits, sweet or sour." So they tried him and the other children as before with fruit. But though the other children eat them and fought for them, the Bodhisat remained in the same condition without wavering.

4th Test. Now when children have passed their third year they are accustomed, after their sex and station, to play with various toys, so, in accordance with his station, they placed a number of images of elephants, horses, bulls, goats, birds, etc., made of gold and silver, in the courtyard; but though the other children readily played with them and fought for them, the Bodhisat kept himself in subjection and took no notice.

5th Test. When children have turned four they begin to take pleasure in various dishes of food, so all kinds of dishes were set before the children.

The Bodhisat, however, chastened his body, saying: "Temiya, in the past ages thou hast gone through, thou hast enjoyed foods like these without stint; in some existences they could not be obtained by reason of famine and poverty, and in some existences thou hast avoided them, and though it would be impossible to reckon the times thou hast enjoyed them or not enjoyed them, yet this once also remain firm to thy purpose, and, by avoiding these good things which are set before thee, attain the object of thy desire."

6th Test. A large shed was constructed, and the Bodhisat with his companions placed therein to play; all of a sudden, when they were not aware, fire was applied to the roof, and it blazed up. All the other children fled in terror, but the Bodhisat remained immovable, reflecting that it would be better to scorch in the present than to suffer the fire of Avici. At the last moment the nurses and attendants

rushed in and dragged him out. This was done again and again during that year.

7th Test. In the seventh year they determined to try and terrify him with elephants, trained for the purpose. The other children, seeing the elephants coming, fled away, screaming, but Prince Temiya remained undisturbed, thinking it better to die by the violence of the elephant, rather than undergo the punishment of Hell.

8th Test. The Bodhisat and children were placed in a shed, and all kinds of poisonous snakes let loose upon them, but still he remained unmoved.

9th Test. Having failed to terrify him, it was determined to have a grand performance of dancers, jugglers, wrestlers, etc., with all sorts of musical instruments, but Temiya took no apparent notice of it, saying to himself, "Temiya, when thou wast suffering in Hell did'st thou for one instant enjoy happiness? If thou dost not look at this entertainment thou wilt not be more miserable than when in Hell, why then be shaken in thy purpose?"

10th Test. At the end of the ninth year they tried to frighten him by a display of weapons. So a man was sent into his chamber with his loins girt and a drawn sword, which he brandished, saying: "No person who is unfit to be associated with can be allowed to remain in the palace of the King of Kāsi. They say there is such an one here amongst you. Where is he that I may at once cut off his head?" All the other children fled in terror, but the Bodhisat remained without flinching, even when the man aimed at him with his sword.

11th Test. This test was made by beating enormous drums, to see whether he was deaf.

12th Test. Persons were sent into his room at night with covered lanterns, which were suddenly uncovered.

13th Test. The Bodhisat was smeared from hand to foot with molasses, and exposed so that mosquitos and flies could settle all over him, and sting him with their proboscces; but he strengthened himself, saying, "When I was in the Ussada Hell the keepers pierced me with their spears,

the hell-dogs and birds pecked at me and bit me, but this torture from the flies and mosquitos is far better; I will bear it bravely."

14th Test. After he was fourteen years old no one was allowed to bathe or cleanse him, but he was allowed to lie in his own ordure. However, he bore up against it patiently. The attendants urged him to get up and attend to himself, but he continued to endure it, saying, "Temiya, this stench is easy to bear, but the stench of Hell extends for a hundred yujanas."

After he had been left in this state for a long time the attendants again washed him.

15th Test. A fire was made under his couch, but, though his body was covered with blisters, he bore it bravely, saying, "This fire is easier to bear than that of Avici."

When his father and mother saw him in this terrible state they were exercised in their minds, and ordered the fire to be removed, and his mother, sitting near, said: "Dear son Temiya, I know well that thou art neither deaf nor dumb; thy ears and limbs are not like those of an impotent person, nor art thou a son born in the ordinary manner, but conceived after much fasting and prayer: great signs and prodigies were manifested at thy birth, and the Parohits declared that thou hadst all the characteristic marks of a universal monarch; if thou still continuest to pretend to be deaf and dumb we shall be put to great shame amongst the monarchs of Jambudipa; only give permission and we shall escape from their revilings; do not break our hearts, but whilst we three are alone together tell us in secret what it is that thou desirest." But though his father and mother besought him again and again with tears and caresses he remained unmoved.

16th Test. Now certain of the Parohits consulted together and said: "When the deaf and dumb get to this age and come in contact with an object of desire, they do not fail to long for it, and when they see that which is beautiful there are none who will not gaze on it. At the proper time flowers must open, and when youths arrive at maturity they are given

to pleasure, and though by reason of wisdom they may restrain their desires, yet, when excited by maturity, they give way; it is probable that he will not be able to pass over that time, when the heart is with difficulty restrained; we will therefore tempt him with lovely women."

The King therefore gave orders that all the most lovely and enticing dancing girls should be sent for, and informed them that the one who could seduce him should be made chief queen. They then decorated the Prince's chamber with all kinds of voluptuous objects and scents, and having roused him and placed him on a couch, directed that all who were not required should withdraw. Though the girls danced gracefully and sang sweet songs provocative of love, the Bodhisat was not moved, but reflected: "From the day of my birth, for these sixteen years, I have seen the danger of Hell and desired not the royal estate, now that I am arriving at the desired haven, were I to unite myself to one of these lustful devils, it would be to my everlasting shame. All the miseries which I have endured to obtain advancement will be of no avail if I cannot overcome this lust which has come to interfere with my purpose; no one hereafter will be able to escape the law of transmigration (vaṭṭam); but if I first overcome this devil-called lust all those who come after me will easily be able to follow in the path laid down for them." So, holding in his breath, he remained motionless as one dead. On seeing this the girls lost all their joyous demeanour and, without looking back, fled away.

Thus, from the time of his birth until he was seventeen years old, was he tested in various ways.

Chapter II.

After this the King sent for the Parohits and said: "O teachers, when I sent for you at the birth of the Prince, to find out his character by the various signs, did not you tell me that there was no adverse circumstance to be guarded

against? But this thing, which you said was perfect, answers not when it is questioned, nor moves a limb; it is like one who is utterly impotent and not what you foretold."

The Brahmans answered: "Most excellent King, those teachers who are skilled in the books of omens are able to read all signs at a person's birth, but this son of yours was not obtained in the ordinary way, but after much supplication; if we had foretold that which was bad, all the royal ladies would have been made miserable, and for this reason we prophesied good."

Then said the King, "What will it be best to do?" The Brahmans answered: "O King, if this unfortunate one be allowed to remain in the palace some terrible sickness or calamity will come upon yourself and the queen, or, may be, to the whole country, let him therefore no longer remain in the palace, but let him be put into an imperfect horse chariot and taken out by the western gate, which is that of misfortune, and let him be buried secretly in the grave yard."

The King, on hearing this, allowed his fear to get the better of his love, and kept not his heart steadfast, acting erroneously, so he said: "O Brahmans, if it be true that there is fear of calamity and misery to the country and royal household, let it be as you have advised."

As soon as this was reported to Candā Devi, she at once, without her attendants, went straight from the southern palace to the presence of the King, and prostrating herself before him, thus addressed him: "O King of righteousness, of the many presents which you gave me I took only such things as were suitable and returned the rest, now, therefore, grant me a boon in return. Your son is now of age, grant him the dignity of Yuvarājā, let us behold his glory whilst we two are yet alive." The King answered: "My Queen, in what way is your son fitted for this dignity? Do not thus address me when my heart is heavy." The Queen continued: "O my Lord, why are you so angry with me, and why does your wrath go out against your very heart's blood?" The King answered: "Lady, are

you still ignorant that your son is not worthy; that he is base, and imperfect in his members?" "My Lord, if that were so, I would not dare to supplicate you for his life, if it be only for seven years; let him not be accounted worthless, for he is my son." But the King through his fear refused.[1]

(The Queen continues to supplicate, till at last she got the King to allow him to be anointed Yuvarājā for seven days.)

Having thus obtained her purpose, Candā Devi ordered the Prince to be dressed in the royal robes and invested with all the insignia of royalty, and having placed him on the throne under the royal umbrella, the King and Queen, surrounded by all the nobles, thus addressed him: "Dear son, Prince Temiya, we have now handed over to you the sovereignty of these realms of Kāsi, and since you are now in full possession of the royal estate, and able to protect your country and people, may you enjoy your power in happiness unto your life's end."

Then the Brahmans poured out the water of consecration and uttered blessings. A proclamation was also issued throughout the city that the King had made over the sovereignty to the Prince.

When the city had been cleansed and decorated, the Prince was placed upon a splendidly caparisoned elephant and with a great company passed in procession through it. When they returned to the palace he was placed on a couch, and for the space of six sleepless nights they supplicated him, saying, "Dear son Temiya, canst thou not assuage our bitter grief? Ever since thou wast born, for sixteen long years, even until now thy mother knows not the day that she has ceased to weep: she is wearied and broken down, and at the point of death, and thou knowest that she is utterly heart-broken. Thy mother knows that thou art perfect

[1] No stanzas are given here, but the Burmese translator remarks: "This is an amplification of the Queen's "Tena hi Deva detha" and the Rājā's "Na sakkā Devi." The whole passage reads very like Abraham's intercession for the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

in all thy limbs, beautiful to behold, and in no way defective. Out of pity tell thy mother thy wishes, for if she know them not how can she fulfil them? If thou hast any pity for her be her protector, for if such a noble son, as thou art, has no pity for his mother, how shall less noble sons know how to do that which is right to their parents? Those who strive for their lives when shipwrecked in the ocean, being unable to behold their mothers in danger, will swim with them on their backs, how then, my son, canst thou behold unmoved the misery of thy mother.

The little unfledged vultures in their nest, when oppressed by hunger, live in the expectation that their mother will bring them their food, and in the same manner thy mother longingly waits in hope that thou wilt speak to her. How long thinkest thou that thy mother can endure? Now that thou hast arrived at a proper age, and hast the ability, tell her thy purpose and remove her despair."

Thus for five nights and six days she remained weeping and supplicating him, but though he was filled with compassion for her, yet in his desire to obtain perfect wisdom, and through fear of constant transmigrations, from which he desired to release himself and all other beings, he pretended to have no compassion for his mother, who was only one individual, and remained immovable and firm in his purpose.

On the sixth day, his father hearing that there was no change in his condition, sent for a noble named Sunandā, who was superintendent of the chariots, and said: "I am well aware of the defective state of Prince Temiya, but, through the entreaties of his mother, have endowed him with the dignity of royalty; and now six days have passed, and it is no longer right that I should suffer him to remain; as soon as the morrow dawns place him in a defective chariot drawn by ill-omened horses, and taking him out by the west gate to the burial ground, dig there a pit, and having thrown him therein, split his skull with a mattock, and shovel in the earth. When he has thus become of some benefit to the earth, go down to the river bank, and, having bathed yourself, return to the city."

On the same evening Queen Candā was utterly heartbroken at the news and said to her son, "Dearest Temiya, all thy mother's love is now in vain. Thy father has sent for his trusted servant Sunandā, and, in his wrath, given orders that at dawn thou shalt be taken out by the west gate, slain, and buried. This is the last night in which thy mother shall behold her darling; if thou wilt but take pity on her say but one word, and my darling shall live and his mother be happy." But though the Bodhisat saw the terrible grief of his mother, and had great pity for her, he remained unmoved, thinking that as soon as he had been removed from the city he would become a good man, and then be able to show to his parents and family that he could be grateful to them.

So the morning dawned that was to bring great misery to the Queen but joy to the Bodhisat.

But Sunandā, by the intervention of the Devas, took four auspicious horses, thinking that they were unlucky ones, and instead of an old broken chariot took that of the King, and having harnessed them, about four in the morning, drove in by the eastern gate to the door of the palace. He then went into the Prince's chamber, and, having taken up the Prince, made obeisance to the Queen, and said: "Your Majesty, be not angry, it is by order of the King." Then gently removing the Queen's hands, with which she still lovingly clasped him, he bore the Prince away like a bouquet of lotus flowers, and went out to the chariot. The Queen followed, sobbing and wailing to the palace door, where she fell down in a swoon.

At this the Bodhisat, no longer able to endure his grief, turned his eyes towards his mother, and said to himself, "Alas, I know not whether my mother will die of grief or not, but if so my heart will be heavy for the rest of my life." But just as he was on the point of speaking to her he remembered that if he did so the whole of his diligent perseverance which he had pursued would become of no avail, so he determined to endure his grief, comforting himself with the thought that by preserving silence he

would far greatly increase the benefit of both his paren-- and himself.

Sunandā, having placed the Prince in the chariot, directed its course to the western gate, but, through the merit of the Bodhisat and the power of the Devas, the pole of the chariot was, without his knowing it, directed to the eastern gate, and the Bodhisat passed out by that which was auspicious. As the chariot passed through it the wheel struck against the side and gave forth a sound, on hearing which the Bodhisat rejoiced, saying, "My great purpose is accomplished."

Sunandā drove out by the east gate, as he thought, to the burial ground, and, by the power of the Devas, came to a forest three yujanas to the east of Bārāṇasi. Having chosen a suitable spot he drew up the chariot, and, having taken out the horses, let them graze. He then took off all the royal jewels and clothes which had been put upon the Bodhisat during the six days that he had been Yuvarājā, and, wrapping a small cloth round his (the Prince's) loins, commenced to dig the pit.

Whilst Sunandā was thus engaged the Bodhisat reflected, "For sixteen years I have neglected to use my limbs, and know not whether I have any strength." Then raising himself upon his couch with one hand he stroked the other, and having tried his arms felt his thighs, etc.; finding them in proper condition he got out of the chariot, and, as he was doing so, the Devas caused the earth to swell up so as to reach the floor of the chariot. Having walked round it two or three times he thought, "I had no idea I had so much strength, I could go a hundred yujanas (1300 miles) in a day; verily, if Sunandā tried to stop me, I wonder whether I should have strength to overcome him." So taking hold of the chariot by the hinder part, he lifted it up like a toy, and whirling it round and throwing it from him, said, "Let as many charioteers as like come on."

Then, seeing he had no clothes, he thought, "The charioteer has taken all my clothes, and I appear to be

merely an ordinary man, but as ornaments give character and distinction I ought to have some to put on."

The desire of the Bodhisat aroused Sakka, and he, seeing that Prince Temiya required clothes and ornaments wherewith to cause an impression on Sunandā, ordered Visakrom to go and clothe the Prince with the raiment and ornaments of a Deva. Visakrom [1] immediately went as directed. When Prince Temiya saw that he was clothed like Sakka himself, he knew that Sakka had done it.

He then proceeded to the spot where Sunandā was digging, and, standing on the side of the pit, thus addressed him:

"Why thus hastily thou diggest,
Charioteer, I would be told;
Fearing lest another take it,
Hidest thou thy store of gold?"

Sunandā being in a hurry to get the business over replied, without looking up, in the verses beginning: "Rañño mugo ca pakkhoca putta jāto acetaso" "A son has been born to our Rājā who is deaf, dumb, and impotent, and lest on that account some terrible calamity may befall the country he has at length, after sixteen years trial, ordered me to put him out of the way as quickly as possible." On hearing that the Prince thought, "This charioteer is intent on digging the pit, and will not look up to see how glorious I am, I must say something to make him look up"; so he replied, "O charioteer, what is this that thou sayest? I, the son of Kāsi's Rājā, am not like other deaf and dumb folk. Why do your wise ones say that I am? My ears are not deaf nor my mouth dumb; neither am I impotent in my limbs. Thou hast confessed that the Rājā has employed thee. I am not as the Rājā said, how then canst thou act in accordance with his orders? If thou actest without proper enquiry thou

[1] Visakrom is the Burmese form of Vissakammo, the heavenly architect. The r in the word shows that the word came to the Burmese from the Sanscrit before they had Pāli.

wilt be a law-breaker. My father chose thee thinking that thou wast wise, look at my person and consider; it may fare badly with thee if thou heedest not. From my feet to my forehead, look and see that in form I am perfect, like the stem of a golden banana. Behold my stalwart arms. Hast thou not heard my soft clear-sounding voice that is like oil falling on cotton wool?"

When the charioteer heard the Bodhisat thus praising himself, he thought, "Who on earth can this be, who is boasting so of his good qualities?" So, looking up, he saw the Bodhisat with all the glory of Sakka, and, not knowing whether it was a man or Deva, said: "Comely youth, from the moment of your arrival you have done nothing but praise yourself, and you have good reason to do so, for never before have I seen anyone so splendid. Who are you? Are you the Deva of this place? Or are you a Gandhappa from Himavanta? If not, perhaps you are Sakka himself, but I should be glad to know who you really are."

On hearing this the Bodhisat answered:

"Why, Sunandā, dost thou ask me,
Have I not already told thee?
Neither Deva nor Gandhappa
Am I, but the Prince of Kāsi,
Well thou knowest though thou askest.
Yea, it is thy plain intention
In this pit to kill and hide me,
Me, the son of Kāsi's Rājā:
Faithless to thy benefactor
Wilt thou slay me, O Sunandā?"

As Sunandā, however, gave no answer, not believing that it really was Prince Temiya, the Bodhisat said:

"Should any one beneath a tree
Take shelter from the sun or rain,
Then break its boughs or pluck its leaves
That man is base, his friendship vain.

The Rājā is a mighty tree,
  And I, his son, a branchlet fair,
The man who harbours 'neath our shade
  Is even thou, O charioteer.
Foulsome the deed didst thou betray me,
And in this lonely forest slay me."

Seeing that Sunandā was not convinced that he was the Prince, and that he was acting wrongly, the Bodhisat continued in the following stanzas:—

1.

That man hath all at his command,
  Both food and drink and raiment too,
E'en though he journey far from home,
  Who ever to his friend is true.

2.

In town or hamlet should he roam,
  Although his worldly goods be few,
High is he held in men's esteem
  If ever to his friend he's true.

3.

Nor thieves nor princes take his store,
  Nor robbers beat him black and blue,
He walks unharmed amongst them all,
  If ever to his friend he's true.

4.

Peaceful he rests within his walls,
  Honoured by all in council too,
Chief of his clan, I ween, is he
  Who ever to his friend is true.

5.

He is respected who respects,
  To him who honours honour's due,
Famed and renowned in every land
  Is he who to his friend is true.

6.

He shines as bright as burning fire,
Or like the Devs of brilliant hue,
Not wanting in magnificence
Is he who to his friend is true.

In all his fields his seeds grow well,
His flocks and cattle are not few,
Of that he sows he reaps the fruit,
If only to his friend he's true.

By fall from lofty rock or tree
Should he meet death, he reaps his due,
He finds a sure abiding place
Who ever to his friend is true.[1]

9.

As by its roots so firmly held
No storm the Peepul[2] may subdue,
So by his foes unhurt stands firm
The man who to his friend is true.

The Bodhisat having recited the above stanzas in a clear sweet voice that made the echoes of the forest resound, did not altogether convince Sunandā, who came out of the pit and went to look in the chariot. Seeing neither the Prince nor bundle of clothes in it he became convinced, and throwing himself at the Bodhisat's feet, besought him to return to the city, saying, "O Lord, I have greatly erred against thee, pray return. What advantage can there be in this forest? Return to the city, and be an ornament to the council chamber."

[1] Verses 7 and 8 are to be taken in a double sense, that is to say, "vattam" means both *seed* and *actions*. Patiṭṭham means a sure foothold in this world or hereafter. There are really 10 couplets, but 5 and 6 are almost the same.

[2] The *Peepul* is the Nigrodha or Banyan tree.

But the Bodhisat replied: "Sunandā, in this forest I am free. I fear that if I were king I might fall into hell. I have not been driven out, but have come of my own free will."

Sunandā thereupon said: "O master, since thou hast a heart full of pity for the poor, if thou desirest not to enjoy the royal estate and wilt not return to the city, and I go alone, I shall receive condemnation when I inform thy royal parents of all that has occurred. The nobles, soldiers, and people, from the highest to the lowest, will on the other hand, shower blessings on my head if thou wilt return with me. I pray thee, therefore, to return with me to the city."

The Bodhisat replied: "Sunandā, thou thinkest of thyself only, and hast no regard for me.

My father and mother, not knowing my purpose, have made me an outcast, thinking me unworthy of the royal estate, and through your assistance I have come into this forest where I feel the delight of the Moon when it has escaped from the jaws of Rahu. Why should I return? I will remain here as a recluse, where all my desires shall be fulfilled. Sunandā, if those who desire a benefit work diligently their purpose will be accomplished sooner or later. For the last sixteen years I have done this, and now, Sunandā, with your help, I have obtained my desire."

Sunandā replied: "Lord, your words are so pleasing to my ears that they cannot be satisfied, how is it that you could remain silent for sixteen years, when your father and mother, night and day, besought you to utter but one word. Was it right not to have compassion for their misery?"

Prince Temiya replied: "Sunandā, my reasons for feigning dumbness, deafness, and impotence were these. About a month after my birth, when reclining," etc., etc.

I therefore preserved silence and endured all those miseries, knowing that I should receive the reward of Nirvāṇa.

Death and old age e'er surround us,
  Everywhere decay is rife;
Why should man when born in this world
  Be the slave of lust and strife?

On hearing these words Sunandā thought, "The Prince by birth is of the highest of the three castes; in the matter of wealth he is lord of all, and in person as glorious as the rising sun; there is no Deva or man who can compare with him, and yet he casts aside all the magnificence of his father's kingdom and goes into the forest to become a recluse; of what advantage will it be to me to return to my former service; I had better remain with him and become a hermit."

So he said: "Lord and master, if you will but give permission, I, too, will become a hermit in this forest and not return to the city."

The Prince, however, thinking that his father and mother would suffer further trouble if Sunandā were not to return, said: "Sunandā, though, for your future welfare, I wish to grant your request, it is not right that you should become an ascetic just yet. You are not your own master, but have been sent on duty; if you were to become a recluse now this chariot and these ornaments would be a debt recoverable from you, and no debtor can become an ascetic."

Sunandā answered: "Lord and master, I will return to the city, but here, I pray thee, stay, lest, knowing not thy dwelling, when I return, I may not find thee."

The Prince answered: "I will do as thou sayest, for I, too, am desirous of seeing my father and mother; go without fear and inform them that I am well, and that I wish to ask their pardon. I will remain here with longing eyes, bending towards them like the stem of a banana, and await their coming with my feet in contact, my knees close together, and with my clasped hands enclosing a lotus bud raised respectfully to my forehead."[1]

So Sunandā made ready the chariot and returned to Bārāṇasi.

[1] The correct way of making supplication.

Now the Queen Candā Devi, ever since her son had been taken away, had been unable to rest on account of her grief, and remained at the window watching for the return of the chariot. As soon as she saw Sunandā approaching and driving up to the gate alone, she, wailing and beating her breasts, addressed him as follows: "O Sunandā, was my son verily deaf and dumb when you slew him, did he not utter one word. Tell me truly, O charioteer; when you cast him into the pit, did he move neither hand nor foot?"

Sunandā, leaving the chariot, came up into the palace, and, prostrating himself before the Queen, said: "Have pity, O Queen, I will tell thee all."

On the Queen replying "The King gave the order, thou hast nothing to fear," Sunandā related to her all that had happened, and when he had made an end of his story the Queen, like one who has been saved from the water by a Garuḷa, being full of great joy, was unable to realize the good news.

Sunandā also informed the King of the Prince's desire that they should all go out to see him in the forest.

Now as soon as Sunandā had gone, Prince Temiya determined that it would be better for them to find him in the garb of a recluse, and by the power of his merit Sakka gave orders to Vissakammo to go and build him a monastery, and provide all that was requisite. So Vissakammo did as he was ordered, and built a large monastery complete in every particular, with groves and water-tanks full of lotus plants. He also provided all that was necessary for the use of the monks.

When the Bodhisat saw this he said: "Wonderful is the power of merit." Then going into the monastery and reading the inscription, he knew that it had been built by Sakka's order. Having put on the monastic dress and taken his staff, he went out into the groves, where, walking up and down, he said: "Ah! pleasant! Ah! pleasant!"[1] He then

[1] Ahosukham.

returned into the monastery and spent the whole of the day in meditating on the "Brahma Vihāra Kammaṭṭhānam."[1] In the cool of the evening he went out into the grove, and, plucking leaves from the trees, regaled himself on them.

His royal parents at Bārāṇasi were so overcome with joy that the King said: "I will myself go forth and bring him back." So he sent for the Senapati, and ordered all the chariots, elephants, and men at arms to be prepared, with all kinds of music. He also directed that the 500 foster-brothers, and as many as liked besides, should go with him, even to the number of an "akkhobhaṇi."[2]

Sunandā, having made ready the king's chariot, and harnessed thereto four horses of the breed of Sindo, went in and informed the King that all was ready, and he, being in haste to get to his son, said: "O Sunandā, are the horses fit for the journey? Those that are too fat, though they be strong, are slow in their paces; those that are too thin, though swift, may not hold out."

Sunandā replied: "O King, fear not that your journey shall be hindered, I have picked out those that can go."

Then the King of Kāsi said: "In that case inform the Queen, and let her women make ready, for I am going forth into the forest to relinquish my sovereignty to my son. Let the insignia of royalty, viz. the jewelled yak's tail fans, the armour, the sword, the shoes, and the white umbrella be

[1] The B. V. Kammaṭṭhānam contains meditations on friendship, pity, joy in the prosperity of others, and resignation. The full text is translated by Prof. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Sutras," pp. 272, 273.

[2] Certain Pāli stanzas are here given to explain the meaning of the number "akkhobhaṇi."

In sixty bundles of bamboo,
To each let sixty be,
Reduced to dust they make a force
That's called "akkhobhaṇi."

Another runs thus:

Take of elephants nine thousand,
To each add a hundred horses,
To each horse a hundred chariots,
In each one a hundred virgins,
To each girl a hundred women,
That "akkhobhaṇi" is called.

Childers gives "akkhohiṇi" 10,000,000, but this makes thirty-six hundred thousand millions.

placed in the chariot." When this had been done he mounted the chariot, and set forth with a mighty host, and going out by the east gate arrived quickly at the place where the Prince was.

The Queen followed in another chariot, accompanied by her 16,000 ladies, and when they got near the monastery they encamped and erected a temporary palace.

Prince Temiya having heard that his father was coming prepared a seat for him.

The King on leaving the camp got out of his chariot, and surrounded by his nobles, went on foot to the monastery, and when they entered the precincts they raised their hands in adoration, and went up into the monastery and bowed themselves before the Prince.

The Prince enquired after his father's health, and that of his mother, and all the household; on which the King replied: "O, my son, we are all well and in good health."

The Bodhisat then, having heard that his worldly affairs were well, desired to ask after his religious state, and said: "My father, how is it? Daily dost thou drink that non-intoxicant drink called 'Vigilance?' Dost thou eschew that drunkenness called 'Sensuality,' which causes forgetfulness of the law? Treading not the thorny path of wrath, dost thou travel on the good road of love, patience, and pity? Dost thou also delight in charity and open-handedness?" To which the Rājā replied: "Dear son, I drink nought but the wine 'Vigilance,' and I cause others also to drink thereof. I eat not that which is false, but that which is true. I pursue not the path of bad actions, but travel on the road that is good. I delight also in alms-giving."

The Bodhisat then asked after the welfare of everyone and the state of the country, etc., in three stanzas, and then said: "My father, I trust that your coming to this monastery may not be without profit; in order that it may not be so I have prepared this seat, pray be seated." The King, however, refused to sit on it, whereupon the Bodhisat suggested that the nobles should prepare him a

seat of grass like that on which he was seated. Then, going into the monastery, he brought out his bowl full of leaves mixed with water and set it before his father, saying: "This is my food, and it is the excellent food of those who dwell in the forest. Even salt should not be put to it. For those who desire to be free from the lusts of the flesh it is most suitable. Eat of it, my father, as much as thou desirest, for I can obtain it in plenty." The Rājā answered: "Dear son, I am not accustomed to a diet of leaves, but eat only of the best rice.[1] Do you really eat this my son?" The Bodhisat replied: "Father, I eat these leaves every day, and it is the food most proper for ascetics."

When his mother arrived at the monastery, surrounded by all her ladies, and beheld her son, her heart was filled with delight and she swooned, but having recovered her senses she embraced his feet, and having wept, returned to her seat. The Rājā then showed her the bowl of leaves, saying: "Lady, see what your son eats."

The King then said: "Dear son, I am filled with wonder that you should dwell in this forest alone, and eat of these leaves without even salt to flavour them, and yet have so handsome an appearance, even more beautiful than you were before."

To this the Bodhisat answered: "Father, that which is called beauty belongs to those who have peace of mind, the beauty of those who are discontented is destroyed; those who have cares for what has passed or is about to be, are like those who throw straws into the air. I, who sleep on this rough bed of grass, find it softer than a couch. I have no care or fear for those simple articles. I need no guards with swords and spears. Though I have lived as an ascetic for sixteen years, I am good-looking, and I have no dread on account of what I may have done. This day I have eaten, and have no thought for the morrow as to

[1] When it is said in Daniel that Nebuchadnezzar did eat grass like an ox, may it not simply mean that he subsisted on herbs and leaves as the hermits and jogis?

what I shall eat or what I shall put on; I am content with what I have to-day and with what I may obtain hereafter."

The King, still hearing himself addressed as *father*, thought, "My son has not relinquished his love for his parents, I may still be able to get him to come back to the city," so he said: "Dear son, with a great company of elephants and chariots have I come to take you back to the inheritance of your ancestors, and now hand them over to you with 16,000 lovely virgins as your handmaids; suffer the ceremony of consecration to take place and return to the city as its ruler. Now that you are of age to enjoy life, do so, and when you are older become a hermit."

The Bodhisat answered: "Father, ascetics are to be praised a thousand times more than those who have done good deeds from their earliest youth. To avoid wealth that is offered is most excellent, I therefore reject all this wealth and will do that which is right. I desire not the royal estate. Young men and maidens before they are married and have children think that they will neither grow old nor die, and, therefore, embrace not the life of an ascetic, but it should not be so; all beings are born to perish, and in youth there is no room for delay, for since sickness, old age, and death, are ever oppressing us, how can one say that one's own body belongs to one's-self or even to one's father or mother? It is the nature of life to ebb slowly away, and one is like the fish in the pool whose water dries up from day to day. Where, then, is the advantage of youth, which is but for a moment? O, my parents, the world is for ever oppressed; it is ever surrounded."

His parents, wishing to know more, said: "What is this enemy that is always oppressing the world? What is it that ever surrounds it? How may we act so as not to act in vain?

To this the Bodhisat replied:

"This world is by death afflicted,
All are subject to decay;
Know, O Khattiya,[1] each night too,
Ne'er in vain may pass away."

[1] The Khattiya is the warrior caste.

This verse he explained more fully as follows: "Father, that which ever oppresses the world is death, and that which surrounds (accompanies) it is old age; that which passes not in vain is night. The explanation is this: The life of a being is like the thread in a loom, and the night is as the weaver that toils unceasingly. By constant weaving is the thread consumed, and the end of life is like the end of the night."

"Again, a being is like a tree on the bank of a river, death and old age are like the rushing water that wears away the bank, and the water in its course goes not by in vain. It is like the night that brings old age, diminishes the strength, and deforms men's beauty."

On hearing this his father said: "Dear son, since by your preaching I have obtained a right frame of mind, and have arrived at the time of life when one is discontented with the world, I will become a hermit; but you, who still are in the prime of life and able to enjoy it, and see the right path which enables one to escape from evil, may be able to reign in accordance with the ten laws, and, in your old age, may become an ascetic; suffer now your father to remain in the forest, whilst you return to the city and carry on the dynasty."

But the Bodhisat replied: "Since riches are destroyed by the five enemies,[1] one ought not to be their owner, and, though they may increase, since the owner must die he must forsake them. If loss must be the end, why take up the royal estate? If women, too, like wealth, also come to an end, why does my father offer them to me? Since the beauty, which is to-day, cannot be relied upon, but is destroyed by old age, why does he praise the excellence of beauty? If I have escaped from the flood of lust, and stand on the firm bank, of what use to me are wealth, children, and beauty? I am ever reflecting on, and never can forget the fact, that destruction is the end. To me, who am ever meditating on death, what would be the

[1] The five enemies are Rulers, Thieves, Water, Fire, Foes.

possession of wealth or the delight of love? As the fruit that is ripe falls to the earth from its stalk, so all beings that are subject to rebirth are subject to decay of vital force. Every moment beings that we have seen in the morning we behold not in the evening, and those that we behold at eve have disappeared in the morning. We ought, therefore, to seek with all diligence for release from hell, the five enemies, decay and death, and strive to be full of that merit which is the result of charity properly directed. We ought not to procrastinate, saying, 'To-day it is well, and to-morrow it will be well also.' And why? Has anyone ever made friends with death, so that he may know the day and the hour of his dissolution? Even now or to-morrow death may lay his hand on us. We are ever surrounded by the great thief, and his ever-watchful host is ready to seize their opportunity. O my royal father, how canst thou say to me, 'Now is the time for enjoyment, now is the time to be an ascetic?' I, who have avoided these dangers, and separated myself from them like the fruit that is loosed from its stalk, am not of myself able to rejoin the world. Do not ask it of me, but do thou, like me, if thou hast any regard for the law, without further delay, become an ascetic, and pass thy time in meditation."

On hearing this the King became urgently desirous of entering on the life of an ascetic, and said: "Dear son, I beg pardon, I no longer desire wealth as of greater value than grass or leaves. I put my trust only in thee; suffer me to become a Rahan."

Queen Candā also said: "Dear son, make thy mother a Rahan; I desire not to return to the city." The whole of those who came with them also determined to embrace the ascetic life. The King, therefore, sent for the city magistrates and said: "Return to the city of Bārāṇasi, and let it be proclaimed that the King of Kāsi, who has overcome all his enemies, makes known to all his subjects, within and without, that he, having overcome all his spiritual enemies at the feet of his son, Prince Temiya, counts all his wealth as but a bitter taste that he has spat from his mouth,

and that he now desires that all who wish to partake of that ambrosia, called the "life of a rahan," should renounce all their worldly goods and come out and do so."

So the magistrates did as they were ordered, and the people, with one accord, throwing open all their treasure houses and concealed treasures, left them, and came out into the forest. A few drunkards, however, remained behind. So the city was deserted, and when all the people came to the forest they became Rahans.

The Bodhisat caused all who were strong to remain outside, and the old and infirm were admitted to the monastery.

The women with children at breast, and the young women, were told off to separate places, and other monasteries built after the pattern of that built by Vissakammo.

Thus they dwelt, living on the fruits that fell from the trees and listening to the preaching of the law. They were called by the name of "Sayampatita phalā hāra," or the "takers-of-self-fallen-fruit."

When the King of Sāmanta,[1] which adjoined Kāsi, heard that the King of Kāsi and all his people had become Rahans, he went with a large army to take possession, and on entering into the city and seeing the beauty of its palaces and fortifications he was astonished, and said: "Surely the King of Kāsi could not have left all these simply to become an ascetic, some great calamity must have befallen him."

He ordered, therefore, the drunkards who were left behind to be brought before him, and said: "Sirs, what calamity has befallen your sovereign?" The drunkards answered: "O King, no calamity has befallen our sovereign. His son Temiya, who was his heir, was afraid of succeeding to the royal estate." They then related to him the whole story.

Hearing this the King of Sāmanta thought he had better do likewise, so, asking by what gate they had gone out, he followed with all his host and came to the Bodhisat's

[1] This is probably *Samatata*, in the delta of the Ganges.

monastery. When the Bodhisat saw them he ascended into the air and preached the law to them. So the King of Sāmanta and all his host were converted and became Rahans.

And so it befel the Kings of other countries.

The elephants and horses having no one to look after them became wild.

All these Rahans, when they changed their existence, went to the Brahma heavens, and the animals went to the Deva heavens.

The Buddha then summed up the story as follows:

The fairy is now Upalavaṇṇa, my chief female disciple; Sunandā is Sariputta. The then Sakka is now my nephew Anuruddhā; Vissakammo is now Ānandā; Candā Devi and the King of Kāsi are the present rulers of the Sākya realm, who reign as the chiefs of the Sākī race in Kappilavastu; and Prince Temiya is now myself, the Buddha.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letter appears in the *Academy* for Feb. 4th:

1. The Prodigal Son in its Buddhist Shape.

Sunnyfield, Clapham Park,
Jan. 25, 1893.

"J. P. K." asks (*Academy*, Dec. 17) whether the right of a son to a partition of his father's property, and the doctrine of successive births, may not have been brought to the West by the Buddhist missions. It seems still more "interesting to consider" whether the New Testament parables supposed to contain these references may not themselves have a similar origin.

In the Buddhist parable (Saddharma Pundarika, ch. iv. Burnouf's translation, pp. 63–75), which is generally regarded as parallel to that of the Prodigal (Luke xv.), there are details which recall likewise the story of the rich man and Lazarus in the next chapter of the same evangelist. The son stolen in early youth from his father's house drags out a miserable existence in a distant part of the country. His body covered with sores, he begs from door to door. His poverty is ascribed to no special vice or prodigality, it being implied that his grovelling inclinations keep him in this wretched state—the type of unconverted humanity. The father, having long searched for his son in vain and given him up for lost, has meanwhile become immensely rich. He is seated in state at the gate

(compare Luke xvi. 20) of his palace, when the wretched beggar chances to go by, and as he shrinks back abashed, is recognized. The rich man does not, however, yet reveal himself, but sends to engage his son, at a double wage, for the only work for which he seems fitted, the cleansing of the place where the refuse is thrown out. The father, coming in disguise to where his son is engaged at his lowly employment, at first affects to chide him as an unprofitable servant, but presently, overcome by paternal tenderness, reveals himself, clasping the poor outcast to his heart (comp. Luke xv. 20 and xvi. 22). "So men, inclined to vice though they may be, are yet the children of the Tathagata, heirs to the priceless treasure of his Gnosis, which, when he has disciplined them, he confers upon them" (comp. Heb. xii. 6).

There is a striking parallelism also between the parable (in the same treatise, ch. v.) of the man born blind and the contents of the ninth chapter of the Fourth Gospel, the identical question being proposed—"Are sins committed in a former life the cause of his calamity?" A great physician, having prepared healing herbs, one of which he chews to a pulp, restores the blind man's sight. As the Pharisees dispute with his Gospel analogue, so the Rishis are here introduced rebuking and exhorting him to strive after the true spiritual sight, the bodily sight being nothing. So, "blind from birth through their great ignorance, beings are doomed to transmigration, not understanding the wheel of production of causes and effects, they enter on the path of sorrow. And so the Tathagata, the great physician, all wise, all merciful, is born into a world afflicted with ignorance." Whether derived from this or not, the corresponding Gospel narrative was, no doubt, like it originally meant to be understood symbolically.

J. M. Carter.

2.

Dear Sir,—Allow me to make one or two remarks on Mr. Houghton's paper on Professor Sayce in the January *Journal.*

If Burmese affinities with other languages are to be properly followed out, it is absolutely necessary to disregard spelling except in words derived from Sanscrit or Pāli.

True Burmese words have never been spelt acccording to a fixed rule, but on the phonetic principle.

I have no doubt whatever that the noun plural affix *dŏ* is a form of the word *tō*, *to increase.* I infer this because we know for certain that the other affix *myā* is a verb meaning *to be many.*

As regards the verbal plural affix, which Mr. Houghton says is *kra,* I must first deny that it is *kra*, for, though so written, it is pronounced *kya.*

Mr. Houghton goes on to say that "there is no known root in Burmese with which this particle is connected."

Let us use the same process of reasoning as I did with the noun affix. The other verbal plural affix is *kôn*, a verb, meaning to be *consumed*; and as a qualifying affix "*entirely, wholly*"; as a noun, *the whole*; as an adjective, *all. Kya* is a verb meaning *to drop*, but it has also a secondary meaning *to be spent*, and in this sense is often used in conjunction with *kôn*; thus *kôn-kya*, to be wanting.

Kōn and *kya* are therefore similar roots, and the true spelling, I take it, of the plural affix should be *kya*, and not *kra.*

The Burmese constantly interchange the Pāli *y* and *r*, and Latter, who wrote his grammar in Aracan, and uses *r* according to the Aracanese fashion, invariably gives *kya* for the plural affix.—Yours truly,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John, M.R.A.S.

Oxford, Feb. 19, 1893.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3.

26th January, 1893.

Sir,—It has come to my notice that on pages 324–326 of the Society's *Journal* for April, 1891, in a paper by Professor Peterson, entitled "Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian," there are passages which are open to the construction that the Mandasor Inscription, which gives the date of the Mālava year 493 for the early Gupta King Kumāragupta, was *discovered* in 1885 by the late Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī. But this construction would not be in accordance with the facts. As has been plainly stated by me in 1886 in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv. 194; and again in 1888 in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 74, 149, the inscription in question was *discovered* by my copyists, under my direction, in March, 1884. And I have only to add that Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī learnt the existence of the inscription from myself, between the 4th and 11th April, 1884, when I showed him the impressions of it, which my copyists had made and brought to me.

I trust that the Council will give this communication a place in the Society's Proceedings.—I am, yours faithfully,

J. F. Fleet.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1893.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

17th Jan. 1893.—The Earl of Northbrook, President, in the chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Charles Johnston,
Pandit Sankara Narayana,
Miss Mary Ridding,
Professor Minas Tchéraz,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. St. Andrew St. John read portions of his paper, "The Temiya Jātaka," which is printed in full in this issue of the *Journal*. In the discussion which followed Mr. Robert Chalmers, Dr. Edkins, and Prof. Rhys Davids took part.

14th Feb. 1893.—Professor Cecil Bendall in the chair.

It was announced that—

W. Richer, Esq.,

had been elected a member of the Society.

Mrs. Mabel Bode read portions of her essay on the "Sisters of the Buddhist Order who were contemporaries of the Buddha." The paper is founded on Buddhaghosa's commentary (430 A.D.) on the list of the principal women in the Buddha's time which is included in the Anguttara Nikāya. It will be published in full in the Society's *Journal*.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xxvi. Heft 4.

Leumann (E.). Daśavaikālika-sutra, und-niryukti.

Schmidt (R.). Specimen der Dinālāpanikāçukasaptati.

Barth (J.). Vergleichende Studien.

Steindorff (G.). Das Altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibring.

Franke (Otto). Mudrā-Schrift (oder Lesekunst).

Franke (Otto). Sonne als Federball.

Franke (Otto). Der Name "Dhammapada."

Fraenkel (S.). Das Schaf und das Messer.

Fraenkel (S.). Zum Fihrist.

Guidi (I.). Bemerkungen zum ersten Bande der Syrischen Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum.

Roth (R.). Zwei Sprüche über Leib und Seele.

2. Journal Asiatique.

Tome xx. No. 3. Nov.–Dec. 1892.

Berchem (M. van). Lettre à M. Barbier de Meynard sur le projet d'un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum.

Table des Matières de la Huitième Serie Comprenant les années 1883 à 1892.

III. Obituary Notice.

M. G. A. Schrumpf.—We have to announce with very much regret the loss of one of our members, M. G. A. Schrumpf, who died suddenly of heart disease on Dec. 16th last, aged only 48 years.

M. Schrumpf was born on the 8th Sept., 1844, at Ober Hansbergen, near Strasbourg, at which latter place he was educated. After the Franco-German war Dr. Schrumpf, who was an ardent patriot, was interdicted by the German Government from entering Alsace-Lorraine. He came to

England in 1866, and became teacher of modern languages, first at Tettenhall College, afterwards (in 1884) at St. David's College, Llampeter, and in 1885 at University College School. He soon became known both as a scholar and a linguist, and was a member of the Philological Society, and also a member of our own Society. During the latter years of his life he had devoted himself with especial ardour to the study of Armenian, in which he not only had a great knowledge of the archaic language, but was also conversant with many of the numerous dialects of the modern tongue. He was the author of an interesting series of articles on "Armenian studies in Europe," published in England in the French paper *L'Arménie.* The value of these articles is known to all students of Armenian, and they have already been translated into that language, and are in process of publication in German and Roumanian.

M. Schrumpf contributed an important paper, entitled "Progress of Armenian Studies," to the Ninth Congress of Orientalists, held in London during the past year, a paper which will soon be published in the Transactions of the Congress. He also contributed numerous notes which have been incorporated in the new historical dictionary of English appearing at Oxford.

The Society is indebted to the generosity of M. Schnæbele, the uncle and testator of M. Schrumpf, for the gift of all the Armenian, and several other, books in M. Schrumpf's library, numbering in all about 500.

To Professor Minas Tchéraz the Society also owes its thanks, for he was intrumental in proposing what M. Schnæbele has so generously carried out.

The collection contains a great many valuable books and pamphlets, and forms an important addition to the Society's Library.

The sudden death at so early an age of so successful, enthusiastic, and promising a scholar is a serious loss, not only to the Society, but to historical studies throughout the world.

IV. Notes and News.

Japanese History.—Dr. Karl Florenz has undertaken a translation of the Nihongi, one of the three ancient Japanese annals, into German for the German 'Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völker-kunde Oslasiens' in Tokio. The first volume, containing the version of Chapters 22–24, with elaborate prolegomena and valuable notes, has just appeared. Subsequent volumes, containing the earlier chapters of the work, will appear in due course.

M. Émile Senart, the translator of the Edicts of Asoka, editor of the Mahā Vastu, Honorary Member of our Society, and a Member of Council of the Pāli Text and French Asiatic Societies, has been elected President of the Académie des Inscriptions for the current year.

The Buddhist Order in Siam.—There are 7457 Wikāras in Siam, of which 285 are in or near Bangkok, and 7172 in the Provinces (4806 in the Northern, 1625 in the Western, and 741 in the Eastern Provinces). The total number of Bhikkhus in Bangkok is 7538 (where there are also 993 Sāmaṇeras, or novices), making an average of 26 Bhikkhus to each residence. In the Provinces there are 47,123 Bhikkhus and 10,626 novices, or about six Bhikkhus and one novice to each residence.

Aṣoka Inscriptions in Maisūr.—Geheimrath Dr. Bühler has published in the Vienna Journal a further valuable criticism of these inscriptions. He explains the hitherto unintelligible marks at the end as the name of the scribe in the Gandhāra alphabet, as used in the Shahbazgarhi copy of the Aṣoka Edicts.

Professor Deussen, of Kiel, the distinguished author of 'Das Vedānta-system,' is travelling in India, and on the 25th February he read a paper on 'The Philosophy of the Vedānta in its relations to Western Metaphysics' before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Professor and his wife have now gone on to Ceylon.

Amazon Myths.—Prof. Gustav Schlegel has published in French an account of the statements in Chinese historians

as to the Wen Chin Kuo, or 'Country of the tattooed,' and the Niu Kuo, or 'Country of the Amazons.' He attributes the stories about the latter chiefly to misconceptions arising from the misunderstood discovery of sea-dogs and allied animals in strange lands. The little brochure is published by Brill, at Leiden, under the title of 'Problèmes Géographiques.'

Pāli Examinations in Burma.—The Government of Burma, on the initiative of Mr. Pope, Director of Public Instruction, have instituted, in continuation of the excellent system inaugurated by the late king's father, a scheme of public examinations in Pāli. The examination, open to all Burmese, is under the charge of a central Committee, on which three native scholars of rank have seats. It is conducted once a year by written papers, and is held in Mandalay. The successful candidates will receive prizes according to which of four standards of knowledge they show themselves to have reached, and, if members of the Buddhist Order, will be presented with a set of robes. It is a most welcome sign of the times to find the English Government taking up the encouragement of learning, a point on which the first of the native provinces of India have, throughout its history, laid so much stress, and we trust that the Chief Commissioner will be fully satisfied with the result of this very interesting step that he has thus taken.

V. Notices of Books.

La Stèle funéraire du Téghin Giogh, et ses Copistes et Traducteurs, Chinois, Russes, et Allemands. Par Gustave Schlegel, Professeur de Chinois, á l'Université de Leide. (Leyden: Brill.)

The above is the title of an article contributed by Prof. Schlegel to the Journal of the Finno-Ougrienne Society of Helsingfors. The subject of it is the inscription on a monumental pillar or tablet erected by order of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung of the Thang dynasty of China in A.D. 732, in honour of the Prince Giogh, brother of

the then chief or khan of a Turkish tribe, which occupied a considerable portion of what is now included in the general name of Mongolia, north of the Thien-shan mountain range. The tablet was discovered in 1890 by Prof. Heikel, of the Helsingfors University, in the valley of the Orkhon, a tributary of the Selenga, which finally flows into Lake Baikal.

There were many monuments in the valley, some in Chinese characters and some in Runic (?). This one of the Prince Giogh was, perhaps, the most striking of them; and Prof. Heikel carried back with him to Helsingfors several photographs of it. It is in twelve columns of Chinese characters, amounting with the title and date altogether to 425, which are mostly in good preservation, only three being obliterated, and ten others blurred or mouldered. It must be considered one of the most interesting discoveries of our time, carrying us back nearly twelve centuries, and bringing us face to face with a well-known emperor and the tribes on his northern frontiers, and the soothing cajoleries by which their wild chiefs were kept in order.

It is strange that so fine a monument should have escaped the notice, so far as we know, of Chinese antiquaries. The great collection of inscriptions, published by Wang Ch'ang in 1805, contains more than 100 of the reign of Hsüan Tsung, but this important one from the valley of the Orkhon is not among them. It is not so much, however, to the monument itself as to the difficulties that have been found in the interpretation of the inscription that it is desired to call attention in this notice. The photographs of Prof. Heikel were naturally referred from Helsingfors to St. Petersburg, and what purported to be a correct copy of the inscription on them, but was not so, was procured from the Russian Mission to Peking, and a translation of this defective copy was made by a Sinologue at the Consulate of Ourga. Subsequently, Prof. Heikel obtained another translation of his photographic copies from Prof. Georg d. v. Gabelenz, of Berlin. The Finno-Ougrienne

Society published a superb volume, containing the original photographs, the copy of the inscription taken from them at Peking, and the Berlin translation, and presented it to Prof. Schlegel, who responded with a new translation and the article which has been republished by Mr. Brill, of Leyden.

Professor Schlegel's description of the monument is conducted with the greatest pains and with much critical skill, and the general meaning of the inscription may be considered as finally determined. He has exposed the errors of the German translation with a bold decision, but not in a carping spirit. It may be possible to point out some flaws in his own version, and in his proposals to replace the blurred characters; but the scope of the record cannot be misapprehended again. The relations between the Government of China and the rude tribes of the north, before what we call our "Middle Ages," stand out clear and distinct. Many of Prof. Schlegel's remarks on the qualifications necessary for the correct interpretation of Chinese monuments, and on the absence of anything akin to the grammatical marks of inflected languages from the composition and speech of the scholars and people, are calculated to be very beneficial to all students of Chinese. But it is not likely, however, that many of them will accept his advice in full:

"Jetez vos Grammaires Chinoises au feu. Lisez, lisez, lisez—traduisez, traduisez, traduisez des auteurs Chinois jusqu'à ce que vous soyez entrés dans l'ordre d'idées Chinois, et que vous pensiez comme eux."

J. L.

Die Hetitischen Inschriften. Ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung. Von F. E. Peiser, Priv.-Doc. a.d. Universität Breslau. (Berlin, 1892.)

The linguistic and archæological problems presented by the strange hieroglyphic inscriptions of Northern Syria and Lesser Asia have already given rise to a formidable mass of historical speculations and hypothetical decipher-

ments. The would-be interpreter generally starts from the ambiguous data of a small electrotype, taken from a supposed antique which has mysteriously vanished, the so-called Boss of Tarkondemos, which Sayce, in the first enthusiasm of discovery, grandiloquently designated "The Rosetta Stone of Hittite decipherment." But, unfortunately for the progress of "Hittite" studies, hardly any two investigators are agreed upon the values to be assigned to the half-dozen unknown symbols exhibited by this cast of a doubtfully authentic and undoubtedly perplexing relic of the past. There are, moreover, irreconcileable differences of opinion about the right order and readings of the Cuneiform characters that adorn the periphery of the Boss. The very name "Bilingual" involves an assumption. We do not know that the one inscription simply reproduces the other in a different language. All that is certain is that the Boss displays examples of two dissimilar modes of writing. There has been much talk of the "Hittite language," but so far we know nothing whatever about that language. Not a single word, not a single sign of the supposed Hittite inscriptions has yet been identified with scientific certainty. Neither the age nor the origin of these curious monuments has been determined; and the designation "Hittite" is still in the position of an unverified hypothesis.

Dr. Peiser, who has done good work in the field of Assyriology, professes to make an entirely new start, in vigorous independence of previous researches. At the outset of his book a sentence occurs which indicates with perfect accuracy the reason of the general failure (not excepting his own) to solve the riddle of these inscriptions. "If one wanted to try to read a hitherto undeciphered script, one had first to find a key, by help of which the sounds of some few symbols might be determined." The fact is indisputable; but the golden key still remains undiscovered. Dr. Peiser indeed believes the contrary. He has found the key to open this unusually complicated lock in "The determination of the sign for *mi* [?] from the Bilingual," and in the legerdemain by which he manages to read the names of Kuštašpi of Kummukh and Pisiriš of Carchemish

on some clay seals[1] impressed with "Hittite" characters, which Sir A. H. Layard brought from Kuyunjik in 1851.

It is not worth while to follow Dr. Peiser through the process of elimination by which these two are selected out of some twenty names of "Hittite" princes recorded by Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon. His conclusion is vitiated by the fact that he has taken the "Hittite" symbols of the seals Nos. 6–8 in the wrong order. This is evident from the inscription JI. 4, where the crook-symbol twice occurs, and is to be read *towards the opening*, not reversely, as Peiser assumes. If this be so, his statement that the *last* "sound or syllabic value" of the seals Nos. 6–8 is the same as the *first* of No. 5, is erroneous, and his fabric of inference falls to the ground. Further, Dr. Peiser's assumption that No. 2 may be restored so as to yield the same symbols as Nos. 6–8, but differently arranged, is highly questionable, considering the shape of the second of the two symbols which alone survive unimpaired. But, indeed, a not unreasonable sceptic might feel impelled to ask the previous questions: how did Dr. Peiser ascertain (1) that the mystic characters of these seal-impressions represented in each case a single royal name; and (2) that the four characters of Nos. 6–8 and 5 were to be read Ku-uš-taš-pi and Pi-si-ir-ri, for all the world as though these uncouth hieroglyphics were simply Cuneiform syllables in disguise?

Although Dr. Peiser actually has the confidence to discuss "Hittite" grammar and syntax, and to compare his paradigm of the "Hittite verb" (!) with that of the modern Osmanli Turkish, he makes no attempt to identify his new-found vocables generally with the roots of any known linguistic stock. When he decided that the ass-symbol must be read n–m, was he thinking of the undeniable relation of the ass to the *houyhnhnm*, or was he unconsciously influenced by the Egyptian 𓈖 n–m? Seriously, while we are glad to recognize the comparative moderation of the author's suggestions about the probable age of the inscriptions, we fail to discern a shadow of probability in his elaborate essays at decipherment.

[1] These seals were copied and published by Mr. W. H. Rylands in TSBA. VII. plate v.

THE INVASION OF INDIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AS DESCRIBED BY ARRIAN, Q. CURTIUS, DIODÔROS, PLUTARCH, JUSTIN, AND OTHER CLASSICAL AUTHORS. With an Introduction, containing a Life of Alexander, copious Notes, Illustrations, Maps, and Indices. By J. W. M'CRINDLE. 8vo. Pp. xii. and 432. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster. 1893.

This book is the fifth of a series, by the same author, on ancient India, as described by the Classical Writers; the previous books issued contained the Indica of Ktesias, the Indica of Megasthenes, the Indica of Arrian, the Periplus of the Erythraian Sea, and Ptolemy's Geography of India. A sixth book is promised, containing parts of Strabo's Geography, describing India and Ariana. The introduction contains a good and comprehensive sketch of the life of Alexander, and a list of the original authorities from whom subsequent writers derived their knowledge of Alexander's Asiatic Expedition.

The translation, from the works mentioned in the title of the book are clear and literal, without losing the sense or force of the original. The arrangement of short notes with the text and the longer ones in an appendix is convenient; they contain a quantity of useful information about various matters connected with India, its people, natural history, etc.

A biographical index of persons referred to, and a good general index, complete the book, which is well illustrated, and has two good maps showing Alexander's routes.

O. C.

THE EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF HINDUSTAN, FROM 1784–1803. By HERBERT COMPTON. 1892.

Mr. Compton gives us in this book biographies of those three remarkable men, De Boigne, George Thomas, and Perron, who rose by their own abilities and courage from more or less humble positions to the command of large disciplined armies, the rule of kingdoms, and the possession of great wealth and power in the beginning of this century;

and who, whilst pursuing their own ambitions, did so much, indirectly, to help establish the British supremacy in India.

The romantic stories of their adventures are admirably told; much descriptive power is shown, especially as to the military operations, and the reader's interest is well sustained throughout; whilst the characters and qualities of the three men, "the genius and achievement of De Boigne, the daring and delirious ambition of Thomas, and the pride and pomp of Perron," are well shown and contrasted.

The Appendix contains biographical notices of sixty-eight other military adventurers of the same time, some of whom had careers little less romantic than those of the three already named, such as the Skinners, the Gardners, Dudrenec, the Filozes, Martine, and Sombre.

The whole forms an interesting study of the struggles of the rival Powers in Hindustan at that eventful period of Indian history.

O. C.

Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum. By Stanley Lane-Poole. 1892.

This volume includes the Coinage of the Dehli Emperors, from Babar to the absorption of the empire in the British Rāj; and contains a detailed description, in the form which has made these British Museum Catalogues so valuable to numismatists, of the very fine collection of this series which is in our National Collection.

The introduction contains a good and sufficient historical outline of the empire, accounts of the Mint Cities, Eras, Inscriptions, Titles, Weights, and the coinage generally, followed by a description of the E.I. Company's Coinage, in which the author succeeds in making somewhat more clear that very difficult subject.

The collection is especially rich in the gold coins of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān; and especially weak in copper coinage, there being but forty specimens in all, thirty-nine of Akbar and one of Jahāngīr, none of any of the subsequent emperors. The author gives as the reason

for this deficiency, 'the general use of other substances for petty currency in India,' and, after quoting from the accounts of some travellers to the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that 'copper coin is not seen in Bengal,' and that cowries were used there and almonds in Surat for small change, says 'this accounts for the absence of copper coins in the series of the later emperors.' It is hard to believe in the assumption of the absence of copper coinage at that period or to assent to the reasons given for it being so. It seems not likely that the very extensive use of copper currency in the time of Akbar and his predecessors, and in these later times, should have been suspended for any period, except from the want of copper in the country at that time, which is not probable seeing the almost universal use of that metal for domestic utensils then as now. We find, too, large quantities of copper coins of that period of Minor States of India, some of which were included in the empire. We know that at the time one of the travellers quoted (Stavorinus, A.D. 1768–71) says 'copper coin is not seen in Bengal' there was an issue of E I.C. copper coins in the country. Also that at Surat, where the same writer says that 'almonds were used in the same way as cowries in Bengal,' there were current there copper coins of E.I.C. of Gujarat and of Kutch. The more probable explanation is that the emperors left the coinage of copper to the small rājās included in the empire, their rights to issue it not being interfered with or restrained. We know that this was so in the case of some states, *e.g.* Kutch; the copper issue was continued in the form in use in the state bearing the stamp or device of the rājā, but that special permission was asked for and not readily given for the coinage of silver except of the emperor's pattern.

The use of the rough copper *pice* or *dubs* was universal in India then, and is not yet quite superseded by modern coins; the cowrie being used for the small change of it, and the almond in the same way, if indeed it were ever used for that purpose, which is doubtful.

The list of mints is a full one, and gives an interesting indication of the extent of the empire in the several reigns, but there are others well-known to students of these coins which are not represented in the collection. A remark of the author's that all coins bearing the mint Urdū-Zafar-Karīn 'present in the place of the usual ciphers indicating the date, the single word الف,' and the deduction he draws from that seem to require modification, as there are several copper coins known of that mint of different dates, *e.g.* (Oliver, J.A.S. Bengal, 1886, page 2), Ilāhi, 35, 37, and 39.

Other varieties of coins of the series will be found in other collections, and it is hoped that now we know what are in the National Cabinet, specimens of them will be added to make it, as it might so easily be, nearly complete.

This catalogue will be, as it deserves, the standard work on the Dehli Moghul coins, and when the promised catalogue of those in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is published, we shall have a very thorough account of the series.

The indexing and the tables are, as in all Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's catalogues, complete and admirable.

O. C.

Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the Seventh Century B.C. to A.D. 621, including the Series in the British Museum. By Terrien de Lacouperie.

This handsome volume, printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, is the work of Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie, who has here described that part of the series of Chinese Coins belonging to the Museum dating from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D., as well as two collections in the possession of Mr. Consul Gardner and Mr. Lockhart respectively. Numerous plates from photographs of the specimens illustrate the different types of money, and there are still more frequent figures consisting of dotted outlines with facsimile reproductions of the brief and often coarsely executed legends. The author has subjoined, wherever possible, a transcription of the legend in modern characters, a transliteration, and a translation. Both

the average size and weight of the specimens are also indicated, and as the place of issue of the currency forms one of the most constant features of the inscriptions, Mr. Lacouperie adds particulars as to these cities, which are largely supplemented in the seventh chapter of his Introduction, where he has gathered together a mass of information under the heading of an "Alphabetical List of Geographical or Mint and other Names of Coins."

With a few exceptions the series of coins falls under five main types, designated by the author, Spade-money, Weight-money, Knife-money, *Pu*-money, and Round-money, the latter having square or round central holes—the ancestors of the modern "copper cash." The first and third of these classes are so called from their shapes. The second and fourth are in Mr. Lacouperie's view degenerate forms of the first.

The Catalogue proper is preceded by a lengthy Introduction in eight chapters, the first of which consists of a Numismatic Chronology of Ancient China, beginning at B.C. 2332, "First year of the Hu Nak Kunta (Yu Nai Hwang-ti), leader of the Bak Sings in the West." The author fixes B.C. 675 to 670 as the point at which a coinage was introduced in China by foreign traders from the West. Chapter II. is a Glossary of Chinese Numismatic terms. In Chapter IV., on the making of Coins, much information is brought together upon the native metallurgy, counterfeiting, and the methods of minting and moulding—all Chinese money, save some experimental issues within the last few years, being cast, not struck. In Chapter V. Mr. Lacouperie deals with the Writing and Legends of Coins, which are not only in an archaic form, but are often of a rude and sometimes a corrupt character, making the decipherment exceptionally difficult. Chapter VI. is upon Weights and Measures, and here will be found a scheme of the ancient Chinese weights which the author believes may be considered accurate, as it has not been elaborated without great care and full consideration.

A full Index brings the volume to a conclusion.

Notes on Berber Philology.

The Romans, I mean the pagan Romans, who were ignorant like carps about linguistics, do not seem to have known the Berber language otherwise than by one or two of its names: as it is generally asserted, "St. Augustine certifies that in his time the barbarous people used one language;"[1] but his own words are to be interpreted in a different way, the expression "barbarous people" meaning rather the Hawsa or Bornu people than the Berbers, who were since a long time under Roman yoke, and could not be called barbarous. St. Augustine says textually[2]: *in Africâ barbaras* (*i.e.* Berberas) *gentes in unâ linguâ plurimas norimus*; and, unless we admit that the celebrated bishop was writing nonsense, we must translate the above sentence as follows: "we know that the numerous Berber tribes of Africa speak one and the same language." Thus, we have here the first philological reference to this language and to its various dialects.

However, it was only towards the end of the last century that some travellers discovered again the Berber language: some vocabularies were then published, illustrating one or another dialect, but with many inaccuracies, and without any regard to the grammatical features of the language. In the years 1836 and 1845 the late Prof. T. W. Newman succeeded in giving the first grammatical notions on this language, which he knew only by some biblical translations supplied to him: this attempt was, of course, very imperfect, though very elaborate. It was the lot of Captain, afterwards General, A. Hanoteau to put before the public, in a scientific manner, the practical knowledge of the language he had acquired in the course of his duties as a Chef de bureau arabe: in the year 1858, he published his Kabayl Grammar, which illustrates chiefly the Zwawa dialect, one of the most important in Algeria; in the year 1860 he published his Tamachek Grammar, which

[1] R. N. Cust.—*A Sketch of the modern languages of Africa*, i. p. 97.
[2] *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. 6.

refers to the dialect spoken by the Imushagh or Twaregs. But, since then, and in spite of some other valuable publications, the Berber studies were still confined to a small number of scholars, and they had not yet given any practical results, as might have been anticipated from the fact that most of the Berber tribes had come under French rule or influence. In the course of the last fifteen years, however, these studies, though still relying on Hanoteau's scientific methods and principles, have assumed a practical turn, and now we can confidently hope that, in a few years more, we shall have at hand all the necessary elements for both scientific and practical study of the Berber language generally and of its various dialects: this result is due to the incessant exertions of some scholars in Algeria, amongst whom Profs. E. Masqueray and René Basset are the most conspicuous.

Prof. E. Masqueray has, from time to time, published some texts in various dialects: but he is well known in this field by his masterly Comparison of General Faidherbe's Zenaga Vocabulary with the corresponding Vocabularies of the dialects of the Shawya and Beni Mzab,[1] from materials collected by himself on the spot; in his interesting Preface the author points out, with great ability, the manner in which the Berber studies ought to be pursued in the future, and the facts have fully corroborated his anticipations, as we will see hereafter. He is now publishing a French-Twareg Dictionary,[2] the first part of which has just been issued: this appears to be a very elaborate work, dealing with the dialect of the Taytoq Twaregs, and compiled with the assistance of some of them; the author intends to add some grammatical notes, which will undoubtedly complete and rectify, if necessary, Hanoteau's Tamachek Grammar.

[1] Em. Masqueray.—*Comparaison d'un Vocabulaire du dialecte des Zenaga du Sénégal avec les Vocabulaires correspondants des dialectes des Chawia et du Beni Mzab* Paris, 1879.

[2] Em. Masqueray.—*Dictionnaire Français-Touareg (dialecte des Taitoq) suivi d'Observations grammaticales.* Fascicule I. Paris, 1893.

Prof. René Basset is endowed with a very uncommon quality: his works, though as highly scientific as any others, remain always within reach of everyone's understanding, without any pedantic tendency: in this way he is fulfilling admirably the programme so ably delineated by Prof. Masqueray in the year 1879. In the course of several official missions in Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, and Senegambia, he has collected a stupendous amount of materials, from which he has already published numerous texts and some comparative Vocabularies of various dialects,[1] much remaining still to be published: I cannot enter here into the particulars of the whole of his publications, and I will only notice his chief works. His Notes on Berber Lexicography,[2] together with some other published or unpublished papers, contain many materials available for a future comparative Vocabulary of the Berber language; the whole of these will be melted into one and the same work, the remarkable paper on the dialect of Siwah[3] being added to it. His Handbook of the Kabayl language[4] is a wonderful specimen of preciseness, completeness, and conciseness: although the Grammar is apparently intended only for the Zwawa dialect, the author has mastered it in such a way that he has succeeded in reviewing almost all the Kabayl dialects, the whole covering no more than 88 pages 12mo.; to this Grammar are added a Bibliography, a selection of texts in various dialects, and a Vocabulary. But this latter collection of texts is by far

[1] René Basset.—*Relation de Sidi Brahim de Massat, traduite, etc.* Paris, 1883.—*Recueil de textes et de documents relatifs à la philologie berbère.* Alger, 1887.—*Notice sur les dialectes berbères des Harakta et du Djerid tunisien.* London, 1892.—*L'insurrection algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons populaires Kabyles.* Louvain, 1892.—*Textes berbères dans le dialecte des Beni Menacer, avec la transcription, la traduction, un glossaire et des notes.* Rome, 1892.—*Etude sur la Zenatia du Mzab.* Sous presse.

[2] René Basset.—*Notes de lexicographie berbère.* 1ère *partie* (*vocabulaires du Rif, de Djerba, de Ghat et des Kel Ouï*). Paris, 1883.—2ème *partie* (*dialecte des Beni Menacer*). Paris, 1885.—3ème *partie* (*dialecte des K'çour du Sud Oranais et de Figuig*). Paris, 1886.—4ème *partie* (*dialectes du Touat, du Gourara, des Touaregs Aouelimmiden et argot du Mzab*). Paris, 1888.

[3] René Basset.—*Le dialecte de Syouah.* Paris, 1890.

[4] René Basset.—*Manuel de langue Kabyle* (*dialecte zouaoua*). *Grammaire Bibliographie, Chrestomathie et Lexique.* Paris, 1887.

superseded by his Berber Loqman,[1] in which the well-known fables of Loqman are entirely or partially translated into the various dialects spoken by twenty-three Berber tribes, from Tripoli down to Senegambia through Algeria: this precious work is completed by a very useful Glossary in four parts, the second and third parts illustrating respectively the Berber or Arabic descent of the words alphabetically given in the first part, and the fourth part being a French index; the conception of this Vocabulary is quite new and very creditable to its author. Besides some other papers to be published shortly, Prof. René Basset is still preparing an extensive comparative Grammar of the Berber dialects, a complete Berber-French Dictionary classified in order of roots, and a French Kabayl (Zwawa) Vocabulary, for which he has already collected nearly 4000 words: and yet he finds leisure enough to publish numerous papers on many other topics, especially on Arabic matters, Ethiopic, and other African languages (Sudan and Senegambia), and general folklore, this latter subject being extensively referred to in his Berber Loqman, as well as in other separate publications.

Prof. Belkassem ben Sedira, a native of Algeria, who is well known by his practical works for the study of the vulgar and literary Arabic, has also published a Handbook of the Kabayl language,[2] consisting of an extensive Grammar and a large collection of texts, to be followed shortly by a Dictionary: this is an unpretending and practical work, enlarged with numerous and useful notes.

Mr. A. de Calassanti-Motylinski, Government interpreter, has contributed[3] some texts of the Djebel Nefusa, and also a Berber song of Dyerba, which, together with a fable of Loqman, are the only texts published in this dialect.

Prof. A. Mouliéras has published a curious collection[4] of Kabayl tales, with a French translation, to which is added

[1] RENÉ BASSET.—*Loqmân berbère, avec quatre glossaires et une étude sur la légende de Loqmân.* Paris, 1890.
[2] BEL KASSEM BEN SEDIRA.—*Cours de langue kabyle.* Alger, 1887.
[3] *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine, passim.*
[4] A. MOULIÉRAS.—*Les fourberies de Si Djeh'a, texte kabyle.* Oran, 1891.—*Les fourberies de Si Djeh'a, traduction française et notes, avec une Étude sur Si Djeh'a et les anecdotes qui lui sont attribuées, par* M. RENÉ BASSET. Paris, 1892.

a very interesting note on Si Djeh'a and his alleged tales, by Prof. René Basset: this is a very handsome work.

Now, before concluding, I want to say a few words about the system of transliteration used in the above publications, though, of course, the learned gentlemen I allude to are not in any way responsible for that: as to the consonants, I will not make any criticism; but with regard to the semi-vowels, it is highly to be regretted that such an inconvenient system of transliteration has been adopted. Thus, the group *ou* represents as well the vowel *u* as the consonant or rather semi-vowel *w*, a process which, sometimes, results in such gatherings of vowels as to render any etymological research quite impossible: we find e.g. *iaouaouen* and *éouéouen* (beans), in Arabic characters اووين; would it not be better to write *yawawen* and *ewewen*, the first *ou*, at least, being a consonant, as shown by the corresponding Kabayl word *ibaouen*, or rather *ibawen*, and also by the Arabic transliteration. The same can be said of the letter *i*, which represents as well the vowel *i* as the consonant or rather semi-vowel *y*; we find, e.g. *ifkii*, i.e. *ifk-i-i* (give-to-me), and it would seem as if "to" and "me" were expressed by the same particle, while we ought to write *ifkyi*, *y* being the preposition and *i* the pronoun. It has been said that this unscientific method had been adopted in order not to trouble the students with letters, the use of which they are not accustomed to in their own language; but, first, the semi-vowel *y* is used in French, as in "bayonnette, appuyer," etc., and, moreover, any student who is silly enough to be troubled with some scientific scheme of transliteration, or even with any foreign alphabet, had better give up the study of foreign languages, as he can never acquire them.

TH. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

P.S.—As I have quoted Prof. Mouliéras' name, I may add here that he has also published a very valuable "Manuel algérien (Grammaire, Chrestomathie et Lexique)," in which he has succeeded in giving the principles of the literary and colloquial Arabic from both a scientific and practical point of view.

African Philology to the Close of 1892.

I. Ng'anja Language. Dictionary by the Rev. David Clement Scott, Mission of Church of Scotland, Blantyre on the River Shiré, South Africa. Edinborough, 1892. This language belongs to the Bantu Family, and the tribe, which speaks it, dwell on the shores of Lake Nyasa, which word, as well as Ng'anja, means lake, river, or water. The language is more akin to the Zulu and Xosa (commonly called Kafir) than to the languages on the East Coast, Swahíli, and Yao. The Dictionary is preceded by a Grammatical Note. It is a praiseworthy production.

II. Translation of Mark's Gospel into Ng'anja. This is a carefully prepared text in the same language.

III. An elementary sketch of Suto Grammar by M. E. Jacottet, French Missionary in Ba-Suto-land. Mission Press, 1892. Thaba Bosiu. A new and enlarged edition of a Suto-English Vocabulary being required, it was thought advisable to prefix to it this grammatical sketch in the English language: this represents a great advance on our knowledge, and it a trustworthy guide.

IV. Notes on the Grammatical Construction of the Luba Language, as spoken in Garenganje, Central Africa, with brief Vocabularies in Luba-English and English-Luba, and six chapters in Luba from the Gospel of John. Office of Echoes of Science, Bath. 1*s.* 9*d.* This is an exceedingly valuable contribution to knowledge by a young Missionary, named Charles Albert Swan. The country, where this language is spoken, is included in the Kongo Free State. Garenganje was the capital of a chief named Msidi, who was shot by a late English explorer. The region is better known as Katanga. Mr. Frederick Arnot penetrated, as an independent Missionary, into this terra incognita in 1886: his health failed and he had to return to England, being relieved in 1888 by Mr. Swan. He resided three years at Garenganje, and added to the small stock of Luba words collected by Mr. Arnot. It is noteworthy, that both the Missionary Explorers went to their station *viâ* the Portuguese

Colony on the West Coast of Africa and Bihé, but Mr. Swan returned by way of the River Kongo. After a few months sojourn in England he has started on his return.

We feel deeply obliged to the compilers. The language belongs to the Bantu Family of South Africa, and is a new variety of that multiform stock. I have applied for copies to send to African scholars in the different capitals of Europe.

V. The preceding works are by labourers in the field, who, without linguistic training, contribute careful and honest record of linguistic facts. The book, which I now notice is from the pen of a linguistic scholar, A. W. Schleicher, in the German language, published at Berlin, 1892, and entitled "Die Somâli Sprache." It is apparently only the first part of a larger work, and it contains a Text, Sound-Lore, Word-Lore, and Sentence-Lore. The compiler had visited Somâli-land. It is not the first Grammar, as Captain Hunter occupied the field some time back, but much material has been accumulated since. It is compiled on scientific principles for scientific purposes.

R. N. C.

Jan. 10th, 1893.

INDIAN PHILOLOGY UP TO THE CLOSE OF 1891.

I. An English-Telugu Dictionary by P. Sankára-naráyana, M.A., Tutor to their Highnesses the Princes of Cochin, South India, Madras. K. R. Press. 1891. This is a very satisfactory work: the field has been well occupied by previous scholars, but previous Dictionaries were not within the reach of the ever increasing number of Telugu Students, and the want being felt, this Native Scholar has supplied a fresh, and cheap, and handy Dictionary with a careful preface.

II. A Pocket Tamil Guide by A. M. Ferguson, Jun., Member of the R.A.S. Third Edition, completely revised. Colombo, Island of Ceylon. 1892. It is well-known, that the Northern portion of the Island of Ceylon is occupied

exclusively by Tamil immigrants from South India, and this useful Pocket-Guide is published for convenience of the European Planter, who has to do with the management of land-estates.

R. N. C.

VI. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the Authors.

Conder (Major R. C.). Tell el Amarna Tablets. 8vo. *London*, 1893.

Raverty (Major H. G.). The Mikrān of Sind and its Tributaries. A Geographical and Historical Study.

Gaster (Dr. M.). Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature and its relation to the Folk-lore of Europe during the Middle Ages. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

From the Publishers.

Compton (H.). European Military Adventurers of Hindustan from 1874 to 1803. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

Worsfold (B.). A Visit to Java with an Account of the Founding of Singapore. 8vo. *London*, 1893.

From M. le Conseiller Ianoffsky.

Uslar (P.). Ethnographie du Caucase Linguistique. 8vo. 1892.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. X.—*Mythological Studies in the Rigveda.* By A. A. MACDONELL, M.A.

I. *The god Trita.*

Opinions hitherto held as to Trita's nature (420–23). The forty passages in which his name occurs translated and explained (24–62): (1) Trita associated with Indra (24–38); (2) identified with the celestial steed (38–40); (3) Vṛtra-slayer (40); (4) associated with the Maruts (41–45); (5) connected or identified with Agni (46–54); (6) identified with Varuṇa (54); (7) connected with Soma (55–58); (8) remote and hidden (59–64). Previous views untenable (65–67). The writer's view (67): accounts for all the passages translated (67–68); supported by the collateral evidence of the Rigveda (68–77). Evidence of other Vedic works and the later literature (77–80). The writer's view corroborated by comparative philology (81–84), and by the Avesta (84–88).

THE name of Trita occurs forty times in twenty-nine hymns of the Rigveda[1]; no single hymn, however, is addressed to him, nor is he mentioned among the Vedic deities in the ancient list of Vedic words explained by Yāska, the earliest Vedic commentator.

[1] The word does not appear at all in the third, fourth, and seventh books.

A considerable number of Sanskrit scholars have expressed their opinion regarding the character of Trita. But as on the one hand, being only mentioned incidentally in the Rigveda, he does not stand out with lifelike definiteness, and, as on the other hand, no monograph has been written both examining exhaustively all the passages in which he is named, and bringing together all the evidence available from every source, the original and true nature of this deity has remained involved in obscurity.

Adalbert Kuhn, in Höfer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* (1846), wrote at a time when only the first eighth of the Rigveda, containing but three references to Trita, had been published. He arrives at the conclusion that "there is no doubt as to Trita and Indra being one and the same person."

Roth, in his able article entitled *Die Sage von Feridun in Indien und Iran* (ZMG. vol. ii. 1848), remarking that Kuhn, had he known more passages, would have admitted Trita to be different from Indra, infers that Trita is most probably to be indentified with Vāyu, the god of wind.

Benfey is less definite in his treatise *Τρῑτωνίδ 'Αθάνα Femininum des Zendischen Masculinum* Thraētāna Āthwyāna (1868). He there says: "Trita is a mythical personage, to whom, as to Indra and other deities, is ascribed the destruction of the demons withholding the fertilising rain from the earth. In some passages special mention is made of the fact that Trita owes his strength for this deed to the sacred Soma draught, and in one passage Indra is described as drinking Soma with him."

Myriantheus remarks in the introduction (p. xvii.) of his essay on the Açvins (1876): "We learn from many passages of the Rigveda that Trita, as well as his successor Indra, was nothing else than a designation of the sky."

John Muir, not professing to give an independent opinion, but following the views of Roth, in his 'Sanskrit Texts' (vol. v. p. 117; cp. also pp. 336 and 419), thus expresses himself: "Indra [is] a god who in the earlier period of

Aryan [*i.e.* Indo-Iranian] religious history either had no existence or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend assigns to another god the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra."

Ludwig, in his commentary on his translation of the Rigveda, is very doubtful regarding the nature of Trita. In a note on RV. V. 54, 2, he says "the part which Trita plays is here no clearer than elsewhere." He inclines, however, sometimes to identify this god with Vāyu and sometimes with Soma.

Bergaigne devotes a short study to Trita in his work *La Religion Védique* (vol. ii. pp. 326–330). He there identifies him in his origin partly with the celestial Agni and partly with the celestial Soma. Remarking of Trita that "in his warlike exploits he always preserves his part as a sacrificer," he concludes with the observation that "Trita, who was certainly a god, has none the less become a priest, favourite of Indra." I believe it will appear that this scholar has in some passages at least arrived at a more correct appreciation of Trita's essential nature than anyone who has hitherto treated the subject.

Pischel states his view, in *Vedische Studien* (vol. i. p. 186), that "Trita was from the beginning a god of the sea and of the waters."

Turning to the native interpreters of the Veda, we find that Yāska twice discusses the name. Commenting on RV. I. 105, 8, he remarks (Nirukta IV. 6): "This hymn was revealed to Trita buried in the well. Here there is an invocation containing a story, a verse (*rc*), and a gāthā.[1] Trita was one very proficient (tīrnatama)[2] in wisdom; or else a numeral simply may be intended, there having been three (brothers) named Ekata, Dvita, and Trita." His explanation of Trita in Nirukta IX. 25 (on RV. I. 187, 1)

[1] This word, as distinguished from *rc*, may refer to the refrain 'vittám me asyá rodasī.'

[2] This is evidently meant for an etymological explanation.

is "Indra who pervades the three regions (tristhāna[1] Indraḥ)."

Sāyaṇa's interpretations are evidently based on these remarks of Yāska. In twenty passages he regards Trita as a seer.[2] In the remaining occurrences he takes the word to be an epithet, meaning 'extending through three regions' (generally triṣu sthāneṣu tāyamānaḥ), which he applies to the gods Varuṇa, Vāyu, but most frequently to Indra or Agni, according to the sense the context seems to him to require.

The large St. Petersburg dictionary, without stating any view as to his essential nature, summarises the information supplied by the Rigveda regarding Trita to the following effect: "Trita is a Vedic god, who appears chiefly in connexion with the Maruts, Vāta or Vāyu, and Indra, and to whom, as to them, conflicts with demons such as Tvāṣṭra, Vṛtra, and others are ascribed. He is called Āptya, and regarded as dwelling in the remote distance. Several passages show the lower and probably later conception of Trita as carrying on the conflict with the demons under the guidance and protection of Indra. The name is also used to designate Varuṇa and Agni, and in the plural a class of gods. It also, in several cases, designates the priest who prepares the Soma."

Finally, Grassmann, without offering any definite opinion of his own, thus describes Trita as presented by the

[1] This also seems to be an etymological explanation from tri, three.

[2] The only passage (possibly also V. 41, 10) affording even the slightest grounds for supposing Trita to be a Ṛṣi is I. 105, 17, where he cries to the gods for help from a well. Yāska, misunderstanding the myth, here regards Trita as a man and makes him the composer of the hymn on the principle followed by the ancient native scholars in assigning a verse or hymn to the speaker (cp. Sarvānukramaṇī, Introd. § 2, 4, 'yasya vākyaṃ sa ṛṣiḥ'). This single statement of Yāska's may have given rise to the later view that Trita was a seer. Thus the Anukramaṇī regards him as the composer of five hymns in which his name occurs, as well as of seven others (RV. X. 1–7), in which it does not occur at all, though curiously enough it occurs twice in the next hymn (X. 8). Sāy. appears to have been struck by the absence of the name of Trita from these first seven hymns of book X, for he seizes the earliest opportunity of smuggling it in when he translates (X. i. 3) Viṣṇur . . . paramám asyá abhí pāti tṛtī́yam (Viṣṇu guards his, Agni's, highest third sc. place) by 'May Agni protect the third, i.e. Trita, me' (the seer of the hymn)!

Rigveda: "He is a god who probably owes his name and his worship to a pre-Vedic conception, for which reason he also appears in Zend. In the Rigveda his original nature already seems obscured, inasmuch as he occupies the background of the Vedic pantheon. So he appears, to a certain extent, as the precursor of Indra, and, like him, slays the demons and releases the pent up streams. He fans Agni, discovers him, and sets him up in houses. He bears Varuṇa to the ocean of Soma, and even appears as Varuṇa. He also appears in connexion with other gods, especially the winds and Soma. The fingers which purify Soma are called the maidens of Trita, the pressing-stones are the stones of Trita, while Soma itself is spoken of as belonging to Trita. He is described as dwelling in the remote and unknown distance. Besides this conception of Trita as of a higher god, he also appears as a subordinate deity, who performs exploits in the service of Indra, or, sunk in a well, implores the help of the gods. Finally, the name in the plural designates a class of gods, with whom Indra finds the draught of immortality."

It is evident that the foregoing views as to the nature of Trita are mostly indefinite and are altogether conflicting. Nor do any of them suggest any central idea running like a thread through the different manifestations of this deity's activity, as presented by the mythology of the Rigveda.

Such being the case, I propose to endeavour, by means of an exhaustive comparative examination of every mention of Trita in the Rigveda, and by utilizing all the evidence which can be brought to bear on the subject from external sources, that is to say, other Vedic and Sanskrit works, Comparative Philology, and the Avesta, to ascertain clearly the original and true nature of this deity.

As the utmost degree of accuracy attainable in translation is obviously necessary in such an investigation, I propose to give, in the first place, a reasoned rendering of all the passages in which the name of Trita is to be found in the Rigveda. I thoroughly agree with what Prof. Max Müller

says in his Introduction to his 'Vedic Hymns,'[1] as to a mere translation in the present state of our studies being of no value for the advancement of Vedic scholarship; it being necessary that the translator should also justify his rendering of every doubtful word. Otherwise, in the interpretations of even the most eminent authority, it must remain uncertain whether in any particular case the results arrived at are based on a careful sifting of all the available evidence, or, in reality, only amount to a conjecture, which, though extremely *geistreich*, may be entirely wrong. I do not, however, contemplate examining all the divergent opinions of every scholar on each difficulty. The result of such a method would probably be a thick volume, in which all the important points would become obscured.

Out of the forty times Trita is mentioned in the Rigveda, he is, speaking generally, in about three-fourths of the instances more or less intimately connected with the deities who play a part in the drama of the thunderstorm. In most of the remaining cases he is described as remote or hidden. To descend more to particulars—he is (1) sixteen times associated with Indra; (2) once mentioned alone as slayer of V*r*tra; (3) once identified with a mythical celestial steed; (4) four times associated with the Maruts; (5) seven times connected or identified with Agni; (6) once identified with Varu*n*a; (7) four times connected with Soma; (8) six times spoken of as dwelling in the remote distance or in concealment.

I propose to examine, under these eight heads, all the passages containing the name of Trita, believing that such an arrangement will conduce to greater clearness of treatment.

I. Trita is associated with Indra in the following sixteen passages:—

(1) VIII. 7 (a hymn to the Maruts), 24:

> Á*n*u Tritásya yúdhyata*h*
> çú*s*mam āvann utá krátum,
> ánv Índra*m* v*r*traturie.

[1] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxii. p. ix.

They (the Maruts) re-inforced the spirit and might of Trita as he fought; they re-(inforced) Indra in the victory over Vṛtra.

Trita and Indra are in this passage evidently regarded as both engaged in the conflict with Vṛtra.

Sāyaṇa here considers Trita to be 'Trita Āptya, a rājarṣi.'

(2) I. 52 (Indra hymn), 4 (last half) and 5:

Tám vṛtrahátye ánu tasthur ūtáyaḥ
çúṣmā Índram avātā́ áhrutapsavaḥ.

Abhí svávṛṣṭim máde asya yúdhyato
raghvī́r iva pravaṇé sasrur ūtáyaḥ,
Índro yád vajrī́ dhṛṣámāṇo ándhasā
bhinád[1] Valásya paridhī́ṅr iva Tritáḥ.

By that Indra, in the fight with Vṛtra, stood his aiders (the Maruts), the mighty, the vigorous, erect in form.

For him, as in intoxication he fought against the withholder of rain, sped aiders (the Maruts) like swift (streams) on a slope, when Indra, the wielder of the bolt, emboldened by the (plant,=Soma) juice, cleft (him), as Trita (cleaves) the fences of Vala.

The epithet, svá-vṛṣṭi, occurs only in this hymn (the words svávṛṣṭim máde asya yúdhyataḥ being repeated in stanza 14), but undoubtedly refers to Vṛtra. Sāyaṇa rightly explains it as meaning 'him who has the rain as his own' (sva-bhūta-vṛṣṭi-mantam vṛtram). Raghvī́ḥ, the swift, may equally well refer to mares, which are regarded as particularly swift in the Rigveda, and are therefore spoken of with special frequency in comparisons.[2] The words dhṛṣámāṇo ándhasā explain the allusion in máde. I consider it inadmissible to take, as Grassmann and Griffith do, the particle iva with Trita alone, because it is invariably used *after* the word to which it belongs in sense.[3] If the simile is complex, iva generally follows

[1] Cp. (9) line 4.
[2] Cp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 231.
[3] See Grassmann's Lexicon, *s.v.* iva.

its first word, but occasionally the second, as here. Sāyaṇa takes paridhī́nr iva Tritā́ḥ together, making Valásya depend on bhinát as equivalent to an accusative! Ludwig, seeing the difficulty, translates 'when Indra . . . broke in pieces as it were the fences of Vala [and with him] Trita.' To have to supply the words in brackets is, however, even more forced. The ellipse of the accusative pronoun, according to my translation, is easy owing to the preceding accusative svávṛṣṭim, and its reference to Vṛtra is obvious, as he is mentioned both in stanza 4 (vṛtrahátye) and in 6, 'when thou, O Indra, didst cast down thy bolt into the jaws of Vṛtra' (vṛtrásya yát . . nijaghántha hánvor, Indra, tanyatúm). In any case, the poet evidently means to indicate that Indra and Trita here (as in VIII. 7, 24) perform practically the same feat, that is to say, release the pent up waters from the demon of drought. Sāyaṇa here takes Trita to be one of the three brothers Ekata, Dvita, Trita, mentioned in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III. ii. 8, 10, a passage which he quotes both here and on RV. I. 105.[1]

(3) V. 86 (Indra-Agni hymn), 1:

Índrā-Agnī yám ávatha
ubhā́ vā́jeṣu mártiam,
dṛḷhā́ cit sá prá bhedati
dyumnā́ vā́ṇīr iva Tritā́ḥ.

The mortal whom ye two, Indra-Agni, help in conflicts, he breaks through even strongly-guarded riches, as Trita (breaks through) the reeds.

The meaning is, that a man, aided by Indra and Agni, breaks through and thus gains strongly-guarded treasures, just as Trita breaks through the canes (regarded as a stockade inclosing the waters pent up by Vṛtra and Vala), and thus releases the wealth-producing rain. This interpretation is supported by the parallel use of the expression

[1] See (36), p. 460.

'the enclosures or fences of Vala' in (2), and the employment of the same verb 'bhid' in both cases. There seems to be no other instance in the RV. in which the word vā́nī has the sense of reed, though the derivative meaning of 'instrumental music' is not uncommon. It is apparently a feminine parallel (though with change of accent) of the masc. vāná,[1] which occurs five times in the RV. with the senses 'reed or pipe,' 'arrow' (also once in RV. and commonly in Sanskrit bāná).

My interpretation further receives some corroboration from the collocation cf the verb 'bhid' with other words meaning 'reed,' as in RV. I. 32, 8, where Vrtra is described as lying 'broken like a reed' (nadám ná bhinnám). Pischel, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (vol. xxxv. p. 718), takes dyumnā́ in this passage against the Pada text (which has no Visarga) as an adjective in the acc. pl. agreeing with vā́nīh, and translates 'he breaks in pieces what is firm, as Trita the resounding reeds.' This interpretation rests on an ingenious theory which he supports by a number of instances, that in the Veda expressions of colour are frequently applied to the cognate sound.[2] Ludwig translates the second half of the stanza 'he will break through even what is firm, [obtain] as Trita what is splendid through holy choirs.' In his commentary he inclines to the interpretation 'he breaks out (*i.e.* obtains) strongly enclosed splendour like Trita (Soma) the voices.' But what either of these interpretations may mean, is not clear. Sāyana, who has alternative explanations, says 'as Trita, a *Rsi*, refutes the arguments of opponents, or else, as Agni abiding in three places (trisu sthānesu vartamānah) the speeches of his adversaries.'

[1] Cp. nadá, 'reed' (ἅπ. λεγ. in RV.) and 'music,' nādī́, 'pipe' (ἅπ. λεγ. in RV.).

[2] I do not think that in one of these cases, the 'brightness' of laughter, loudness was really suggested to the Indian mind, but only whiteness (viz. that of the shining teeth). Mallinātha, for example, commenting on Meghadūta 60 and 58 expressly says that the basis of comparison in similes connected with laughter is whiteness (dhâvalyād dhāsatvenotprekshā), this being a well established convention of poets (hāsādīnām dhāvalyam kavisamayasiddham). See Sāhityadarpana, 590*a*, and cp. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. ii. p. 197.

(4) X. 8 (Agni hymn[1]) 7:

Asyá Tritáh krátunā, vavré antár
icchán dhītím pitúr évaiḥ párasya,
sacasyámānaḥ pit(a)rór upásthe,
jāmí bruvāṇá áyudhāni, veti.

By his (Agni's) might Trita, within his lurking-place seeking a prayer to (his) supreme father[2] in his wonted way, being cherished in the lap of his parents, calling the weapons akin, goes forth.

The first three words have a parallel in (18) 'yásya Tritó ví ójasā,' where the relative refers to the Soma draught which inspired Trita for the combat with Vṛtra. Again, in (6), we read 'asyá Tritó nu ójasā,' where Trita, strengthened by the might of Agni, slays the boar (=Vṛtra) with his bolt. The words vavré antár seem to refer to the same circumstances as kúpe ávahitaḥ, 'buried in the well,' in (36). There, however, he prays to the gods, here he wishes to pray to his father, as he usually does (evaiḥ). The supreme father is Dyu.[3] The two parents are heaven and earth.[4] This is the only occurrence of the denominative verb sacasya, presupposing a neuter abstract noun which is not quotable, derived from the root sac, to tend. In the lap of his parents (*i.e.* Dyu and Pṛthivī) would mean in the cloud[5] from which he issued, being practically the same as vavré antár. Calling the weapons, *i.e.* the bolts which are produced from the sky, akin, simply means claiming them as belonging to his father Dyu, as they are in the next stanza spoken of as paternal[6] (pítryāni). Trita is in fact preparing for

[1] In which the deity, according to the Anukramaṇī, of stanzas 7 to 9 is Indra.

[2] With the construction of the words icchán dhītím pitúḥ, cp. the first line of (29) utá vaḥ çámsam uçíjām iva çmasi.

[3] Commonly but inconsistently spoken of in the nominative form Dyaus. See 448 and cp. X. 45, 8 (where Dyu begets Agni), and cp. p. 437 (where the son and the supreme name of the father are contrasted).

[4] See III. 2, 2; III. 25, 1, etc.

[5] Called the udder of Pṛçni in (19).

[6] In RV. VI. 44, 22, Soma, in alliance with Indra, is described as appropriating the weapons of his father (ayám svásya pitúr áyudhāni Índur amuṣṇāt) in order to vanquish the demon Paṇi.

the conflict with Vṛtra. Sāyaṇa here regards Trita as a *Ṛṣi*, Ludwig as Vāyu.

(5) *ib.* 8:

Sá pítriāṇy áyudhāni vidvā́n
Índreṣita Āptió abhy āyudhyat.
Triçīrṣā́ṇaṃ saptáraçmim jaghanvā́n
Tvāṣṭrásya cin níḥ sasṛje Tritó gā́ḥ.

(5a) *ib.* 9:

Bhū́rí́d Índra udínakṣantam ójo
ávābhinat sátpatir mányamānam.
Tvāṣṭrásya cid Viçvárūpasya gónām
ācakrāṇás trī́ṇi çīrṣá párā vark.

He, Āptya, knowing (his) paternal weapons, urged by Indra, fought against (the demon). Having smitten the three-headed, seven-rayed (Tvāṣṭṛ), Trita has released the cows of the son of Tvaṣṭṛ.

Indra, the mighty lord, rent him who strove for great power (and) deemed himself (mighty). He has struck off the three heads of Viçvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, taking possession of (his) cows.

8. Trita now engages in the fight, here as the chief combatant, Indra merely urging him on. That the name of the demon of drought slain by him, Viçvarūpa Tvāṣṭra, is merely a variation for Vṛtra, is sufficiently clear from the fact that he is three-headed, like the corresponding demon in Avestan mythology.[1] He is called seven-rayed, doubtless because the demon of drought is a personification of the baneful form of the celestial fire or lightning, being called 'ahi,' from the resemblance of forked lightning to a serpent.[2]

9. It is to be noted that exactly the same feat is here attributed to Indra, as to Trita in the preceding stanza.

[1] SBE., vol. iv. p. lxiii. (§ 12).

[2] In I. 146, 1, Agni is called three-headed, seven-rayed (trimūrdhānam saptaraçmim). Cp. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I. p. 532, who conjectures that Viçvarūpa is the moon, and that his father Tvaṣṭṛ is the sun (pp. 513–30).

(6) X. 99 (Indra hymn), 6:

> Sá íd dā́sam tuvīrávam pátir dán
> ṣalakṣám triçīrṣā́ṇam damanyat.
> asyá Tritó nu ójasā vṛdhānó
> vipā́ varāhám áyoagrayā han.

He, the lord of the house, subdued the loudly-roaring, six-eyed, three-headed fiend. Strengthened by his might, Trita smote the boar with iron-pointed bolt.

It is to be observed that though this obscure and late hymn is by the Anukramaṇī assigned to Indra, and the matter of its last four stanzas is certainly appropriate to him, the name Indra occurs only in the concluding stanza, the fourth Pāda of which is identical with the last line of the Agni hymn, X. 20. The last stanza may therefore be a later addition. Again, both pátir dán,[1] in the only two other passages[2] where it is to be found in the singular,[3] and dámpati in all its occurrences in the singular,[3] refer to Agni. Gṛhápati, lord of the house, is also a regular epithet of Agni. The evidence, therefore, favours the view that the first two lines refer to Agni, who is called 'Vṛtra-slayer' (see p. 472) more frequently than any other god except Indra. In this case the words, 'asyá Tritó nu ójasā' would be parallel to 'asyá Tritáḥ krátunā' in (4). If Indra is after all intended by the first two lines, he and Trita would in this stanza both be represented as performing the same feat as they perform in (5) and (5*a*). 'Asyá Tritó nu ójasā' would then be parallel in sense to 'Índreṣita' in (5). The epithets triçīrṣan and ṣalakṣa are both applied to Tvāṣṭra in ÇB. I. 6, 3, 1 and to (Agni) Narāçaṃsa in

[1] This word occurs five times in the RV. always preceded by pati, and always at the end of a triṣṭubh-Pāda. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the parts of the compound 'dam-pati' have been transposed for metrical reasons. 'Dan' stands for 'dam' (which, as an inflected word, occurs only once in the RV.) by the euphonic rule, which changes final radical m to n (cp. Whitney's Sansk. Gr. § 143a).

[2] RV. I. 149, 1, and I. 153, 4.

[3] Patī dán and dámpatī mean either 'husband and wife,' or refer, in each case once, to the Açvins.

MS. IV. 13, 8.[1] That the boar is no other than Vṛtra is shown by I. 61, 7, where it is said that Indra 'pierced the boar[2] while shooting through the mountain' (=cloud).[3] The word tuvī-ráva occurs only here, but its meaning is undoubted owing to the frequency of 'tuvi-' or 'tuvī' as the prior member of a compound with the sense of 'much, mighty.' The word 'vip,' though often used in other senses, does not appear except in this passage to mean 'bolt'; but as derived from the root vip, 'to quiver,' and accompanied by the attribute 'iron-pointed,'[4] it cannot but have this signification.

(7) X. 48 (Indra hymn), 2:

Ahám Índro ródho vákso Átharvaṇas
Tritáya gā́ ajanayam áher ádhi,
ahám dásyubhyaḥ pári nṛmṇám ā́ dade
gotrā́ çíkṣan Dadhīcé Mātaríçvane.

I, Indra, (am) the protection (and) the breast-plate of Atharvan. For Trita I produced cows from the dragon. I from the fiends took their manly might, giving the cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariçvan.

Indra, speaking in the first person, is here again represented as assisting Trita to obtain the cows or fertilizing waters from the demon of drought. He performs a similar service for Dadhyañc (the son of Atharvan) and Mātariçvan, who are elsewhere described as bringing down the celestial fire to earth, and who are, as I hope to show in a subsequent paper, very intimately connected with the original nature of Trita. Sāyaṇa thinks Trita is here the Trita Āptya who had fallen into a well (with reference to RV. I. 105, 17). He also quotes a story from the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa to the effect that Indra struck off the head of Dadhyañc for revealing to the Açvins the secret where Soma was concealed.

[1] Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 531–2.
[2] In the preceding stanza (I. 61, 6) Indra is said to have 'reached the vitals of Vṛtra with the bolt.'
[3] Vídhyad varāhám tiró ádrim ástā.
[4] In I. 52, 8, the bolt of Indra is said to be 'made of iron' (āyasá).

(8) II. 11 (Indra hymn), 19:

Sánema yé ta ūtíbhis táranto
víçvāḥ spṛ́dha ā́riena dásyūn,
asmábhiaṃ tát Tvāṣṭrám Viçvárūpam
árandhayaḥ sākhiásya Tritā́ya.

That we, overcoming all our foes by thy aids, (and) the barbarians by Āryan prowess, might prosper, therefore for our benefit thou didst deliver over Viçvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, to the Trita of (thy) friendship.

(9) *ib.* 20:

Asyá suvānásya mandínas Tritásya
ní Árbudaṃ vāvṛdhānó[1] astaḥ.
Ávartayat sū́rio ná cakrám:
bhinád Valám[2] Índro áṅgirasvān.

He cast down Arbuda, having been strengthened by that gladdening Trita who pressed Soma (for him). Like the sun he caused his wheel to whirl: Indra, attended by the Aṅgirasas, rent Vala.

In the first of these two stanzas we find Indra again, as in (5), (7), and possibly (6), aiding Trita in his conflict with the drought fiend. In the second stanza it is Indra who, encouraged by the Soma-pressing Trita, slays the demons Arbuda and Vala. Similarly in (1) and (5) and (5*a*) both Trita and Indra perform the same feat.

I take 'tat' to be the neuter adverb meaning 'therefore,' as correlative to the final sense latent in the relative (=yad or yena vayam). 'Āryeṇa,' as balancing 'ūtibhiḥ,' and used in the singular, seems to require an abstract sense, which, however, is nowhere among its numerous occurrences given to it either in BR. or in Grassmann. Otherwise it must be understood to have a collective meaning 'by the Āryans'='by our Āryan forces.' Though the word 'sākhya' occurs in this passage only, there can surely be no doubt that it is the abstract formed from 'sakhi' like the frequent 'sakhya.'

[1] Cp. vṛdhānáh in (6).
[2] Cp. (2) last line.

Ludwig, however, analyses it into sa+ākhya, meaning 'resembling.' His interpretation seems to me to be very forced. He thinks the statement that 'Indra delivered over the son of Tvaṣṭṛ to Trita,' makes no sense. But, in the light of the passages we have already considered, it will probably be admitted to make extremely good sense. By helping Trita to release the cows of Tvāṣṭṛ or the pent-up waters, Indra produces fertility and thereby wealth.[1] The rather curious use of the genitive 'to the Trita of (his) friendship'[2] is equivalent to an attribute dative, 'sakhye Tritāya,' 'to his ally Trita.' The participle 'suvāná' (from the root su, 'to press') is frequently used, but always, except in this passage, with a passive sense. This is probably the reason why Bergaigne here wishes to identify Trita with Soma.[3] But the collateral form of this present participle 'sunvāná' is, except in one instance, used in the active sense. It will also, I think, become sufficiently evident that Trita is always distinguished from Soma in all the passages yet to be examined in which the two deities are associated.[4] The genitive I make dependent on vāvṛdhānáḥ,[5] 'elated by,' construed as a verb of rejoicing.[6] 'Like Sūrya he caused his wheel to whirl,' doubtless simply means 'he sped to the combat on his car as swiftly as the sun speeds on his.'[7] Sāyaṇa suggests as one interpretation that Indra 'whirled his discus (with the later meaning of cakra) as swiftly as the sun turns his chariot-wheel.' He interprets 'Tritasya' as 'for the sake of Trita,' and 'suvānasya' by 'sutavataḥ,' 'having pressed Soma.' According to him Trita in both these stanzas is a Maharṣi. In support of the statement in (8) that Indra slew Viçvarūpa Tvāṣṭra he quotes TS. II. 5, 1.[8]

[1] The meaning of (8) is parallel to that of (3).
[2] Cp. Indrasya sakhyāya in (15).
[3] Rel. Véd. vol. ii. p. 327: 'Le nom de Trita paraît même être au vers II. 11, 20, directement appliqué au Soma.'
[4] See (31) to (34).
[5] Cp. (6) asya . . ojasā vṛdhānaḥ; also (2) dhṛṣamāno andhasā; (18) yasya Trito vi ojasā, the reference being to the effect of Soma in the two latter passages.
[6] Tṛp, prī, vṛdh: Delbrück, AIS. § 100. 2.
[7] There is a reference in (20) to Trita riding on a car (āvavartat . . cakriyā).
[8] Cp. p. 479.

(10) VIII. 12 (Indra hymn), 16:

Yát sómam, Indra, Víshnavi,
yád vā gha Tritá Āptié,
yád vā Marútsu mándase sám índubhih;[1]

17. Yád vā, Çakra, parāváti
samudré ádhi mándase,
asmā́kam ít suté ranā sám índubhih.

If thou, o Indra, (drink) Soma beside Vishnu, or if beside Trita Āptya, or if beside the Maruts thou rejoicest in the drops (of Soma);

Or if, o Çakra, thou rejoicest in the far distance in the (aerial) ocean, delight thyself in our Soma-pressing with the drops.

The verb 'drink'[2] is easily supplied from 'mándase,' 'rejoice in' drops of Soma. Here (as in 9) we find Trita in his capacity of preparer of the celestial Soma, besides Vishnu[3] and the Maruts, supplying Indra with the beverage which inspires him with courage for the combat with Vrtra. Supposing Trita were here the god Soma, according to Bergaigne's view, the juice contrasted with the deity would probably be called 'madhu,' or some such word, as so often in the ninth book.[4] Sāyana thinks Trita Āptya, 'son of waters,' is here a sacrificing Rājarshi.

(11) VIII. 52 (Indra hymn), 1:

Yáthā Mánau Vívasvati
Sómam Çakrāpibah sutám,[5]
yáthā Tríté chánda Indra jújosasi,
āyáu mādayase sácā.

As thou, o Çakra, drankest the pressed Soma beside Manu Vivasvat, as thou, o Indra, lovest a hymn of praise beside Trita, (so) thou delightest in the company of the active sacrificer.

1 This stanza (9) occurs without variation in the SV.
2 Cp (11) where 'apibah' is used in a similar collocation of words.
3 Vishnu pours Soma for Indra in X. 113, 2 also.
4 Cp. however IX. 1, 9.
5 The first two Pādas are identical with those of VIII. 51, 1, except that 'Sāmvaranau' is there read instead of 'Vivasvati.'

Indra here (as in 10 with Viṣṇu, Trita, and the Maruts) drinks Soma with Manu Vaivasvata, *i.e.* in the realm of the Fathers, and receives a hymn of praise from Trita, who is both heavenly sacrificer and Indra's associate in his warlike exploits. The word chándas occurs only eight times in the RV., all the occurrences, excepting this Vālakhilya passage, being in the tenth book, and nearly all in undoubtedly late hymns. The meaning of 'metrical praise' comes out clearly in nearly all the passages. I incline to take Āyu not as a Proper Name (though it occurs as the name of a friend of Indra along with Manu), because in parallel passages, such as (10) and VIII. 54, 2,[1] Indra's presence at the sacrifice of men is contrasted with his revelling with gods or Fathers.

(12) IX. 32 (Soma hymn), 2:

Ā́d īṃ Tritásya yóṣaṇo
hárim hinvanti ádribhiḥ,
índum Índrāya pītáye.[2]

Then Trita's maidens with stones urge him the tawny, bright drop, for Indra to drink.

In the ninth book the ten fingers are constantly spoken of as preparing, adorning, or urging on the Soma juice. They are often called the maidens (yóṣaṇaḥ) or sisters.[3] In IX. 14, 5 they are called the daughters of Vivásvat, who is closely allied to Trita. They can, therefore, very naturally be spoken of as the maidens of Trita, the preparer of the celestial Soma for Indra. According to Sāyaṇa, Trita in this and the following stanza is a *Ṛsi*.

(13) IX. 38 (Soma hymn), 2:

Etám Tritásya yóṣaṇo
hárim hinvanti ádribhiḥ,
índum Índrāya pītáye.

[1] *i.e.* Vālakhilya 6, 2: 'As thou didst rejoice with Saṃvarta and Kṛça, so do thou, o Indra, rejoice with us.'

[2] This stanza occurs without variation in SV. II. i. 2, 21, 3.

[3] IX. 14, 5–7; 15, 8; 26, 5; 28, 4; 36, 3; 38, 3; 61, 7; 68, 7; 70, 4; 71, 5; 72, 2; 80, 4–5; 85, 7; 91, 1; 92, 4; 94, 4, 7, 8; 97, 23.

This stanza, being identical (excepting etám instead of ád īm) with (12), requires no further comment.

(14) IX. 34 (Soma hymn), 4:

> Bhúvat Tritásya márjio,
> bhúvad Índrāya matsaráḥ;
> sám rūpaír ajyate háriḥ.

Let him (Soma) be purified by Trita, let him be intoxicating to Indra. The tawny one is adorned with hues.

In the RV. the agent of the gerundive may, as in later Sanskrit, be expressed by the genitive[1] as well as by the instrumental. The word 'mat-sara' (√mad), in the RV. meaning 'intoxicating' only, is used exclusively with reference to Soma. Here again, as in the four preceding passages, Trita is regarded as preparing Soma for Indra. Sāyaṇa thinks he is the seer of the hymn.

(15) IX. 86 (Soma hymn), 20:

> Manīṣíbhiḥ pavate pūrviáḥ kavír,
> nṛ́bhir yatáḥ pári kóçāñ acikradat.
> Tritásya nā́ma janáyan mádhu kṣarad
> Índrasya Vāyóḥ sakhiáya[2] kártave.[3]

The ancient sage (Soma) flows clearly by means of the wise (pressers); curbed by men he has neighed around the vats. May he calling up the name of Trita pour the mead for gaining the friendship of Indra (and) Vāyu.

The second line refers to the frequent comparison of the swiftly-flowing Soma with a steed. 'Producing,' no doubt, means 'suggesting' the name of Trita, who, when Soma is to be prepared for Indra, is naturally thought of. A similar reference seems to be contained in the second half of IX. 75, 2, where it is said of Soma that 'the son assumes the

[1] Cp. Delbrück, AIS. § 221.
[2] Cp. (8).
[3] This stanza occurs in SV. II. ii. 1, 17, 2, where asiṣyadat is read for acikradat, while the last two Pādas run as follows:

> Tritasya nāma janayan madhu kṣarann
> Indrasya Vāyuṃ sakhyāya vardhayan.

parents' hidden name, the third, in the luminous realm of heaven':

dádhāti putráh pit(a)rór apīcíam
náma trtī́yam ádhi rocané diváh.[1]

Another passage I have found in which the parents (the word being mātárā and not pitárā) of Soma are mentioned[2] is in the fourth stanza of the same hymn (IX. 75), where he is spoken of as illuminating his parents heaven and earth (prarocáyan ródasī mātárā çúcih[3]), a remark which may very well be due to the preceding 'pitróh' in stanza 2. The latter word is in all probability an adaptation from stanza 3 of I. 155, the last line of which is borrowed word for word, a hymn belonging to the end of book I. being almost certain to be older than one of the ninth:[4]

dádhāti putró ávaram páram pitúr
náma trtī́yam ádhi rocané diváh.

'Putráh' in the latter passage refers to Visnu.

(16) I. 163 (hymn to the steed[5]), 2:

Yaména dattám Tritá enam āyunag,
Índra enam prathamó ádhy atisthat;
Gandharvó asya raçanā́m agrbhnāt,
sū́rād áçvam, vasavo, nír atasta.

Him given by Yama Trita harnessed, Indra first mounted him[6]; Gandharva grasped his bridle. From the sun, o Vasus, ye fashioned forth the steed.

The sacrificial horse of the previous hymn (162) is in this hymn treated of as the celestial type of steeds (like Dadhikrāvan). As such he may be said to be given by Yama,

[1] Cp. divi rocanesu tritesu, p. 482.
[2] Also IX. 9, 3; cp. V.M. p. 430. He is often called 'diváh çíçuh'; cp. V.M. p. 354.
[3] In IX. 85, 12, Gandharva does the same (prárūrucad ródasī mātárā çúcih).
[4] Cp. Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 263.
[5] That the celestial courser, as represented in this hymn, is intimately connected with the real nature of Trita, I hope to show in a subsequent paper.
[6] This and stanza 9, as well as I. 162, 17, show that riding was known in the time of the RV., though driving was certainly the ordinary practice. Cp. Zimmer, AIL., p. 295.

who dwells in the remotest part of the heavens, the region of the departed. The etymological meaning of Yama 'the restrainer,' may also very well have been in the poet's mind. No god could so appropriately be said to get him ready as Trita, if my view of this deity's essential character is correct.[1] Indra as the constant associate of Trita would naturally perform some similar act, while Gandharva, the guardian of the celestial Soma, with which both Indra and Trita are so closely connected, may well be said to hold the rein. As the type of brilliant swiftness, the celestial steed might naturally be described as fashioned out of the sun. Sāyana thinks that Trita here is 'Vāyu abiding in or extending through the three regions earth, etc.'

II. Trita is once identified with the celestial horse, the type of brilliant speed.

(17) I. 163, 3:

> Ásí Yamó ási Ādityó, arvann,
> ási Tritó gúhiena vraténa,
> ási Sómena samáyā vípṛkta,
> āhús te tríṇi diví bándhanāni.

Thou art Yama, thou art the Sun, o steed, thou art Trita by secret operation. Thou art distinct from Soma. They say thou hast three bonds in the heavens.

Here the steed is actually identified with three of the deities with whom he is associated in the preceding stanza. With Yama he is identified probably because he comes from Yama's realm, just as in the following stanza the poet says: 'Thou appearest to me like Varuna, o steed, where they say thy highest birthplace is.'[2] He is identified with the Sun, which the preceding stanza stated to be the source out of which he was fashioned. The chariot of the Sun is drawn by one or more coursers, and in RV. VII. 77, 3 Sūrya is actually spoken of as a bright and beautiful steed led on by the Dawn.[3] Owing to his hidden working he

[1] See p. 467.
[2] Utéva me Várunaç chantsi, arvan, yátrā ta āhúḥ paramám janítram.
[3] See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 158.

is identified with Trita, who lurks in the cloud.[1] Vi-p*r*kta is explained by both Mādhava on TS. IV. 6, 7, 1, and Mahīdhara on VS. 29, 14, as 'specially joined' (viçeṣeṇa yuktaḥ), Mahīdhara adding 'mingled together, identified' (samp*r*ktaḥ, ekībhūtaḥ),[2] and Sāyaṇa similarly says that vi-p*r*kta is equivalent to sam-p*r*kta. But this is obviously a forced interpretation, there being no analogy for such a meaning. With verbs of joining or mixing (and, in fact, more or less with all other verbs as well) the preposition vi has invariably a disjunctive sense.[3] Mādhava's explanation of 'samayā' is 'samaye, prāptakāle,' 'in due season,' and Mahīdhara's is 'saha.' The latter seems probable, the inst. fem. having the same sense as the acc. neut. 'samam,' and being used like 'saha' with 'viyoga' (separation from) in classical Sanskrit. Roth, in the St. Petersburg dictionary, explains the word as 'thoroughly,' and translates the passage 'thou art thoroughly distinct from Soma (the moon).' The thought in the poet's mind would thus seem to have been 'To those who understand thy secret nature thou art really the same as Trita the preparer of Soma, but though associated with thou art distinct from Soma.' What is meant by the 'three bonds' it is not possible to say with certainty. The conception of the poet may have been similar to that in the description of the mythical steed Dadhikrāvan in IV. 40, 4: 'Bound by neck, flank, and mouth this courser hastens his speed[4]; working mightily according to his power Dadhikrā bounds along the bends[5] of the paths.'[6] A kind of triple harness specially adapted to promote speed in a racer would thus be implied. These three bonds are in the next stanza

[1] kūpe (36), vavre (5).

[2] Cp. Ludwig, vol. v. p. 384.

[3] Cp. Delbrück AIS. p. 466.

[4] Kṣipaṇim, a word occurring only here, but clearly derived from the root kṣip 'to hurl or speed' (cp. kṣipra, swift); according to BR. it means 'whip.'

[5] Probably referring to the jagged course of lightning.

[6] Utá syá vājī́ kṣipaṇím turaṇyati, grīvā́yām baddhó apikakṣá āsáni, krátum dadhikrā́ ánu saṃtávītuat, pathā́m áṅkāṃsi ánu āpánīphaṇat.

(I. 163, 4) said to be in heaven, the waters, and the sea.[1] Or the reference may be to the three courses or paths of Trita (tríni, sc. yójanāni, Tritásya) in (34). In I. 164, 9 the thunder-cloud is spoken of as being in these three yojanas (trisú yójanesu).[2] According to Sāyana Yama here is Agni, and Trita either Vāyu pervading three regions (trisu sthānesu tāyamānah) or a Rsi of that name. Mahīdhara thinks Trita is Indra (tristhāna Indrah) while Mādhava takes him to be Vāyu (trisu lokesu trāyate vistāryata iti!).

III. We have already seen Trita frequently associated with Indra in the conflict with the demon of drought. In one other passage he is represented as slaying Vrtra without any reference to Indra.

(18) I. 187 (Praise of Soma[3]), 1:

Pitúm nú stosam
mahó dharmánam távisīm,
yásya Trító ví ójasā[4]
Vrtrám víparvam ardáyat.[5]

I will now praise the draught, the supporter (and) the strength of the mighty (god), by whose power Trita rent Vrtra joint from joint.

The genitive 'maháh' may naturally be understood to refer to Trita. The word 'ví-parva' occurs only here. BR. explain it as meaning 'jointless, i.e. having no vulnerable spots.' It seems more natural to take it in a proleptic sense: (struck him) so that his joints were scattered. Thus it is said elsewhere: 'Vrtra lay scattered in many places.'[6] The general sense is, however, in no way affected by this variation in detail. Trita here, as Indra otherwise so frequently, is described as nerved for

[1] Tríni ta āhur diví bándhanāni, tríni apsú, tríni antáh samudré.
[2] Cp. Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselsprüche*, p. 20.
[3] 'Annastuti' according to the Anukramani.
[4] Cp. (4) and (6).
[5] The same verb is used in connexion with Indra in X. 147, 2 (Vrtram ardayah).
[6] Purutrá Vrtró açayad vyástah: I. 32, 7.

the conflict with V*r*tra by the Soma draught. Hence he is by Sāya*n*a here identified with Indra.[1]

IV. Trita is four times associated with the Maruts.

(19) II. 34 (Marut hymn), 10:

Citrá*m* tád vo, Maruto, yā́ma cekite
P*ŕ*çnyā yád ū́dhar ápi āpáyo duhú*h*,
yád vā nidé návamānasya, Rudriyās,
Tritá*m* járāya juratā́m, adābhiā*h*.

That shining course of yours, o Maruts, shines forth when (her) kinsmen[2] have milked[3] the udder even of P*r*çni,[4] or when for the discomfiture[5] of him[6] who boasted,[7] o sons of Rudra, (and) for the wearing out of them that age,[8] ye, o unerring ones, (released)[9] Trita.

The translators and interpreters have made very little of this stanza. It is sufficiently clear, to begin with, that the release of the pent up waters from the rain-cloud, is referred to in the first two lines. The course of the Maruts may well be said to shine forth when the lightning issues from the thunder-cloud. That the udder of P*r*çni, the rain-cloud, should be milked by her offspring the Maruts, is a natural enough figure. When, further, we find Trita in the next two lines mentioned with the Maruts, who, as we have already seen in (1), reinforced him in the combat with the demon of drought and who are constantly associated with Indra in that same conflict, we are irresistibly led to expect an allusion to a fight with V*r*tra. Regarded in this obvious connexion, the obscure wording of these two

[1] Vistīr*n*atama*h* prakhyātakīrtis tri*s*u k*s*ityādisthāne*s*u tāyamāno 'pi Indra*h*.

[2] *i.e.* her sons, the Maruts themselves.

[3] This change from the second to the third person is not uncommon in the RV.

[4] *i.e.* their mother, the rain-cloud. In VIII. 7, 16 the Maruts milk the unfailing spring (utsam), and in IX. 34, 5, the sons of P*r*çni (the Maruts) milk Soma.

[5] Lit. reproach or blame.

[6] *i.e.* V*r*tra.

[7] Either from √nu, 'to praise,' 'of him who praised himself' (cp. manyamānam, 'him who thought himself mighty' in 5), or from √nu, 'to shout' (cp. tuvīravam, 'roaring mightily,' p. 430, and I. 52, 10, 'heaven reeled with fear at the roar of the dragon').

[8] *i.e.* the serpents (ahi) that cast their old skins.

[9] Supplying 'duha' the second pers., owing to the vocatives, from the preceding third pers. duhu*h*: lit. 'milked out,' *i.e.* elicited from the rain-cloud Trita who lurked in it (cp. 4 and 36).

lines yields an excellent sense. The path of the Maruts shines forth when they release the rain or when they set free Trita, who has been lurking in the udder of the cloud,[1] in order to defeat the fiend. Similarly in (22) the Maruts find Trita and instruct him how to help, and in (21), when the storm-gods set forth, Trita thunders. The datives and genitives 'nidé návamānasya' and 'járāya juratā́m' obviously balance one another. It seems preferable, though the difference of meaning is but very slight, to derive 'návamānasya' from √nu, 'to praise,' as this forms an antithesis[2] to 'nidé,' 'for the blame of him who praises himself' (*i.e.* of the boaster). The words 'járāya juratā́m' are evidently intended for a play on the verb j*r* or jur, and seem to contain a veiled allusion to the demons of drought as serpents (ahi) which cast their old skins. This somewhat bold interpretation is supported by the meaning of the word jarāyu, the slough of a serpent. The past participle 'jūr*n*a' is also used in RV. IX. 86, 44 to mean the 'cast off' skin of a snake: 'he glides like a serpent from its worn out skin.'[3] Ludwig, in his commentary, notes several points of importance in the interpretation of this stanza, though he fails to see their bearing on the general sense. He here regards Trita as Soma. Sāyá*n*a thinks he is a *R*si. Prof. Max Müller[4] has a long note on this stanza, but arrives at no definite conclusion as to its true meaning, which he says remains "as unfathomable as ever."

(20) *ib.* 14:

Tā́ñ iyānó máhi várūtham ūtáya
úpa ghéd enā́ námasā g*rn*īmasi,
Tritó ná yā́n páñca hót*r̄*n abhí*st*aya
āvavártad[5] ávarāñ cakríyā́vase.

[1] In (4) he is in a lurking place (vavre) preparing for the conflict with V*r*tra, and in (36) buried in a well (kūpe) he prays to be released.

[2] This antithesis is also contained in the last stanza of this hymn: 'ye free (your) praiser from blame' (nidó muñcátha vanditā́ram).

[3] *A*hir ná jūr*n*ā́m áti sarpati tvácam.

[4] Vedic hymns, SBE. vol. xxxii. p. 305.

[5] Cp. (9).

With this adoration we praise them as Trita (did), seeking high protection for help, (them) whom as five sacrificers may he with his car whirl down for welfare (and) for favour.

We should have expected the plural 'iyānāh,' but the singular is possibly used in order to include the participial clause in the comparison 'Tritó ná.' Trita here praises the Maruts, as he praises Indra in (11), and calls upon them for help (that is to say, to release him from his lurking-place in the cloud), just as he does to his father in (4) and to the gods in (36). Trita is further besought to come down to earth with his chariot[1] (as in 26 he takes up his abode in the dwellings of men), bringing the Maruts with him[2] as five sacrificers. There is a somewhat similar allusion in stanza 12 of this hymn, where it is said of the Maruts that "they, the Daçagvas,[3] first offered the sacrifice."[4] Five hotṛs are otherwise not spoken of, though seven are often mentioned. In RV. III. 7, 7, however, seven priests (viprāh) are said to guard the place of the bird (*i.e.* of Agni) with five adhvaryus.[5] Trita is here conceived as bringing the Maruts to take part in the sacrifice, just as Agni brings the various gods. Sāyana thinks Trita here is a *Ṛsi*.

(21) V. 54 (Marut hymn), 2:

Prá vo, Marutas, taviṣā́ udanyávo
vayovṛ́dho açvayújah párijrayah,
Sám vidyútā dádhati. vā́çati Tritáh,
sváranti ā́po avánā párijrayah.

Onward (go), o Maruts, your wandering hosts, strong, abounding in water, increasing vigour, yoking steeds, while

[1] Cakrī, lit. 'wheel.'

[2] I take avarān predicatively, 'as lower (sacrificers),' *i.e.* on earth.

[3] A group of wind-gods, mentioned seven times in the RV., who assist Indra in battle and offer him Soma and songs of praise.

[4] Té Dáçagvāh prathamā́ yajñám ūhire. This is probably only a mythological way of saying that wind is necessary for wafting the sacrifice.

[5] Cp. also X. 124, 1: 'Come, O Agni, to this our sacrifice, which has five courses, is threefold, and seven-threaded.'

they surround (him[1]) with lightning. Trita thunders; the waters roar wandering in their course.

The verb has to be supplied with the preposition, as is often the case in the RV. This, perhaps, accounts for the verb dádhati being accented in the relation of antithesis. In antithetical principal clauses, the verb of the first only is accented; but as the verb of the first is here omitted, the verb of the second has assumed the accent. This accentuation would also indicate that dádhati was to be construed with the preceding subject in the plural. If the reading were dadhati, the verb might be understood as a third pers. sing. according to the first conjugation[2] referring to Trita. As accented with the acute, dádhati cannot agree with Trita. Prof. Max Müller translates "When they aim with the lightning, Trita shouts," but he has no note.[3] Ludwig finds a difficulty in the construction of 'sám vidyútā dádhati,' because sam-dhā never seems to be construed with the instrumental, but only with the locative in the RV. This is, however, only due to the fact that in all these instances sam has the intensive sense (merely strengthening dhā), and not the sociative. Verbs meaning 'to join' are regularly construed with the instrumental. These difficulties of the third line hardly affect the general sense of the stanza, that "when the mighty storm-winds go forth, the lightnings flash, Trita thunders, the waters rush forth." Here again we find Trita playing his part in the drama of the thunderstorm, when the pent-up waters are released. His nature in fact comes out more clearly than usual, thanks to the verb 'vāçati.' He cannot here be any other than the god of lightning. Bergaigne[4] admits this, though Ludwig thinks that his character is here as obscure as elsewhere, inclining, however, to identify him with Soma. Sāyana

[1] *i.e.* Trita.

[2] dadhanti and dadhantu each occur once, dadhate (3rd sing. Ā.), seven times in the RV. This is a beginning of the transition from the second to the first conjugation, which became fixed in the pre-Vedic period, *e.g.* in sthā, tiṣṭhati (Gr. ἵστημι).

[3] SBE. vol. xxxii. p. 325.

[4] Rel. Véd. II. 327.

here makes Trita out to be 'the cloud, or the host of Maruts, extending through three regions.'[1]

(22) X. 115 (Agni hymn), 4:

Ví yásya te jrayasānásyājara
dhákṣor ná vā́tāḥ pári sánti ácyutāḥ,
ā́ raṇvā́so yúyudhayo ná satvanám
Tritám naçanta prá çiṣánta iṣṭáye.

Thee, whom far-striding like one eager to burn, o thou who agest not, the winds that stumble not, attend, they like eager warriors found as heroic Trita instructing (him) to help.

'Yasya te' I explain as equivalent to 'tvā yasya' by attraction, 'Tritam' being in apposition to this 'tvā.' The meaning of the whole stanza is: 'The warlike Maruts who constantly accompany the flaming Agni,[2] found him (Agni) in the form of the heroic Trita (lurking in the cloud), and instructed him to help (in the conflict with the drought-fiend).' The attribute 'satvanam' evidently refers to Trita's warlike character. Throughout this group of four passages (19 to 22), as well as in (1), it is implied that the Maruts are associated with Trita in the conflict with Vṛtra, just as they are with Indra in a similar capacity. Grassmann takes 'na' to be the negative, and 'pari santi' to mean 'hinder,' translating "whom when flaming the winds do not hinder." Such a negative mode of expression seems very unnatural here, while there seems to be no evidence in the RV. that pari with as (or even bhū), and the genitive (which is extremely rare) should mean 'hinder' and not 'surround.' Ludwig takes 'na' to be 'like,' but connects it with 'acyutāh,' rendering 'as it were not stumbling.' That a particle which regularly follows its word, should be construed with a word coming a long way after it, would, however, be unprecedented. In his commentary he thinks it may be the negative, suggesting the translation "whom the winds do

[1] Triṣu sthāneṣu tāyamāno megho marudgaṇo vā.

[2] Agni, as well as Indra, is in the RV. called marút-sakhi,' 'having the Maruts for his friends.'

not overpower." He is uncertain as to the meaning of Trita. Sāyana here identifies Trita with Agni.[1]

V. Trita is associated or identified with Agni in six passages. Excluding these six, we have already found him identified with Agni in (21),[2] mentioned with Agni and Indra in (3):

(23) V. 9 (Agni hymn), 5:

Ádha smą yásya arcáyah
samyák samyánti dhūmínah,
yád īm áha Tritó diví[3]
úpa dhmāteva dhámati
çíçīte dhmātári yathā.

Whose flames as he smokes then especially rise together in one direction, when Trita in the sky blows upon him like a smelter (and) sharpens (him) as in a smelting furnace.

The words 'dhmātā' and 'dhmātárī'[4] occur only in this passage. BR. regard the latter as a neuter. This view is supported by the distinction between sthātr as a masc. and sthātŕ as a neut. Ludwig considers 'dhmātárī' to be a nom. masc. (without the s) meaning 'bellows.' His reasons do not seem to me to be at all convincing. Agni blown upon and sharpened in the sky obviously means lightning. In other words Trita is preparing his weapons for the fray as in (4). Ludwig thinks Trita here is Vāyu, while Sāyana identifies him with Agni, who pervades or extends beyond the three regions.[5]

(24) V. 41 (Viçvedevāh hymn), 4:

Prá saksáno diviáh Kánvahotā
Tritó diváh sajóṣā, Vā́to, Agníh,
Pūṣā́, Bhágah prabhrthé viçvábhojā
Ājím ná jagmur āçúaçvatamāh.

[1] Tritam trisv āhavanīyādisu sthānesu tatam vistrtam tvām.
[2] And not improbably associated with him in (6) also.
[3] Cp. divyáh in (24).
[4] dhmātári in the Pada text.
[5] Tritas tri-(su sthānesu ta-)to vyāptas trīni sthānāni vātītya.

Trita victorious, celestial, whose priest is Kaṇva, associate of Dyu, Vāta, Agni, Pūṣan, all-nourishing Bhaga, have come to the offering, as those who have fleetest steeds (come) to the contest.

Sakṣáṇa is to be found in this passage only, but must be identical in meaning with sakṣáṇi, which occurs three times in the RV., governing the accusative, with the undoubted sense of 'conquering.' Griffith takes the first line as referring to Indra, perhaps because sakṣáṇi is once used in connexion with Indra. But, in the first place, if Indra were meant, he would, like the other gods in this stanza, have, I think, certainly been mentioned by name, for Trita also is a heavenly conqueror. Moreover, Káṇvahotā would be less appropriate to Indra than to Trita. This compound it is true occurs only here; but Káṇvasakhi, 'he who has Kaṇva for his friend,' also occurring only once, is an epithet of Agni, who is spoken of as 'that same Agni, most Kaṇva-like, having Kaṇva for his friend.'[1] It is to be noted that this Agni is mentioned in the stanza immediately following that in which Agni is identified with Trita (22). Trita is also identified with Agni in (26) and (27). The epithet may therefore very well be applied to Trita as a form of Agni. It is no sufficient objection to say that Trita being mentioned in the same stanza as Agni, cannot here be a form of Agni; for the sun, here represented by Pūṣan, though also a form of fire, is here mentioned along with Agni as well. It may be noted that all the deities enumerated in this stanza, with the exception of Vāta, are gods of light. Ludwig and Griffith render diváḥ sajóṣāḥ by 'accordant with Dyaus'; but as this very frequent adjective is otherwise invariably construed with the instrumental, I have treated it as a substantive. Grassmann regarding sakṣáṇo divyáḥ, 'the heavenly conqueror,' as some other deity, takes Tritó diváḥ together as 'Trita of the sky,' and makes sajóṣāḥ an absolute adjective: 'Fire, Wind, accordant.'

[1] Sá íd Agníḥ Káṇvatamaḥ Káṇvasakhā: X. 115, 5.

I can find no parallel passages in support of taking divá*h* sajó*s*ā*h* with Vāta; while there is much in favour of these words referring to Trita. The latter god is here called 'divya*h*,' and is described in (23) as kindling lightning in heaven (divi). If he is a form of Agni, he is undoubtedly a son of Dyu. In (4) and (5) he prays to his father and claims his father's weapons, that is to say, the bolt which issues from the sky. All the gods here enumerated are thought of as coming to partake of the sacrifice, and vying with one another in speed, just as men who have the swiftest steeds engage in the race; for only such can expect to be successful. Instead of prabh*r*thé construed with prajagmu*h*, prabh*r*thám as parallel with ājím might have been expected. Ludwig thinks Trita here is Soma, or possibly Vāyu. Sāya*n*a makes the word an attribute[1] of Váta*h*, taking the words Tritó divá*h* sajó*s*ā Váta*h* together.

(25) *ib.* 9:

Panitá Āptyó yajatá*h* sádā no
várdhān na*h* çá*m*sa*m* nário abhí*st*au.[2]

10. V*ŕ*s*n*o astosi bhūmiásya gárbha*m*
Tritó nápātam apá*m* suv*r*ktí:
gr*n*īté Agnír etárī ná çūsaí*h*,
çocískeço ní ri*n*āti vánā[ni].

May Āptya ever to be adored by us, friendly to man, when praised in (his) helpfulness bless our prayer.

I have lauded with goodly hymn the germ of the terrestrial hero, Trita, the son of waters: Agni neighs, like a swift mare, with pantings, with flaming mane he lays low the forests.

9. Trita, here mentioned by his frequent epithet[3] Āptya,[4]

[1] Tri*s*u k*r*ityādisthāne*s*u tāyamāna*h*.

[2] Cp. abhi*st*aye in (20).

[3] Which Sāya*n*a here, by way of a change, explains not by apām putra*h* but by āptavya*h* sarvai*h*, 'who is to be obtained by all.' This explanation is to be traced to Yāska's remark 'āptyā āpnote*h*' (the word) āptyā*h* (is derived) from the root 'āp' (Nir. XI 20).

[4] See p. 473–4.

would naturally be called 'friendly to man' as releaser of the fertilizing waters.

10. The main difficulty of this stanza is in the words astosi and Tritaḥ. The choice lies between accepting astosi as a third person singular and emending Tritó to Tritám. Ludwig, Bergaigne, and Griffith agree in rendering astosi as a 3rd sing. aor. with Trita as its subject. Grassmann, on the other hand, taking it as a 1st sing. is obliged to ignore Trita by emending tritó to utó (utá + u). If an emendation must be made, that which I propose, 'Tritám,' is less violent, while suiting the sense admirably. The arguments against astosi being a 3rd sing. are very strong. Apart from the form under consideration no single instance of the 3rd sing. middle of the s-aorist in -i (*i.e.* s-i) can be quoted.[1] Again, the regular 3rd sing. aor. middle of this verb (a-stos-ta) actually does occur in the RV. Thirdly, the internal evidence of this hymn strongly favours the first person. In 16 of its 20 stanzas the poet refers to himself in the first person singular or plural, the verb occurring four times[2] in the first sing. and four times[3] in the first plur. Fourthly, the wording of stanza 9 'May Āptya *praised* fulfil our prayer' naturally suggests that Trita should be the object of the poet's praise in stanza 10. I have therefore decided in favour of reading 'Tritám' for 'Tritó.'[4] This gives the exact sense we might expect from what we already know of Trita's nature. The meaning then would be 'I have praised Trita, the germ from which the terrestrial hero (*i.e.* Agni on earth) is developed, the son of waters (the well-known epithet of Agni in his lightning form).'[5] Agni in the last two lines as lightning is compared to a neighing[6]

[1] -i is, of course, the regular termination of the 3rd sing. aor. *passive* (a-stāv-i, etc.) and -i coalescing with a preceding thematic a to e is common in the 3rd sing. pres. middle (stave, stushe, etc.).

[2] In stanzas 3, 7, 8, and 14.

[3] 11, 13, 16, 18.

[4] See p. 476, line 7.

[5] Cp. p. 475.

[6] Cp. 'Trita roars' in (21).

mare[1] with flowing mane[2] rushing to burn down the forests. The words 'etárī ná çūsaíḥ'[3] present some difficulties. I have taken etárī as a feminine of *etí, courser.[4] The Pada text, however, reads etári, just as dhmātári for dhmātárī in (23). Ludwig regards this word also as a nom. masc. without s. He thinks Trita is Vāyu here, while Sāyaṇa identifies him with Agni pervading three regions.[5]

(26) X. 46 (Agni hymn), 3:

Imám Trito bhū́ri avindad icchán
Vaibhūvasó mūrdháni ághniāyāḥ;
Sá çévṛdho jātá ā́ harmiéṣu
nā́bhir yúvā bhavati rocanásya.

Trita Vaibhūvasa eagerly seeking (him), found him on the head of the cow (=cloud); he, increaser of welfare, when born in houses becomes as a youth the centre of brightness.

The abstract personified form of the celestial Agni is here represented as endeavouring to find the lurking fire in the sky. This is a mythological way of accounting for what must in primitive times have been regarded as the remarkable fact that the fire of lightning is always hidden except when it flashes forth for a moment in the thunderstorm. The word Vaibhūvasa occurs only in this passage. It is probably derived from vibhū́-vasu, 'having excellent goods,' an epithet of Soma which occurs twice.[6] It would then mean 'connected with Soma,' referring to Trita in his character of preparer of the celestial nectar

[1] Mares are regarded in the RV. as especially swift, and are, therefore, frequently referred to in similes. Cp. AIL. p. 231.

[2] In I. 164, 44, the Sun, Agni, and Lightning are spoken of as the three having flowing hair (trayaḥ keçinaḥ). Cp. Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen*, p. 52.

[3] Which recur in RV. VI. 12, 4, with reference to Agni: 'By our friends that Agni, Jātavedas in the house, is praised like a fleet mare owing to his pantings (sásmā́kebhir etárī ná çūṣair Agníḥ ṣṭave dáma ā́ jātávedāḥ).

[4] Cp. éta, 'swift antelope,' and éta-ça, 'steed.'

[5] Tritas tīrṇatamas triṣu sthāneṣv anyeṣu tritvāpanneṣu tāyamāno 'gniḥ.

[6] RV. IX. 72, 7 and IX. 86, 10.

or releaser of the fertilizing rain. Trita is further said to have found the hidden fire on the head of the cow,[1] that is to say, on the top of the cloud. Words meaning cow are, as is well-known, frequently used to denote the rain-cloud in the RV.[2] We have already found Trita connected with the udder of the rain-cloud in (19), while in (22) the Maruts are said to have found Agni in the form of Trita. Being the 'germ of the terrestrial' Agni, if my interpretation of (25) is correct, and having come down from his original home in the sky to earth (20), he is now said to have been produced in the houses of men as in (27). The attribute çévṛdha,[3] 'increaser of welfare,' is analogous in sense to nárya in (25). 'The centre of brightness' is a graphic expression for the 'youthful' or recently kindled Agni on the altar or the hearth. As Trita here, so the Bhṛgus in the preceding stanza (X. 46, 2) are described as finding Agni in the rain-cloud: 'Worshipping, eager, seeking him with adoration, wise Bhṛgus pursued him like a lost beast by its tracks and found him lurking in secret in the gathering place of the waters.'[4] Ludwig is of opinion that Trita is here an actual human person and that the cow is the fire-stick. Griffith thinks that he is possibly Vāyu. According to Sāya*n*a he is a *Ṛsi*.

(27) *ib.* 6:

> Ní pastíāsu Tritá*h* stabhūyán
> párivīto yónau sīdad antá*h*.[5]
> áta*h* sa[illegible]ŕbhiā viçā́*m* dámūnā
> vídhar[illegible]*n*ā ayantraír īyate nṛ́n.

[1] ā-ghnyā or a-ghnyā́, 'not to be slain or injured' (√han), bears witness to the fact that even in the time of the RV. the cow was regarded in the light of a sacred animal. The word occurs sixteen times in the RV., while the corresponding masc. form is to be found three times.

[2] See especially *s.v.* 'go' in BR.

[3] For ceva-vṛdha.

[4] Imá*m* vidhánto apā́*m* sadhásthe paçú*m* ná na*s*ṭám padaír ánu gman, gúhā cátantam uçíjo námobhir icchánto dhī́rā Bhṛ́gavo avindan. The words gúhā cátantam and padaír ánu gman occur also in I. 65, 1.

[5] With this line compare 'sá mātúr yónā párivīto antá*h*,' said of lightning in I. 164, 32.

Establishing himself in houses Trita seated himself enveloped (with flames) within his abode. From hence the house-friend of settlers collecting (them) goes among men by distribution, not by (means of) bonds.

Here Trita is again spoken of as taking up his abode in the houses of men, the first line corresponding to 'jātá á harmyéṣu' in (26), while the second means practically the same thing as the statement in that stanza that 'he becomes the centre of brightness.' 'Párivītaḥ' no doubt means 'enveloped with flames,' the latter word being, for instance, supplied with the same participle in X. 6, 1, where Agni is described as 'shining forth surrounded with flames.'[1] The last two lines present difficulties which have greatly puzzled interpreters; but it is at any rate sufficiently clear that Trita, that is to say, Agni who has descended to earth, is regarded as a house-friend who visits men. The doubtful words are saṁgṛ́bhya, vídharmaṇā, and ayantraíḥ. The reference may be that Agni when once established on earth as the house-friend who collects people around him, visits men for domestic purposes by means of distribution,[2] and not by attrition produced by cords[3] and employed for sacrificial purposes. According to Sāyaṇa, Trita here is Agni distributed in three places, *i.e.* the three sacrificial fires gārhapatya, etc.

(28) X. 64 (Viçvedevāḥ hymn), 3:

> Nárā vā çáṁsam Pūṣáṇam ágohiam
> Agníṁ devéddham abhí arcase girā́,
> Sū́ryāmāsā Candrámasā yamáṁ diví
> Tritáṁ Vā́tam Uṣásam aktúm Açvínā.

I have praised with my song Pūṣan praised of men, Agni who cannot be concealed, kindled by the gods; Sun

[1] bhānúbhiḥ . . . párivīto vibhā́vā.

[2] Cp. X. 80, 4: Agnér dhā́māni víbhṛtā purutrā́, 'Agni's abodes are distributed in many places.'

[3] a-yantra is a ἅπ. λεγ. but yantra occurs twice in the RV. in the sense of 'bond'; and the compound daçayantra, 'having ten reins,' is twice (VI. 44, 24, X. 94, 8) used with reference to Soma as prepared by the ten fingers. Cp. X. 51, 3.

and Moon,[1] the two phases of the moon, Yama in the sky, Trita, Wind, Dawn, the (starry) Night, (and) the Açvins.

As this stanza contains only an enumeration of deities, nothing definite as to the nature of Trita can be gathered from it. These deities, are, however, as in (24) nearly all gods of light. Candrámasā coming after Sūryāmāsā must mean 'new and full moon.' It may be added that in three of the preceding passages (22, 26, 27), Trita is undoubtedly, and in two others (24 and 25) most probably identified with Agni. Bergaigne recognizes this identity in at least two cases (22 and 27), and Sāyaṇa in four (22, 23, 25, 27). But the other interpreters fluctuate between Soma and Vāyu. In (27) Grassmann actually thinks the reading must be corrupt, partly because everything points to Agni being meant, and not Trita!

(29) II. 31 (Viçvedevāḥ hymn), 6:

Utá vaḥ çáṃsam uçíjām iva çmasi
áhir budhnío ajá ékapād utá,
Tritá, Ṛbhukṣā́ḥ, Savitā́ cáno dadhe
apā́ṃ nápād āçuhémā dhiyā́ çámi.

And we desire praise of you who, as it were, are desirous (of it): the Dragon of the Deep and the one-footed Driver, Trita, Ṛbhukṣan, Savitṛ, the swiftly speeding Son of waters take delight (in us) by reason of (our) thought and work (=prayer and sacrifice).

There seems to be no other possible explanation of the form ç-masi than from the root vaç,[2] though this would be the only instance of its being shortened further than uç, and the 1st pers. plur. uçmási is very common in the RV. On the other hand the preceding word uçíjām derived from √vaç points to çmasi being a form of that root owing to the fondness of the Vedic poets for the collocation of derivatives from the same verb.[3] Moreover, the 1st

[1] Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M, p. 504.
[2] Ludwig thinks it is a contraction for çaṃs-masi.
[3] *e.g.* vibhāvā vibhūti in X. 6, 2. Cp. also the fourth and fifth line of (30).

pers. sing. vaçmi occurs in the very next stanza. Possibly the preceding syllable -va of iva may have had something to do with the shortening. Çami is the shortened form of the instrumental case at the end of a line for çamī. As cano dhā, 'to find pleasure in,' otherwise always governs the accusative or locative, I supply a pronoun, the instrumental giving the reason. *R*bhuk*s*ā*h* (lord of the *R*bhus), when mentioned after Trita undoubtedly refers to Indra, though the epithet is sometimes also applied to the chief of the three *R*bhus and to Vāta. Sāya*n*a takes *R*bhuk*s*ā*h* to be Indra, regarding Trita as its attribute meaning 'very wise.'[1] In this enumeration Trita is associated with gods all of whom are more or less closely connected with the thunderstorm.[2] It may be objected that Trita cannot here mean the celestial form of Agni, because Apā*m* napāt,[3] or lightning, is mentioned with him. The answer to this is that the two deities are differentiated though essentially the same, Trita being regarded rather as the abstract and invisible god of celestial fire dwelling in the cloud, while Apā*m* napāt is rather his manifestation. Such mythological differentiations are not uncommon among the gods of the RV., as, for instance, in the case of Vis*n*u, Sūrya, Savit*r*, and Pūsan.

VI. Trita is once mentioned in the middle of a Varu*n*a hymn in such a way that he seems to be identified with him.

(30) VIII. 41, 6:

Yásmin víçvāni kā́vyā
cakré nā́bhir iva çritā́,
Tritá*m* jūtī́ saparyata
vrajé gā́vo ná sa*m*yúje
yujé áçvāñ ayuk*s*ata
(nábhantām anyaké same).

[1] Tīr*n*atama, a kind of etymological explanation borrowed from Nirukta IV. 6, where Yāska says 'Tritas tīr*n*atamo medhayā babhūva.' Cp. p. 4.

[2] Even Savit*r* is once (I. 22, 6) called apā*m* napāt. Of Ahir budhnya*h* and Aja ekapād I propose to treat in a later article.

[3] Cp. (25) and p. 475.

In whom all wisdom is centred as the nave in the wheel, worship Trita with haste, as cows (hasten) to come together in the fold, (and as quickly as) they harness horses for yoking. (May all others perish.[1])

There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that Trita is here meant to be identified with Varu*n*a.[2] It may, however, be noted that Agni is once called the brother of Varu*n*a, that Agni (as well as Sūrya[3]) is called Varu*n*a,[4] and that the term 'navel' is most frequently applied to Agni. Thus in X. 5, 3 he is called the 'navel of all that moves and is fixed.'[5] In I. 141, 9 Agni is said to encompass Varu*n*a, Mitra, and Aryaman as the felly surrounds the spokes (arān ná nemí*h*).

Sāya*n*a regards Trita as Varu*n*a in three regions (tristhāna*m* Varu*n*am).

VII. Trita is four times associated with Soma alone. He has already been mentioned six times[6] with Soma as well as other deities, and he has once (18) been described as slaying V*r*tra with the aid of the Soma draught.

(31) IX. 37 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 4:

Sá Tritásyádhi sā́navi
pávamāno arocayat,
jāmíbhi*h* Sū́ria*m* sahá.[7]

He, Pavamāna, upon the summit of Trita has caused the sun along with the sisters to shine.

The conception of Soma causing the sun to shine no doubt arises from the notion that the Soma draught inspires Indra to vanquish V*r*tra, thus clearing away the obstructing clouds and making the sunlight appear. It is only in this connection that Soma in the next

[1] This refrain, which has no connection in sense with the rest of the stanza, occurs throughout this, the following, and the two preceding hymns. Cp. the refrain of X. 133, 1–6.
[2] As to the importance of this identification cp. p. 456.
[3] I. 50, 6; IV. 1, 2.
[4] See p 476.
[5] viçvasya nabhim cárato dhruvásya. Cp. also (26).
[6] See 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17.
[7] This stanza occurs without variation in SV. II. 5, 2, 7, 3.

stanza (IX. 37, 5) is called 'Vṛtra-slayer.' The sisters are the seven rays of the sun.[1] 'The summit of Trita' is only another way of expressing the 'height of heaven.'[2] We have already seen that Trita abides in heaven.[3] The celestial Soma may naturally be said to cause the sun to shine where his preparer Trita dwells. Sāyaṇa thinks Trita is a maharṣi in this stanza.

(32) IX. 95 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 4:

Tám marmṛjānám mahiṣáṃ ná sā́nāv
Aṃśúṃ duhanti ukṣáṇaṃ giriṣṭhā́m;
táṃ vāvaçānám matáyaḥ sacante,
Tritó bibharti Váruṇaṃ samudré.

They press out the stalk, the bull that dwells on the mountain, him who like a buffalo[4] is purified on the summit.[5] Him as he roars[6] hymns accompany.[7] Trita cherishes (him who is like) Varuṇa in the (celestial) ocean.

That the first (as well as the fourth) line refers to the preparation of the heavenly Soma by Trita is suggested by sanáu as compared with Tritásyā́dhi sā́navi in (31). Giriṣṭhā́m is, of course, an allusion to the Soma-plant being found on the mountains. The frequent comparison of animals (steed, bull, buffalo) with Soma in the ninth book is meant to illustrate either the speed with which it flows or its strength. The milk which is mixed with Soma is often spoken of as a garment with which he is decked.[8] Varuṇa is here used as an epithet of Soma according to the common practice[9] of Vedic poets of calling one god by the name of another in order to emphasize his greatness. Trita is here, according to Griffith, 'the preparer of the celestial

[1] Cp. (35). Ludwig thinks they are the Dawns.
[2] Cp. (32) and (34).
[3] divi (23), divyaḥ (24).
[4] Cp. IX. 43, 1: 'who is purified with milk like a steed' (yó átya iva mṛjyáte góbhiḥ).
[5] Cp. (31) Tritásyā́dhi sā́navi.
[6] i.e. rushes in the pressing vats, the figure of the bull being kept up.
[7] Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 348 and p. 389.
[8] e.g. IX. 8, 5-6.
[9] Named Kathenotheism by Prof. Max Müller.

Soma,' according to Ludwig Vāyu, according to Sāyaṇa either Indra or Soma (Varuṇa in the latter case being Indra, the repeller[1] of foes).

(33) IX. 102 (Soma Pavamāna hymn), 2:

Úpa Tritásya pāṣíor
ábhakta yád gúhā padám
yajñásya saptá dhā́mabhir ádha priyám.[2]

Near the two stones of Trita he (Soma) has occupied the place which (is) in secret, and is dear (to him) through the seven ordinances of sacrifice.

Since Trita, as we have seen,[3] often appears in the character of preparer of the celestial Soma, he is naturally conceived as possessing pressing stones. His dwelling-place, where these stones are, is hidden.[4] The place where Soma is prepared would naturally be dear to him, especially in connexion with the 'seven ordinances' of the sacrifice with which Soma is so largely concerned. In X. 52, 4 and X. 124, 1, the sacrifice is said to be seven-threaded (saptá-tantu). In (35) Trita is said to be familiar and associated with the centre (nābhi) where the seven rays shine. This almost certainly refers to the sacrificial fire with its rays conventionally regarded as seven in number, Trita being thought of as supplied with a sacrificial fire just as the terrestrial priest is. Ludwig regards this stanza as unintelligible, remarking, "what kind of a 'padam' is meant, and whether 'Tritasya' is to be connected with it, will remain obscure till the signification of Trita has been ascertained." Sāyaṇa thinks Trita is the seer of the hymn.

(34) *ib.* 3:

Trī́ṇi Tritásya dhā́rayā
pṛṣṭhéṣu érayā rayím:
mímīte asya yójanā ví sukrátuḥ.

[1] çatrūṇām nivārakam, (as a kind of etymology of the word Varuṇa).
[2] This stanza occurs without variation in the SV.
[3] 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 32.
[4] Cp. X. 181, 2, 'they found the highest seat of the sacrifice which was hidden' (ávindan té átihitam yád ā́sīd yajñásya dhā́ma paramáṃ gúhā yát).

Bring wealth in a stream on Trita's ridges into (his) three (courses): the wise one (Soma) measures out his (Trita's) courses.

The translators make no intelligible, or at least satisfactory, sense of this stanza. The main justification of my interpretation is that I supply no extraneous word with 'trī*n*i,' but explain it by the third line. The meaning of my translation is: 'Do thou, Soma, on the heights of Trita,[1] direct the fertilizing streams which produce wealth into the channels of Trita, for thou knowest these channels, having measured them out with thy streams.' Ludwig wishes to substitute the reading of the SV.[2] 'airayat' because of the 3rd sing. 'bhuvat' and 'abhakta' in the first and second stanzas of this hymn. We should then, however, have an imperfect after two aorists. The change from the second to the third person in the same stanza is not uncommon in the RV.[3] I take Tritásya with p*r*s*th*ésu like Tritásyádhi sánavi in (31). I construe the causal á-īraya with two accusatives denoting the direct object and the direction. Soma is described as bestowing wealth, for instance in IX. 45, 3: 'Unclose for us the doors of wealth'[4] and in IX. 5, 3: 'he shines as wealth with his streams of mead.'[5] With trī*n*i I supply yójanā from the third line. This word occurs five times in the RV. with numerals, in two of these passages, I. 35, 8 and I. 164, 9, with 'three.' It is used in connexion with lightning in the latter stanza: 'The calf (=lightning) lowed, he looked upon the cow (=the cloud), that has all manner of shapes in three distances.'[6] The trī yójanā are most probably the same as the trī rocaná divá*h*, the three bright realms of heaven.[7] There can hardly be a doubt

[1] Cp. IX. 86, 27: t*r*tī́ye p*r*s*th*é ádhi rocané divá*h*, 'on the third ridge in the brightness of heaven.'

[2] As to the value of the various readings of the SV. cp. Aufrecht RV. vol. ii. pp. xli.-xlv.

[3] Cp. p. 441, note 3.

[4] Ví no rāyé dúro v*r*dhi. Cp. also IX. 102, 8: 'open the stall of heaven,' *rn*ór ápa vrajá*m* divá*h*.

[5] rayír ví rājati . . mádhor dhárābhi*h*.

[6] Cp. p. 440, note 2.

[7] Cp. p. 483; cp. also the trī́*n*i diví bándhanāni of the celestial steed in (17).

that a play on the numeral is intended by the juxtaposition of the words 'trī́ṇi Tritásya.'[1] Sāyaṇa and Griffith supply savanāni, oblations, with trī́ṇi, Ludwig savanāni or sarāṁsi, Grassmann, 'places' (*Stätten*), the latter word nearly coinciding in sense with my interpretation.

VIII. Trita is six times mentioned as in heaven,[2] or as remote and concealed.

(35) I. 105 (Viçvedevāḥ hymn), 9:

Amī́ yé saptá raçmayás
tátrā me nā́bhir[3] ā́tatā.
Tritás tád veda Āptiáḥ:
sá jāmitvā́ya rebhati.
(vittám me asyá, rodasī).[4]

Where those seven rays (are), there my centre is extended. Trita Āptya knows that: he speaks for kinship. (Witness me that, o heaven and earth.)

The seven rays[5] no doubt mean the celestial fire of the Sun with which the seer, as a priest tending the sacrificial fire, claims connexion.[6] Trita knows this, for being the hidden fire in the cloud, he claims relationship with it himself. He is related as a brother both to the sun and to terrestrial fire.[7] Ludwig thinks that the seven rays refer to terrestrial fire, which forms the centre of the priest's kinship, and that amī́ is used because the seer is thinking of a fire in his mind's eye and not of one actually before him. But the next stanza which begins with similar words, (amī́ yé páñca), and refers to the heavens (mádhye . . . diváḥ), would suggest that not terrestrial but celestial fire

[1] Cp. p. 483 (41).
[2] Cp. (23) and (24) in heaven; (31) and (34) on a height; (33) in secret.
[3] Cp. nā́bhiṣ in (26) and (30) note 5.
[4] Refrain.
[5] Cp. jāmíbhiṣ in (31), and yajñásya saptá dhā́mabhiḥ in (33).
[6] Cp. X. 7, 3: 'Agni I deem my father, my kinsman, my brother, my friend for ever; as the face of great Agni I will honour the holy light of Sūrya in the sky.'
[7] Cp. I. 164, 1: 'the middle brother (of the three) is lightning.' See Haug, *Räthselfragen*, p. 13.

is here referred to. With the expression jāmitvā́ya rebhati may be compared jāmí bruvaṇáḥ, said of Trita 'calling' the weapons of his father 'akin' in (4). Ludwig thinks that Trita, both here and in (36), is Soma, while Sāyaṇa considers him to be a '*Ṛṣi*, son of waters.'[1]

(36) *ib.* 17:

Tritáḥ kū́pe ávahito
devā́n havata ūtáye:
tác chuçrāva Bṛhaspátiḥ
kṛṇvánn aṃhuraṇā́d urú.
(vittám me asyá, rodasī).

Trita buried in the well called upon the gods for help. That Bṛhaspati heard, making (him) free from (his) distress. (Witness me that, o heaven and earth.)

Parallel with this stanza is (4), where Trita in his lurking place (vavre) prays to his father. Here he is released from his confinement by the 'Lord of Prayer;'[2] there he prepares for the conflict with Vṛtra by arming himself with his father's weapons, *i.e.* the thunderbolt.

Both passages refer to Trita's concealment in the cloud,[3] from which he issues in the form of lightning.

In four stanzas (besides a fifth in which he is simply called Āptya) of VIII. 47 (a hymn to the Ādityas and to Ushas) Trita is spoken of as dwelling far away.

(37) VIII. 47, 13:

Yád āvír yád apīcíam,
dévāso, ásti duṣkṛtám,
Trité tád víçvam Āptiá
āré asmád dadhātana
(Anehāso va ūtáyaḥ
suūtáyo va ūtáyaḥ).

[1] He explains the word Tritá by 'tīrṇatama,' elucidating this explanation further by 'tiraskṛtājñāna' 'one who has overcome ignorance.' Cp. p. 421.

[2] Bṛhaspati also releases the nectar (=fertilising rain) from the well of rock (=rain-cloud) in II. 24, 4 and X. 68, 4, 7, 8.

[3] Here called kū́pa or well; otherwise the cloud is often called utsa, fountain, avata, well, or ūdhar, udder (of the sky) by a very natural metaphor. Cp. (19).

Whatever ill deed, o gods, is manifest or concealed, all that put far away from us to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable are your aids, well-aiding are your aids.)

(38) 14:

Yác ca gó*s*u du*h*svápnia*m*
yác cāsmé, duhitar diva*h*,
Tritáya tád, vibhāvari,
Āptiáya párā vaha
(Aneháso va —).

And any evil dream (there be) concerning (our) cows or ourselves, o daughter of heaven, to Trita Āptya, o radiant goddess, bear that away. (Incomparable, etc.)

(39) 15:

Ni*s*ká*m* vā ghā kr*n*ávate
srája*m* vā, duhitar diva*h*,
Trité du*h*svápnia*m* sárvam
Āptié pári dadmasi
(Aneháso va —).

Whether it (the dream) produce a necklace or a wreath, o daughter of heaven, we put the whole evil dream away to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable, etc.)

The clause in which kr*n*ávate occurs must be subordinate as the verb is accented.[1] I incline, however, to give it the concessive sense of 'even if' and not simply 'if,' like Pischel and Grassmann. For then the use of sárvam, 'whole,' as opposed to viçvam in 13 would be justified.[2] That sárva has this meaning here and is not the later equivalent of viçva, 'all, every,' is supported by stanza 17, where it is contrasted with one-sixteenth and one-eighth. Pischel[3] thinks that sraj has an inauspicious meaning, because as early as the Brāhma*n*a period the sacrificial horse is spoken of as wearing a garland. But the evidence

[1] Cp. Pischel, Vedica in ZMG., vol. xl. p. 111.
[2] The sense would then be 'even though parts of it be pleasant, we put the whole of the evil dream away.'
[3] p. 112.

he further adduces seems to show that the sight of a garland is auspicious rather than sinister.[1] The word niská occurs in three other passages in the RV. The reference in I. 126, 2, where the poet says that he had accepted a hundred niskas and a hundred steeds as a gift, would point to an auspicious sense. In II. 33, 10, Rudra is said to wear a niska, which is variegated (viçvarūpa). In V. 19, 3, the use of the word in the compound niská-grīva, 'wearing a niska round the neck,' said of a seer named Brhaduktha, shows that the word meant necklace. But as Pischel[2] points out, there is no reason whatever for supposing that it means a 'gold necklace' in the RV. That there should be any connexion between the necklace of Rudra mentioned above and the later conception of Çiva with a necklace of skulls[3] is hardly likely.

(40) 16:

Tádannāya tádapase
tám bhāgám upasedúse,
Tritáya ca Dvitáya ca
U'so, duhsvápniam vaha
(Anehàso va —).

To him who has that for his food, that for his work, who possesses that portion, to Trita and to Dvita, o Dawn, bear the evil dream. (Incomparable, etc.)

(40a) 17:

Yáthā kalā́m yáthā çaphám
yátha rnám samnáyāmasi,
evā́ duhsvápniam sárvam
Āptié sám nayāmasi
(Anehàso va —).

As we discharge a sixteenth, as an eighth, as a (whole) debt, so we discharge the whole evil dream to Trita Āptya. (Incomparable, etc.)

[1] pp. 113-118.
[2] p. 121.
[3] *Ib.*

The word kalá occurs only here in the RV.; but the meaning is undoubted owing to its being used twice along with çaphá with the sense of the fraction $\frac{1}{16}$ in other Vedic works.[1] Çaphá, the (cloven) hoof has come to mean one-eighth just as pāda, 'foot,' acquired the sense of 'one-fourth' (of a stanza).

In all these five stanzas the poet wishes away every evil deed once and evil dreams four times to Trita as one dwelling in the far distance, his epithet Āptya being added four times no doubt to emphasize his remoteness. That a deity, who is regarded as remaining concealed in the clouds, and is only seen issuing from the remotest regions of the heavens, should be regarded as a type of what is extremely distant, is natural. In stanza 16 another deity, Dvita, is associated with Trita. Dvita is mentioned in only one other passage, in an Agni hymn (V. 18, 2), where there can be hardly any doubt that a form of Agni is meant:[2] 'To Dvita who carries away what is injured . . to thee, O immortal (Agni), the singer forthwith presents Soma'[3]. It is of importance here to ascertain the exact meaning of the attribute mṛktá-vāhas. Mṛktá is the past participle of mṛc (occurring in five finite forms in the RV.), which in its negative form a-mṛkta is met with eleven times in the RV. with the undoubted sense of uninjured. vā́has occurs five times as a noun in the RV. meaning 'offering,' but also frequently at the end of bahuvrīhi compounds such as yajñá-vāhas, meaning 'taking,' 'wafting.' In nṛ-vā́has, 'wafting men,' it is accented as a Tatpurusa like -vāhá, 'carrying away.' That in mṛktávāhas it has the latter meaning is confirmed by ripra-vāhá,'[4] 'carrying away impurity,' an epithet of Agni. The word must therefore mean 'carrying off what is injured, imperfect, or faulty.' Besides the Dawn who in our hymn (VIII. 47) as the dispeller of darkness and sleep is naturally

[1] In the TS. and ÇB.: see BR. *s.v.*
[2] Grassmann, Translation, Vol. I. p. 175, is of this opinion.
[3] Dvitā́ya mṛktávāhase . . . índum sá dhatta ānuṣák stotā́ cit te amartia.
[4] ἅπ. λεγ. RV. X. 16, 9.

enough four times[1] invoked to bear away evil dreams, the only other god who is called upon to do the same thing is the (morning) sun (Sūrya or Savitṛ), the reason being of course similar. Outside our hymn (VIII. 47) the word duḥsvápnya occurs only three times in the RV.: in V. 82, 4 Savitṛ is invoked to bear away[2] the evil dream, and in X. 37, 4 it is Sūrya who is to drive away[3] sickness, neglect of sacrifice, disease, and evil dream.[4] Such a function would be well described by 'mṛktá-vāhas,' 'carrying away what is faulty.' This meaning would be equivalent to pāvaká, purifying,[5] which though usually an epithet of Agni, is also applied to Sūrya in I. 50, 6. Thus Dvita would appear to be the second form of fire or the sun, who as the dispeller of darkness carries off evil dreams, and equally well with Trita, the third form of fire or lightning, may be regarded as dwelling in the remote distance. Grassmann considered the last five stanzas of VIII. 47 (14–18) to form a separate hymn. This seems highly probable, owing to the unity of the subject matter. But as Pischel[6] points out, it is more likely that this new hymn commences with stanza 13, partly because of the 'ca' at the beginning of 14, and partly owing to the common strophic character of these six verses (irrespective of the general refrain, which is added from the previous part of the hymn). I have already disposed of one of Grassmann's reasons for separating 14–18 from 13, the occurrence of sarva in the former as opposed to viçva in the latter. Sāyaṇa considering Trita to be the author of VIII. 47, involves himself in great difficulties of interpretation.

Having carefully examined all the passages[7] in which

1 In stanzas 14, 15, 16 and 18.

2 'suva,' with the frequent etymological play on the word savitṛ; in the following stanza he is called upon to carry away evil deeds (duritāni) as the Ādityas in (37).

3 Again 'suva.'

4 The third passage is X. 36, 4, where the pressing stone (grāvan) is called upon to dispel evil spirits and evil dreams.

5 The sense usually given to the word by the native commentators, though BR. and Grassmann assign to it the meaning of 'radiant,' 'flaming.'

6 Vedica, ZMG. vol. xl. p. 111.

7 With the exception of the one occurrence of the word in the plural, which I wish to reserve till later (p. 482).

Trita's name occurs in the RV., it will, I think, conduce to clearness if before proceeding I summarize the information there supplied as to the nature of this god.

In the majority of the passages in which Trita is associated with Indra, he is engaged in the fight with the demon of drought, while in the remaining stanzas he prepares Soma for Indra in the remote region of the heavens where Viṣṇu, Manu Vivasvat, and the Maruts dwell. He is also once mentioned independently as slaying Vṛtra under the inspiration of Soma, and once identified with the swift celestial steed, the personification of lightning. When associated with the Maruts, he is connected with the rain-cloud, he thunders, he assists them, he brings them down to earth on his car. In the passages where he is mentioned with Agni, he is in two cases undoubtedly, and in two others most probably, identified with him. When spoken of with Soma, he is regarded as preparing it in a lofty and remote region of heaven, and there supplying it to Indra, once, however, drinking it himself. Finally, he is described as being hidden in a well or dwelling in the extreme distance.

We have seen that Trita has been identified by various scholars with Indra, Vāyu, Dyu, Soma, and Agni, respectively, or in some cases with two or even three of these deities in different passages. Now the nature of the Vedic deities is so abstract, their attributes so comparatively few, and those not always distinctive, that in some places one god may very well seem identical with an entirely different one. This is, no doubt, the main reason why the Vedic poets so often call one god, for the moment, by the name of another. Supposing, however, we consider the passages collectively in which Trita is referred to, his characteristics, taken as a whole, certainly do not apply to the first four of the deities mentioned above.

That he is not identical with Indra, as far as the RV. is concerned, is sufficiently proved by the fact that they so often appear side by side as distinct personages.

Vāyu or Vāta could not possibly be said to be born in houses (26), or to take up his abode in dwellings as the

house-friend (27). Unlike Agni, who appears as fire, sun, and lightning, Vāyu is never regarded as having any other form than that of wind. It would, therefore, be highly unnatural that he should be mentioned over again in the same stanza by the name of Trita as in (24) and (28). Again, if Trita were Vāyu, how could we account for Dvita[1]?

The identification of Trita with Dyu is more easily dismissed than any of the others. How could the god, who is the personification of the heavens, be possibly conceived as establishing himself in the houses of men, or being hidden in a well, or praying to his father to release him? Who would be his father?

Soma being a terrestrial product, all its characteristics must be in the highest degree familiar to the poets of the Rigveda. It would, therefore, have been extremely unnatural had they conceived Soma in its celestial form to be so divested of its distinctive attributes as no longer to be in any sense a counterpart of what it was on earth. As a matter of fact, the parallelism between the two is strongly marked in the RV.[2] Thus the celestial, as well as the terrestrial Soma, is regarded as mixed with water, though many passages show that it is in reality identical with rain-water.[3] Thus too, the celestial Soma is five times in the RV. spoken of as a 'Vṛtra-slayer' in a secondary sense, because it braces Indra for the conflict with Vṛtra, just as the terrestrial Soma inspires with courage. If Trita were Soma, in what sense could he be said to take up his abode in the dwellings of men, and become the centre of brightness? The chief argument, however, against the identification of these two is, the fact that they are very frequently mentioned together, Trita generally being the preparer of Soma. It may be objected that they could very well be referred to together, if the one were regarded as the god, and the other as the juice. Thus the meaning

[1] See above pp. 463–4.
[2] Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 388.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 362.

in (18) would be: 'I will praise the Soma-juice by which the god Soma slew Vṛtra.' This sense is unnatural in itself, nor do I think any passage can be adduced from the RV. in support of it. Anyhow, this argument does not apply when Soma is distinctly the deity, as in (17), (24), or (31), where Soma causes the sun to shine on the ridge of Trita. Nevertheless, Bergaigne, who was as familiar with the subject matter of the RV. as any other scholar, in most cases identifies Trita with Soma, though in a few passages he recognizes him undoubtedly to be Agni. The difficulty of making Trita represent two totally different gods he gets over by regarding the celestial Agni and the celestial Soma (=liquid fire) as one and the same. This view, no doubt, arose from the fact of Agni and Soma in their celestial form having many points in common. Thus both dwell in the clouds or waters and both come down to earth. But to identify the two is going too far.

Having dealt with the opinions previously held, I may now state definitely my own conclusions, which may be gathered from remarks made above and has already been stated provisionally in my Sanskrit Dictionary. Trita I regard as no other than the third or lightning form of Agni. This interpretation will suit all the passages we have examined. Lightning is the chief agent in the thunderstorm, and its manifestation precedes the release of the heavenly waters. It is thus a matter of course that Trita should be associated with Indra in the conflict with the drought fiend. He is naturally identified with the celestial steed, the personification of lightning as having in the highest degree the quality most distinctive of the horse. His connexion in this character with the Maruts and the rain-cloud, his thundering and his descent to the earth, is no less clear. His relation to Agni, of whom he is only a form, is still more obvious. What, moreover, is more natural than that Agni who is *the* priest[1] on earth, should be regarded as the preparer of the celestial Soma in the

[1] He is constantly spoken of as a hotṛ in the RV.

heavens? Besides there are several verses in the RV. which closely connect lightning with the purification of Soma.[1] It is important to note that of all the gods with whom Trita is mentioned, Agni is the only one with whom he is actually identified. It is true that Varuṇa is once spoken of as Trita. But this may be left out of account as an isolated case of Kathenotheism. For in no other instance is Trita even mentioned with Varuṇa except in (32), where he is said to cherish 'Varuṇa' similarly used as an epithet of Soma. What, further, is more apt than to speak of lightning as concealed in a well as a figurative term for the rain-cloud? His praying to be released is not a far-fetched way of expressing mythologically that the appearance of the lightning flash and the consequent release of the rain often seem unduly delayed. Finally, hardly any other phenomenon of nature would be more likely to suggest to men in an early stage of civilization the idea of extreme remoteness than lightning, which often seems to break from the uttermost limits of the heavens.

This identification is thoroughly borne out by the nature of Agni in the RV. No other god is to be met with there in whom a threefold division rests on a physical basis. Fire appears as ordinary Agni on earth, as the Sun or Sūrya in the heavens, and as lightning in the intermediate region. Terrestrial and solar fire as being permanent and appearing every day, would naturally be regarded as the first and second form, while its fleeting and rarer manifestation would be looked upon as the third.

No cosmological fact is more frequently alluded to in the RV. than this threefold division of fire.[2] I have collected close on seventy passages in which it is referred to with or without some form of the numeral 'three.' It will, however, suffice for our purposes to quote only the most striking of them:—'O Agni, three (are) thy powers, three (thy) stations (sadhásthā), three thy tongues . . and three thy

[1] Cp. Hillebrandt, V.M. p. 342.

[2] There can be no doubt that the three sacrificial fires were meant to represent these three forms of Agni. Cp. Ludwig, RV. vol. iii. p. 356.

bodies' (tanvās).[1] 'I[2] am threefold light' (arkás tridhátuh).[3] 'O thou who abidest in three places (trisadhasthá[4]), Agni Vaiçvānara.'[5] 'The immortals purified three kindlings (samídhah) of Agni: of these one they assigned to man (mártye) for enjoyment, and two went to the sister world' (u lokám jāmím).[6] 'Threefold (tríh) are the births of god Agni.'[7] 'He first was born in dwellings (pastíāsu) at the base of great heaven (maháh),[8] in the womb of this atmosphere,[9] footless, headless, concealing his ends, contracting himself in the lair of (him) the bull.'[10] 'To that Agni who has three dwellings (tripastyám), best slayer of Dasyus (dasyuhántamam) we have come.'[11] 'The wise Agni inhabits threefold[12] (tridhátūni) gathering places' (vidáthā).[13] 'From heaven first Agni was born, the second time from us (asmád, *i.e.* men), thirdly (trtíyam) the manly-souled (was born) in the waters.'[14] 'We know, O Agni, thy three (abodes) in three places (tredhá), we know thy abodes (dháma) distributed in many places; we know thy highest name which (is) in secret;[15] we know that spring (utsa)[16] whence thou comest.'[17] 'The manly-souled viewer of men[18]

[1] III. 20, 2.
[2] Agni is represented as speaking.
[3] III. 26, 7. Hillebrandt (Cp. V.M. p. 334) thinks that the third form of Agni is the moon; but that a luminary, whose rays become the type of what is cooling, should be regarded as a representative form of the burning and scorching god is highly improbable, apart from the weakness of the evidence in the RV.
[4] This epithet is often applied to Agni, *e.g.* V. 4, 8; VI. 12, 2.
[5] VI. 8, 7.
[6] III. 2, 9.
[7] IV. 1, 7.
[8] As the sun.
[9] As lightning.
[10] IV. 1, 11. Cp. p. 474, note 10.
[11] VIII. 39, 8.
[12] Referring to the threefold division of heaven, earth, and atmosphere, so often alluded to.
[13] VIII. 39, 9.
[14] X. 45, 1.
[15] Most probably 'Trita'; cp. X. 5, 2.
[16] Cp. kūpe in (36).
[17] X. 45, 2. Cp. X. 5, 1, where it is said of Agni that he 'lurks in the udder, in the lap of the secret ones; in the midst of the spring rests the place of the bird' (sísakti údhar ninyór upásthe, útsasya mádhye níhitam padám veh).
[18] Probably Varuna, who, in V. 85, 2, is said to have placed Agni in the waters (Várumo apsú Agním divi sūryam adadhāt).

kindled thee in the (aerial) ocean within the waters, in the udder (ū́dhan) of the sky, o Agni; the mighty ones (mahiṣā́ḥ)[1] increased thee as thou stoodest in the third (region of the) atmosphere (tṛtī́ye rájasi) in the lap of the waters.'[2] 'As heavenly (āsurá) germ he is called Tanūnapāt,[3] when he is born in different places (vijā́yate) he is Narāçaṃsa,[4] Mātariçvan when he was fashioned in his mother.'[5] 'The middlemost brother is lightning (áçnaḥ), the third is butter-backed (ghṛtápṛṣṭhaḥ).'[6] 'Viṣṇu knowing (it) guards his (Agni's) highest (*sc.* station), the third.'[7]

It being now clear that a third form of Agni is very frequently recognized in the RV., my view that this third form of Agni or lightning is identical with Trita will receive strong confirmation, if we find Agni occurring in the same combinations in which Trita appears. That view may be considered as established if Agni and Trita can be shown to have some characteristic in common which is shared by no other deity.

I will, therefore, now proceed to examine the nature of Agni in the RV. under the same eight heads as those under which I have already dealt with Trita.

I. Not only are Agni and Indra very frequently associated, but eleven hymns are addressed to these two deities in conjunction.[8] From the numerous passages which may be quoted to show the intimate connexion of Agni with Indra, I select the following: 'Ye have gained a good name together, and ye, o Vṛtra-slayers are united; as such, o Indra-Agni, seated together do ye, o mighty ones, pour down the mighty Soma.'[9] 'The heroic deeds and the mighty acts which ye, O Indra-Agni, have done, the forms which (ye have assumed), the ancient auspicious bonds of friendship

[1] Perhaps the Maruts.
[2] X. 45, 3.
[3] Here the sun.
[4] Ordinary fire.
[5] Lightning, III. 29, 11.
[6] I. 164, 1: cp. Haug *Räthselfragen*, p. 13.
[7] X. 1, 3.
[8] The other gods along with whom Indra is invoked are Varuṇa (seven hymns), Soma (two), Pūṣan (one), Viṣṇu (one).
[9] I. 108, 3.

which (are) yours, for their sake do ye drink of the pressed Soma.'[1] 'Of you, o Indra-Agni, I have heard that ye are mightiest in the Vṛtra-fight[2] at the division of wealth; as such seated on the strewn grass at this sacrifice, do ye delight yourselves with the juice, ye active ones.'[3] 'Ye destroyers of forts, bestow (wealth), ye that bear the thunderbolt in your hands; protect us, o Indra-Agni, in battles' (bhâreṣu).[4] 'I invoke Indra-Agni, the bounteous, Vṛtra-slayers, conquering together, unsubdued, mightiest in winning spoil.'[5] 'Indra-Agni cast down together with a single deed the ninety-nine forts lorded over by the demons.'[6] 'O Indra-Agni, ye adorn in your mighty conflicts the bright realms of heaven (rocanā́ divā́ḥ): that heroic might of yours has become famous.'[7] 'O Indra-Agni, your father is the same, ye (are) brothers, ye are twins, whose mother is here and there' (ihehamātārā).[8] 'By the command of Indra-Agni streaming the rivers flow, which they two released from their confinement.'[9] 'Indra-Agni, mighty lords in Vṛtra-fights helping one another, dwelling together in body, filled the great atmosphere with their might.'[10] 'This is that Agni beside whom (yasmin) Indra eagerly placed the pressed Soma within his belly.'[11]

II. The celestial horse, the personification of lightning speed, is, as we have seen, identified in one passage with Trita. This steed, under the name of Dadhikrā,[12] is in IV. 40, 5 described as being identical with the various forms of fire: 'the Haṁsa[13] dwelling in light, the Vasu in the

[1] *Ib.* 5.
[2] Pischel, who translates the whole of I. 109 in V.S. part ii. takes vṛtra-hatya here in the sense of 'fight' (in general).
[3] I. 109, 5.
[4] *Ib.* 8.
[5] III, 12, 4.
[6] *Ib.* 6.
[7] *Ib.* 9.
[8] VII. 59, 2.
[9] VIII. 40, 8.
[10] X. 65, 2.
[11] III. 22, 1.
[12] The very name dadhi-krā (or-krā-van) 'curd-mixing' (√kṛ or kir) is suggestive of lightning, which (or thunder) turns milk sour.
[13] The sun is often spoken of as a bird in the RV. Cp. p. 469, note 17.

atmosphere,[1] the priest[2] dwelling on the altar, the guest[3] dwelling in the house.' In IV. 39, 2, the poet says: 'Rejoicing I praise the mighty swift stallion Dadhikrāvan who bestows many gifts, the conqueror (táturim), whom like shining Agni (dīdivā́ṁsam nā́gnim) Mitra-Varuṇa gave to men' (purúbhyaḥ), adding in stanza 4: 'When we think of Dadhikrāvan . . . , we call for welfare upon the blessed name of the Maruts, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni (and) Indra who bears the bolt in his arm.'

III. Agni is very frequently described as slaying Vṛtra. In four of the passages quoted under I. Agni is spoken of conjointly with Indra as performing this deed. I will now add some more (which might be greatly multiplied) showing Agni in this character. 'Let people say: Agni, the Vṛtra-slayer, has been born, the winner of wealth in every battle.'[4] 'Thee, mightiest Vṛtra-slayer, who castest down the demons (dasyūn) we praise owing to thy riches.'[5] 'May that Vṛtra-slayer, ancient, omniscient, take the singer across all troubles.'[6] 'Agni, the Bhārata, the Vṛtra-slayer, has been brought.'[7] 'May Agni slay the Vṛtras.'[8] It should here be noted that Agni is the only other deity to whom is applied with any frequency 'vṛtrahan,' the specific epithet of Indra, which is used more than seventy times of the latter deity in the RV. Agni is sixteen times called 'Vṛtra-slayer,' in seven of these passages conjointly with Indra.[9] Otherwise the term is applied six times to Soma, as bracing Indra for the conflict, and twice (in the same hymn) to the Açvins. Here again Agni, like Trita, agrees in a remarkable manner with Indra in his most salient characteristic.

IV. Agni is often associated with the Maruts. The refrain of I. 19 is 'O Agni, come hither with the Maruts.'

[1] Lightning.
[2] A regular epithet of Agni as the sacrificial fire.
[3] Common designation of Agni as the domestic fire.
[4] I. 74, 3.
[5] I. 78. 4.
[6] III. 20, 4.
[7] VI. 16, 19.
[8] Agnír vṛtrā́ṇi jaṅghanat, *ib.* 34.
[9] Indra and Agni are the only gods conjointly termed 'Vṛtra-slayers.'

Agni is called the 'friend of the Maruts.'[1] The Maruts are said to have Agni as their tongue.[2] The same intimate connexion appears in the following two passages: 'We implore the brightness of Agni and the might of the Maruts.'[3] 'O Kanvas, I praise Agni together with our Maruts that hold bolts in their hands and bear golden axes.'[4]

V. We have seen that Trita is not only several times associated with Agni, but is in some instances actually identified with him. Such being the case, the question naturally suggests itself, Is there any characteristic which belongs to both Trita and Agni, but which they have in common with no other deity? This question admits, I believe, of an answer in the affirmative. The epithet Āptyá, occurring ten times in the RV., is in effect exclusively limited to Trita. The word is derived from āp the strong base of ap, 'water,' by means of the suffix -tya, which is usually employed in forming adjectives from adverbs or prepositions, with the sense of 'derived from' or 'belonging to,' as in amá-tya, ápa-tya, ní-tya. Another derivative with the same suffix from the weak base of ap is ap-tyá, 'watery,' which occurs in one passage,[5] where the Dawn is spoken of as appearing in the eastern half of the 'watery atmosphere' (aptyásya rájasah). A third derivative of ap is ap-ta, which is found once[6] in the RV. in the negative form an-apta, meaning 'not watery,' said of Soma.[7] The most common adjective derived from ap, which occurs fifteen times in the RV., and has the sense of 'belonging to or derived from the waters,' 'aqueous,' is áp-ya. That this is the meaning of āptyá also is recognized by the Taittirīya Brāhmana,[8] in quoting which Sāyana in his introductory remarks to RV. I. 105, says: "That Trita was son of waters the Taittirīyas clearly state: 'then Ekata was born; he (Agni) threw a second time, then

[1] Marúdvrdha, III. 13, 6.
[2] Agnijihvá, I. 89, 7.
[3] III. 26, 6
[4] VIII. 7, 32.
[5] I. 124, 5.
[6] IX. 16, 3.
[7] ánaptam apsú dustáram sómam.
[8] See p. 478.

Dvita was born; he threw a third time, then Trita was born. Because they were born from the waters therefore they are āpyas.' This same Āpya we read of with the insertion of the letter t in Trita Āptya knows that."[1] Sāyana elsewhere refers to this 'insertion of the letter t' as Vedic (chāndasa).

The etymological meaning 'derived from the waters,' which is supported by the Brāhmanas,[2] is thoroughly in keeping with what we have ascertained from the evidence of the RV. itself to be the character of Trita. Moreover, granting that Trita is the celestial Agni, there is no point better established in Vedic mythology than the conception of Agni dwelling in the waters.[3] The following are a few of the very numerous quotations which might be adduced in support of this statement: 'O Agni, thou art kindled in the abode of waters.'[4] 'He dwelt in the lap of the waters.'[5] 'The great priest, who knows the clouds, who dwells among men, sat in the lap of waters.'[6] 'Wise Bhrgus found him in the gathering place of the waters.'[7] 'Bhrgus serving him in the gathering place of the waters, placed him in the dwellings of man.'[8] 'The gods found beautiful Agni within the waters.'[9] 'Him the observant, benevolent (gods) found in the waters crouching like a lion.'[10] 'He who observes the laws of the gods[11] told me that thou (Agni) wast lying concealed in the waters.'[12] 'Within the waters, Soma said to me, are all medicines and Agni who blesses all.'[13]

There are two occurrences—in one and the same verse[14]—

[1] RV. I. 105, 9.
[2] See p. 479.
[3] See Bergaigne, R.V. II. 16.
[4] III. 25, 5.
[5] I. 144, 2.
[6] X. 46, 1.
[7] *Ib.* 2.
[8] II 4, 2.
[9] III. i. 3.
[10] III. 9, 4. Cp. IV. i. 11; III. i. 14.
[11] Soma, see next quotation.
[12] X. 32, 6.
[13] X. 9, 6=I. 23, 20.
[14] X 120, 6.

of the word Āptya which do not refer to Trita. The epithet is there applied to Trita's most intimate associate Indra, but in such a general way as to show clearly that it is for the nonce transferred to him by the poet for the purpose of emphasizing his greatness. Indra is here praised as 'the most mighty Āptya of the Āptyas' (inátamam Āptyám[1] Āptyānām[2]). It is thus clear that the word Āptya, meaning 'derived from or dwelling in the waters' is in reality the exclusive epithet of Trita.

Similarly the epithet Apām napāt, 'son of waters,' which occurs twenty-eight times in the RV. is, with a single insignificant exception, exclusively applied to Agni as produced from the celestial waters in the form of lightning.[3] The meaning of the epithet is so undoubted, that it would be waste of space to quote here more than two or three passages in support of it. 'The son of waters, erect, clothed in lightning has penetrated to the lap of the slanting (waters); the son of waters is golden in form, golden in look, golden in colour.'[4] 'He who shines without fuel amidst the waters, whom priests praise at sacrifices: do thou, o son of waters, give waters rich in mead, by which Indra grew strong for his heroic deed.'[5]

The single exception referred to above is RV. I. 22, 6, where Savitr is praised as the 'son of waters.' Savitr being the sun, regarded as a generator, is a form of Agni, and closely associated in nature with moisture. We have already

[1] Yāska (Nir. XI. 20) deriving the word from āp 'to obtain,' explains Āptyám Āptyānām by āptavyam āptavyānām!

[2] This single occurrence in the RV. of the word in the plural is the only justification for 'Āptyāh' appearing among the deities of the middle region in the Nighantus (5, 5).

[3] This is the view accepted by the majority of Vedic scholars. Hillebrandt (V.M., pp. 365-80) inclines to the belief that Apām napāt is the moon. The evidence of the RV. is distinctly in favour of the received opinion. Dwelling and concealment in the waters, swiftness, and fieriness is essential to the nature of lightning, but not to that of the moon.

[4] II. 35, 8 and 9.

[5] X. 30, 4. It is to be noted that the waters released by the celestial Agni are here distinctly regarded as the celestial Soma which strengthens Indra for the conflict. So Trita prepares Soma for Indra.

seen[1] Savit*r* as Dvita connected with Agni as Trita. This exception is, therefore, in reality, no exception at all. Every doubt as to Apā*m* napāt being simply and solely the lightning form of Agni is removed by the evidence of the Avesta, where Apām napā*t* is "a name of the fire-god as born from the cloud in lightning."[2] The conclusion, therefore, seems to be irresistible that Trita Āptya and Agni Apā*m* napāt were originally one and the same person.

VI. In two or three passages Agni is more or less identified with Varu*n*a. Thou, O Agni (art) Varu*n*a when thou art born, thou becomest Mitra when kindled; in thee,[3] o son of strength, all gods are.'[4] 'Having obtained a vision of him,' says the poet, 'I have regarded Varu*n*a's as Agni's face.'[5] It is said of Varu*n*a, in another passage,[6] that he 'discharged the cask that opens downwards through heaven and earth and air,' this being otherwise the action of the celestial Agni or of Indra.

VII. Agni is sometimes associated with Soma, one whole hymn[7] being addressed to them conjointly. The following two stanzas may be quoted. 'O Agni-Soma, that heroic deed of yours became famous when ye stole from Pa*n*i the cows, (his) food.'[8] 'You two working together, Agni and Soma, placed these luminaries in the heavens; you two, Agni-Soma released from curse and reproach the pent-up rivers.'[9]

VIII. The following are two examples of Agni being in the celestial heights: 'That Agni, born in the highest heavens (parame vyōmani) observed the ordinances.'[10] 'Agni's roarings, accompanied with sharp weapons for slaying the demon, are in the heavens.'[11]

[1] In (40).
[2] Darmesteter, SBE. vol. iv. p. lxiii.
[3] In X. 5, 3, Agni is called 'the centre (nābhi) of all that moves and is fixed'; cp. VIII. 41, 6, above (30).
[4] V. 3, 1.
[5] VII. 88, 2.
[6] V. 85, 3.
[7] I. 93.
. 93, 4.
. 5.
I. 8, 2.
. 2, 10.

Agni is also often described as hidden. 'The wise (gods) tracked thee lurking in secret like a thief with a cow.'[1] 'In his hand holding all manly power, crouching in secret, he put the gods in fear.'[2] 'Thee, Agni, lurking in secret the Añgirasas found out.'[3] 'Great lights, like shining lightnings, attended the radiant Agni grown in secret, as it were, within his own abode milking the nectar (amṛtam) in the boundless stall.'[4] 'In the lap of the waters the mighty seized him; Mātariçvan as messenger of Vivasvat brought Agni Vaiçvānara from far away.'[5] 'Large and firm was that covering (úlbam) wherewith enveloped thou didst enter the waters.'[6]

Having collected the evidence contained in the RV. itself bearing directly or indirectly on the character of Trita, let us now inquire whether any additional light can be shed on the subject by the remaining literature of ancient India.

The name of Trita occurs six times in the Sāma Veda, but only in verses borrowed from the ninth book of the Rigveda. These passages I have already examined, adding the various readings of the SV. where they exist.

Trita, spelt Tṛtá,[7] is mentioned three times in the Atharva Veda, two of these occurrences being in the same hymn.

In AV. I. 113, 1, we read: 'To Tṛta the gods transferred from themselves (amṛjata) this guilt (enas). Tṛta transferred it from himself (mamṛje) to men. If, therefore, a demon of disease (grāhi) has seized thee, may the gods drive it away from thee through prayer' (brahma); and in the third stanza of the same hymn: 'What was imposed on Tṛta twelvefold, he has transferred from himself, human

[1] I. 65, 1.
[2] I. 67, 2. Cp. 469, note 10, and 474, note 10.
[3] V. 11, 6.
[4] III. 1, 14.
[5] VI. 8, 4.
[6] X. 51, 1.
[7] This represents an older form of the word than tritá, being the basis of the secondary formation tṛt-íya, = Lat. tertius, etc. Cp. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II. part i. p. 229.

misfortune: if, therefore, a demon of disease has seized thee, may the gods drive it away from thee through prayer.'

In XIX. 56, a hymn to sleep (svapna), stanza 4 says: 'The Fathers did not know him nor the gods who conversed with him. The heroes, the Ādityas, taught by Varuṇa, banished sleep to Tṛta Āptya.'

From the first two passages nothing can be gathered except perhaps a reminiscence of Trita being a purifier or healer, in his character of preparer of the heavenly Soma. This, of course, only applies as far as the gods are concerned. His remoteness is also suggested, this being one of his traits in the RV. The third passage illustrates this latter characteristic, being parallel to RV. VIII. 47, 13 (see above 37), where the Ādityas are invoked to bear away every evil deed ('duṣkṛtam,' corresponding to 'enas' of the two first passages in the AV.) to Trita Āptya, as the Dawn in the next three stanzas is called upon to do with evil dreams.

Thus we see that the AV. supplies us with no new information as to the character of Trita.

In the Yajurveda, TS. I. viii. 10, 2, Trita is described as a bestower of long life:

> ví u Tritó jarimáṇam ná ānaṭ,[1]
> Trita has obtained old age for us.

This is without doubt a secondary trait derived from Trita's character of preparer of the heavenly Soma, the amṛta or draught of immortality.

The authors of the Brāhmaṇas of the YV. evidently had a feeling that the names Trita and Dvita of the RV. were connected with numerals, for we find in both the Taittirīya and the Vājasaneyi branches a story in which a third brother Ekata was invented.

The story in the TB. (III. ii. 8, 10–11) is as follows: "Agni threw a coal into the waters. Then Ekata was born. He threw a second time. Then Dvita was born.

[1] This verse occurs again in the TB. I. 7, 4, 4.

He threw a third time. Then Trita was born. Because they were born from the waters, therefore (there is) the aqueous nature (āpyatvam) of the aqueous deities (āpyānām)."

The story takes the following form in the ÇB. I. ii. 3, 1 and 2[1]: "Fourfold was Agni (fire) at first. Now that Agni whom they at first chose for the office of Hotṛ priest passed away. He also whom they chose the second time passed away. He also whom they chose the third time passed away.[2] Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters.[3] He spat upon the waters, saying, 'Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will.' Thence sprang the Āptya[4] deities Trita, Dvita, and Ekata.[5] They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brāhman follows in the train of a king. When he slew Viçvarūpa, the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, they also knew of his going to be killed; and straightway Trita[6] slew him. Indra, assuredly, was free from that (sin), for he is a god."

Sāyaṇa, after quoting the above passage from the TB. in his introduction to RV. I. 105, mentions a story of the Çāṭyāyanins to the following effect: "There were once three Ṛṣis named Ekata, Dvita, Trita. These once being in a desert place in the forest, having their limbs tormented with thirst, found a well. Then the one called Trita entered the well to drink water. Having himself drunk, and having drawn water for the others, he gave it to them. The other two having drunk the water and having cast Trita into the

[1] I quote Eggeling's translation, SBE. vol. xiii. p. 47.

[2] As to the three former Agnis, cp. ÇB. I. iii. 3, 13–16; also TS. II. vi. 6.

[3] This concealment and discovery of Agni in the waters is evidently based on the myth so frequently alluded to in the RV.

[4] It is to be noted that the epithet here is Āptya, regarded as a derivative of ap, 'water,' while the TB. has āpya.

[5] These three names are also mentioned a little further on in § 5.

[6] In TS. II. v. 1, 1, Viçvarūpa is slain by Indra. Cp. above (5) RV. X. viii., where in stanza 8 Trita slays Viçvarūpa, and in 9 Indra slays him.

well, and taking all his goods and covering up the well with a car-wheel, went on their way. Then fallen into the well and unable to get out of it, he thought in his heart 'would that all the gods would rescue me.' Then he saw (composed) this hymn which praises them. There in the night he saw within the well the rays of the moon and lamented."

It is clear from these passages that the later Vedic literature throws no new light on the character of Trita as he appears in the RV. On the contrary, it is in most cases obvious that they are modifications meant to explain mythological traits of the RV. which were no longer intelligible.

I have already pointed out that the name of Trita does not occur in the Nigha*n*t*us. The conclusion to be drawn from the fact is, that Trita was not regarded by its author as an independent deity, but only as an epithet of some Vedic god. At any rate such must have been the opinion of Yāska who expresses himself as follows: "Most of the deities have whole hymns, sacrifices, and single verses addressed to them; some, however, are only mentioned incidentally. But even deities when they have special designations are sacrificed to, for instance, the V*r*tra-slayer Indra. Even these names are enumerated by some, but they are too many to enumerate completely. But when one of these has become a fixed appellation, by which a god is independently invoked (*e.g.* jātavedas), I will mention it."[1]

The references to Trita, which are to be found in post-Vedic literature, show even greater divergence from the oldest form of the myth. The name occurs several times in the Mahābhārata. Trita is there once spoken of as preparing Soma in a well. The three brothers Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, are also mentioned as sages, variously described as the sons of Gautama, Prajāpati, or Brahman. In the great Epic we have thus at least faint reminiscences of the Vedic myths, but even these disappear in the Bhāgavata Purā*n*a, where Trita only appears as one of the twelve sons of Manu.

[1] Nirukta VII. 13.

Strong confirmation of my identification of Trita with the third or lightning form of Agni, is furnished by the evidence of comparative philology. Tri-tá-s is the exact phonetic counterpart of the Greek τρί-το-ς, third. It preserves the Indo-European accent on the suffix -ta, as shown by the regular accentuation of the Sanskrit ordinal, *e.g.* catur-thá, sapta-tá, by Greek εἰκοσ-τός, and by Old High German sibun-to.[1] Tritá (AV. Tṛtá) and dvi-tá are, moreover, the forms on which the later and secondary ordinals, tṛt-íya (Zend thritya, Gothic thridya,[2] Lat. tertius) and dvit-íya[3] are based.[4] Trita, therefore, originally meant 'the third,' but early became restricted in use as an epithet of one of the three forms of fire. Analogously the adjective çiva, 'auspicious,' came in the post-Vedic period, to be a name of the god Rudra. This restricted application as the name of an Indo-Iranian deity was facilitated by the existence beside it of the secondary tṛtíya (Zend thritya), which early came to be used as the regular ordinal. Similarly the older form of the ordinal corresponding to 'first' survives in German only as the substantive 'Fürst,' 'prince,' while the younger word 'erst' is in use as the regular ordinal. The cases are, however, not quite parallel, as in Sanskrit both words are derivatives of the same cardinal, tri, and their connexion would therefore be less likely to be forgotten. The Avesta possesses both forms also, thritya being the ordinal 'third' and Thrita a name. The latter seems to have preserved a reminiscence of the meaning 'third'; for in Yasna IX. 10,[5] Haoma,[6] in answer to a question, says: 'Thrita was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world.'

[1] The t of which by Verner's law points to Proto-Germanic -dó; cp. Paul's *Grundriss*, p. 327; Brugmann, II. part i. p. 229.

[2] Which points to Proto-Germanic accentuation on the second syllable, as it would otherwise have been thrithya.

[3] The common adverb dvitá in the RV. is also based on dvi-ta, second.

[4] Cp. Brugmann, *l.c.*

[5] SBE. vol. xxxi. p. 233.

[6] Sanskrit Soma.

Some scholars have already noticed that Trita may mean 'the third.' Thus BR. derive the word from 'tri,' and with reference to the single occurrence of the word in the plural,[1] remark that it "seems to designate a class of gods, perhaps 'the third' (*die Dritten*), *i.e.* those who dwell in the region of heaven." Grassmann, in his lexicon, says that it meant "originally 'the third,' like Greek τρίτος, and is, therefore, opposed to a Dvita." Brugmann[2] remarks that "by the side of tṛ-t-íya we have also the basis of this formation, tri-tá, used in the Veda as the designation of a deity, to whom a Dvita was opposed." Fick, in the last edition of his Comparative Dictionary,[3] doubtfully says that Trita is "the name of a Vedic deity, hardly to be derived from tri, three."

That the consciousness of the word having meant 'the third' still survives in the RV. is shown by the fact that Dvita, 'the second,' is mentioned along with Trita in VIII. 47, 16,[4] while Dvita, where the name occurs alone[5] designates, as we have seen, the second form of Agni or the Sun. The writers of the Brāhmaṇas still retained a feeling that these two words were connected with numerals, for they went the length of inventing the monstrous form 'eka-ta'[6] as the name of the first brother of Dvita and Trita, sons of Agni.[7]

The only passage in which the word Tritá occurs in the plural I have reserved 'till now, on the ground that it may best be dealt with at this stage.

(41) VI. 44 (Indra hymn[8]), 23:

Ayám akṛṇod Uṣásaḥ supátnīr,
Ayáṃ Sūrye adadhāj jyótir antáḥ,
Ayáṃ tridhátu diví rocanéṣu
tritéṣu vindad amṛ́tam nígūḷham.

[1] See (41) below.
[2] *Grundriss*, vol. ii. part i. p. 229 *sub fine*.
[3] Vol. i. p. 63.
[4] See (40) above.
[5] V. 18, 2: see above p. 463.
[6] As it were the 'One-th.'
[7] See above p. 479.
[8] The last three stanzas (22–24), however, being in praise of Soma.

He[1] made the Dawns possessed of an excellent spouse,[2] he placed the light within the sun,[3] he found the threefold ambrosia concealed in heaven in the third bright regions.

Soma as bracing Indra for the fray is described as both causing the sun to shine after the clouds of the storm have cleared away, and finding the hidden nectar in the remote region of the heavens, in other words releasing the fertilizing rain.[4]

'Tritéṣu' I here take to be a survival of the simple ordinal otherwise used only as an epithet of Agni. Ludwig, Grassmann, and Hillebrandt[5] all translate the word by 'third' and Griffith by 'three.'[6] An attribute with rocanéṣu would naturally be used to balance tridhā́tu with amṛ́tam. That it should have the sense of the numeral 'third' is also favoured by the obvious antithesis[7] to tri-dhā́tu.[8] Again, the combination trí(ṇi) rocanā́(ni) is frequent in the RV.[9] In II. 27, 9, the Ādityas are described as supporting the 'three bright realms celestial' (trí rocanā́ divyā́).[10] This would almost exactly correspond to diví rocanéṣu tritéṣu, 'in the heavens, in the bright regions (which are) the third.'[11] We have a still closer parallel in I. 105, 5: amí yé devā sthána triṣú ā́ rocané diváḥ, 'ye gods who dwell in the three bright regions of heaven,' and in VIII. 69, 3: jánman devā́nām víças triṣú ā́ rocané

[1] Soma.

[2] The Sun, whose wife is the Dawn (sū́ryasya yóṣā) in RV. VII. 75, 5.

[3] Cp. above (31) 'Só . . . arocayat . . Sū́ryam.'

[4] Cp. (31) and (34)

[5] V.M. p. 312. None of the interpreters give a reason for this rendering.

[6] Sāyaṇa translates 'among the shining Tritas,' taking rocaneṣu as an adjective and explaining triteṣu by gods pervading the third region (tṛtīye sthāne tateṣu vistṛteṣu deveṣu).

[7] Cp. 'Tríṇi Tritásya' (34).

[8] Amṛta or Soma is called threefold because of its three ingredients—juice, milk, and water.

[9] See I. 102, 8; I. 149, 4; IV. 53, 5; V. 61, 1; V. 81, 4.

[10] The same three words occur in V. 29, 1.

[11] The three earths being the first, and the three atmospheric regions (tríṇi rajāṃsi) being the second.

diyáh, 'the dwellers in the birthplace of the gods, in the three bright regions of heaven.' I have here translated 'in the three bright regions,' because we have the euphonic abbreviation for trisú á rocanésu pointed out by Roth,[1] which may here be due to the exigencies of metre.

Even supposing, however, that this interpretation of tritésu (which would otherwise have to be taken as 'among the Tritas or lightnings') were wrong, our conclusion as to the meaning of Trita would in no degree be invalidated.

It now only remains to consider what light the Avesta is capable of throwing on the subject of our investigations. In the first place, we must recognize that a cardinal feature of the mythology of the Indo-Iranian period is the war of nature as waged in the thunderstorm, which is conceived as a conflict between a storm-fiend on the one hand and a storm-god on the other.[2]

In the Avesta this fight is carried on between Azi Dahāka, the fiendish serpent,[3] and Ātar, fire.[4] The battle-field is the atmospheric sea, and the object of the conflict is the attainment of the heavenly light[5] (hvarenō). In the RV. the combatants are, on the one hand, the serpent Ahi (generally Vrtra, to whom, as to the other demons of drought, the term dāsá 'fiend,' or dása 'fiendish,' is often applied), who carries off the dawns or the heavenly streams (generally spoken of as milch-cows), and imprisons them in the folds of the cloud, and on the other hand either Agni Vrtra-han or Indra Vrtra-han, or less frequently Trita Āptya, who are armed with the thunderbolt.

It is important to note that the name Verethraghna (=Skt. Vrtra-ghna) appears in the Avesta, though without

[1] Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Vienna, Aryan section, pp. 1–10.
[2] Cp. Darmesteter, SBE vol. iv. p lxii
[3] Azi=Skt. ahi 'serpent,' dahāka allied to Skt dāsa 'fiend.' The latter term is in [6] applied to the three-headed six-eyed fiend.
[4] Described both as the weapon of Ahura (=Skt. asura), Heaven, and as his son. Cp. Darmesteter, l.c.
[5] Cp. svar-jit 'light-winning,' svar-vid 'light-finding' (battle, Indra, etc.), in the RV.

the mythical features of a storm-god. But that it was once primarily an epithet of the fire-god is evident from the fact that in the Avesta he is the genius of Victory, whose original nature was so little forgotten that he was worshipped on earth as a fire, regarded as an emanation of the celestial fire.[1] This is the Bahrām[2] fire, which, wherever Parsis are settled, is still everlastingly preserved 'with more than Vestal care.'[3]

We have already seen that Thrita is, in the Avesta, the name which corresponds to the Vedic Trita. He is mentioned only twice. He is no longer a god in the Avesta, appearing only in the character of a man. In Yasna IX. 10, Haoma (=Skt. Soma) interrogated by Zarathustra as to who was the third man who prepared him (Haoma) for the corporeal world, replies: "Thrita was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world."[4] The first had already been stated to be Vīvanghvat (=Skt. Vivasvat) and the second Āthwya (=Skt. Āptya).

In the Vendīdād (Fargard, XX. 2), Thrita is described as the first healer, Ahura Mazda having brought down to him ten thousand healing plants which grow around the white Haoma,[5] the tree of immortality.[6] Ahura Mazda interrogated by Zarathustra, answers: "Thrita it was who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the strong men of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals."[7]

The above two passages in the Avesta obviously represent a late form of an old Indo-Iranian myth. For on the one

[1] SBE vol. iv. p. lxiv.
[2] Modern Persian, through vāhrām, varahrān, from Verethraghna.
[3] SBE. vol iv. p. lxxxix.
[4] Mills, SBE. vol. xxxi. p. 233.
[5] In the Avesta there are two kinds of Haoma, the yellow earthly Haoma, the king of healing plants, and the white Haoma, or Gaokerena, which grows in the midst of the atmospheric sea and furnishes the drink of immortality (SBE. vol. iv. p. lxix.). So in the RV we have the terrestrial Soma and that which is prepared by Trita in the heavens.
[6] SBE vol iv. p. 219.
[7] SBE. vol. iv. p. 220.

hand Thrita is no longer a god, while on the other the epithet Āptya having become dissociated from him has in the form of Āthwya become the name of another man (the second who prepared Haoma for the corporeal world). Nevertheless, one or two conclusions of some importance can be drawn from these mythological waifs. It is clear that Thrita was the third of a certain group of three, and that he brought down the celestial Soma to earth. The conception of his having been the first healer, who drove back disease and death, is in all probability a reminiscence of his having at an earlier stage been regarded as the destroyer of the poisonous serpent. All this confirms our conclusion, independently arrived at, that Thrita was originally the third form of Agni who released the pent-up fertilizing waters, thus putting an end to the drought, or in mythological language, slew Vṛtra, set free the cows, prepared and brought down to earth the celestial Soma.

In one obscure passage of the RV.[1] a personage called Traitana is represented as endeavouring to strike off the head of an adversary. Both the name and the character (as far as the latter can be gathered from a stray allusion like this) seem to be allied to those of Trita. Corresponding to this name we find in the Avesta that of Thraetaona, the son of Āthwya,[2] who is mentioned thirteen times. He (and not Thrita) plays the part of Trita Āptya in slaying the fiendish serpent Azi Dahāka, 'the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed[3] most dreadful demon created by Angra

[1] I. 158, 5.

[2] He probably came to be regarded as the son of Āthwya, because that word, the original meaning of which (= āptya) had been forgotten, seemed like a patronymic formation. Bartholomae, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, I. pp. 180–2, thinks in opposition to Pischel, V.S. I. 186, that the original form of the word was ātpiá (not āptiá). Now in the form of a myth, which is manifestly late and corrupt, like the present one in the Avesta, a phonetic corruption is much more likely to occur than in the form which is older and clearly intelligible in its origin, as is here the case in the RV. Not only is the etymology of Āptya obviously supported by Trita's connexion with the waters, but that connexion is emphatically corroborated by the myth of the conflict between Thraetaona and Azi Dahāka in the Avesta itself. The meaning of Āptya is absolutely consistent with the original form of the myth, while ātpiá seems to have no meaning and no connexion with anything.

[3] In the RV. the demon slain by Trita is in (5) called three-headed, and in (6) three-headed and six-eyed.

Mainyu.'[1] The battle-field is the four-cornered Varena,[2] or the celestial ocean.' It may be added that the Fravashi (or departed soul) of Thraetaona is invoked to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, incontinency, to stand against the evil done by the serpent.[3] This also corresponds to the character of Thrita as the great healer.

The corroborative evidence of the Avesta thus brings out clearly the two essential points in Trita Āptya's nature, that he was on the one hand the slayer of the demon of drought and darkness, and on the other the celestial priest who poured the heavenly Soma in the form of fertilizing rain upon the earth. These two sides of his character, however, evidently refer in their origin to a single action — the release of the pent-up waters by lightning. All the remaining details about Trita, such as his remoteness in the heavens, or his concealment in a well, are merely mythological accretions naturally growing out of the central idea.

We thus find that the cumulative evidence of the Rigveda, of comparative philology, and of the Avesta, combine to prove that Trita in his original nature was the third or lightning form of the god of fire. This was his character in the Indo-Iranian period. For traces of his essential nature are retained by Thrita in the Avesta, his functions being represented by the cognate Thraetaona Āthwya, by Verethraghna, the Vṛtra-killer, and by Ātar, fire, while in the RV. his character as the god of lightning is still sufficiently clear. But owing to the supreme position attained by Ahura Mazda in the Zoroastrian religion, the original greatness of Trita has become greatly obscured in the Avesta, while in the RV. we already find him to a great extent supplanted by another god, who has risen to the chief place among the Vedic deities. This god, Indra,[4] can only

[1] SBE. vol. iv. p. lxiii.
[2] Skt. Varuṇa, i.e. the four-sided heavens.
[3] SBE. vol. iv. p. 221.
[4] No satisfactory etymology of this name has yet been found. Cp. Jacobi in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi, pp. 316–19.

have occupied a very minor position in the Indo-Iranian period, for he is only mentioned twice in the Avesta as a demon, and that only of a subordinate kind. Darmesteter says of Indra in the Avesta that "it is a name or epithet of fire as destructive."[1] It is not hard to understand that such a name as being more distinctive than the ordinal epithet 'the Third,' should in the period of the RV. have for the most part taken the place of the latter and almost monopolised the epithet 'Vṛtra-han.'[2]

In conclusion, I may hint at the possibility of Trita having been the name of the god of lightning even in the Indo-European period. The Germanic god of storm and battle,[3] Odhin (or Wōdan)[4] bears in the Old Norse mythology the epithet Thridhi,[5] the third (= Gothic thridya, Skt. tṛtī́ya), as well as Tveggi, the second.[6] This epithet may quite possibly preserve a reminiscence of an ancient name of the god of fire in his capacity of deity of the thunderstorm.

[1] SBE. vol. iv. p. lxxii.
[2] As we have seen (p. 472) this epithet is applied to Indra over seventy times and to Agni only sixteen times in the RV.
[3] Cp. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, p. 1075.
[4] Originally an adjectival derivative (from a base corresponding to Skt. vā́ta, wind) used as an epithet of the god of heaven, Tiu (= Skt. Dyu, Gk. Ζεύς). Cp. Mogk, *ib.* p. 1070.
[5] Cp. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd ed. p. 148; Max Müller, SBE. xxxii. p. 305, footnote.
[6] Cp. Dvita beside Trita.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AIL. = Altindisches Leben.
AIS. = Altındische Syntax.
AV. = Atharva Veda.
BR. = Bohtlingk and Roth's large St. Petersburg Dictionary.
ÇB. = Çatapatha Brāhmana.
MS. = Maitrāyanī Samhitā.
RV. = Rıgveda.
R.V. = Religion Védique
SV. = Sāma Veda.
TB. = Taittirīya Brāhmana.
TS. = Taittirīya Samhitā.
V.M. = Vedısche Mythologie.
YV. = Yajur Veda.
ZMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

TRANSLITERATION.

The palatals are transliterated thus:—

च c, छ ch, ज j, झ jh, ञ ñ, श ç;

The linguals thus:—

ट *t*, ठ *th*, ड *d*, ढ *dh*, ण *n*, ऋ *r*, ष *s*.

h = Visarga; *m* = ordinary Anusvāra; ṅ = Anusvāra representing the final n after long vowels before vowels.

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X.

[1] Vālakhilya, 4.
[2] Vālakhilya, 6.

Art. XI.—*Saïat-Nova, sa vie et ses chansons.* By Professor Minas Tchéraz, M.R.A.S.[1]

Avant de vous entretenir du poëte populaire arménien Saïat-Nova, fort célèbre en Asie occidentale, mais fort inconnu en Europe, je voudrais vous parler du génie et du rôle des poëtes populaires de l'Arménie moderne.

J'ai toujours pensé que le peuple arménien a réalisé en lui le plus grand rêve d'Alexandre-le-Grand: fusionner ensemble la civilisation grecque et la civilisation persane. La position géographique de l'Arménie, située entre le monde persan et le monde hellénique, appelait d'ailleurs à ce rôle la race qui l'habitait. Toutes les manifestations extérieures de la vie arménienne portent ce double cachet, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours. Cela est surtout vrai pour la culture intellectuelle des Arméniens. Bien qu'on remarque, jusque parmi les auteurs de l'âge d'or de l'arménien classique, des écrivains qui, comme Eznig, s'inspirent de la précision grecque et d'autres qui, comme Faustus de Byzance, témoignent un goût assez prononcé pour le vague syro-persan, ou pourrait dire, en thèse générale, que les couches supérieures de la société penchent vers la culture hellénique ou européenne, les couches inférieures vers la culture persane ou asiatique. C'est à cette dernière catégorie qu'appartiennent les poëtes populaires, et leur muse n'est qu'une langoureuse Orientale.

S'il est vrai qu'il y ait des races mieux douées que d'autres sous le rapport du don de la poésie, la race arménienne est assurément une de celles-là. La beauté exceptionnelle du pays et la destinée tragique de ses habitants sont pour

[1] [The following paper was read before the Society on the 11th April, 1893, and the form of an address has been preserved in the printed article.]

beaucoup dans cette disposition poétique. Sans parler du passé, je dirai qu'on n'a qu'à parcourir aujourd'hui les diverses provinces arméniennes pour rencontrer à chaque pas des chansonniers et des chansonnières qui, dépourvus de toute instruction, improvisent des poëmes d'une touchante naïveté et atteignant parfois le sublime. Il y a même des provinces qui sont des pépinières de poëtes et poëtesses populaires. L'Arménie est si riche en troubadours qu'elle en fournit même aux pays voisins; on trouve, en effet, un grand nombre d'Arméniens parmi les poëtes modernes de la Perse, de la Turquie et de la Géorgie, et un auteur arménien, M. Ghazaros Aghayantz, trouve probable qu'une partie des poésies de la Perse antique ait été composée par les bardes du district de Koghthn, qui a été pour l'Arménie ancienne ce que la Provence a été pour la France du moyen âge: un nid de troubadours. Bien des bardes arméniens ont chanté dans leur langue maternelle, tout autant qu'en turc, en persan ou en géorgien; les chansons populaires de ces quatre peuples ont d'ailleurs une musique et un style presque identiques. Il y a des rapsodes arméniens qui ont composé, en turc, des contes orientaux de longue haleine, entremêlés de chansons, laissant deviner çà et là leur préoccupation d'adoucir les mœurs des farouches envahisseurs musulmans de leur patrie, tout en servant à les divertir. La plupart des troubadours arméniens empruntent des pseudonymes turcs ou persans, qu'ils ont soin d'intercaler dans la dernière strophe de chacune de leurs chansons, comme ces paysannes chrétiennes de l'Arménie qui, pour attacher un souvenir personnel aux tapis qu'elles fabriquent, tressent au centre une mèche de leur chevelure ou introduisent au moins, dans leur dessin, une marque en croix.

Cette précaution n'est point oiseuse. Comme tout est oral chez ces poëtes populaires, on aurait facilement oublié l'auteur de telle ou telle poésie, s'il n'y avait pas mêlé son nom de guerre. L'oubli est, d'ailleurs, le destin inévitable de toute chanson de rues; elle jouit d'une immense popularité, mais perd la faveur publique dès qu'une autre chanson commence à faire entendre ses accents nouveaux. Si le

chantre, quelque peu lettré par hasard, couche sur le papier une partie de ses poëmes, il est rare que son écrit passe à la postérité. A sa mort, sa femme est la première à jeter au feu son bagage littéraire, pour empêcher son fils de contracter les goûts de son père, car l'Arménienne ne tient pas en grand honneur ce qu'elle considère à peu près comme un métier de musicien ambulant et rêve pour ses enfants une position plus élevée. Elle n'est d'ailleurs prise d'aucun scrupule à la vue des flammes qui dévorent l'œuvre de son mari, car elle se rappelle que le poëte était parfois saisi d'accès de remords, sa piété originaire ne lui pardonnant pas d'avoir exalté les charmes profanes de Vénus.

La piété est, en effet, une des sources où ces troubadours puisent leur inspiration. Comme les prêtres, ils portaient jadis un costume spécial. Ils ont pour patron saint Jean-Baptiste (*Sourp Garabed*) et l'intitulent "Sultan de Moush," parce qu'on trouve près de cette ville un vieux couvent arménien qui est dédié au précurseur du Christ et où, disons-le en passant, pas une femme n'a le droit de pénétrer, le saint ayant été décapité à l'instigation d'une fille d'Eve. Le peuple considère Sourp Garabed capable d'accorder toutes sortes de dons à ceux qui croient en lui avec une foi ardente; c'est pourquoi on le surnomme *Mouradadour* (qui donne ce qui est désiré). Chaque fidèle doit solliciter un seul don, et, pour être sûr de l'obtenir, il doit faire maigre, en l'honneur du saint, pendant toute la semaine qui précède la fête de *Vartavar*, et cela durant sept années consécutives. On m'a raconté sur les rives du Bosphore qu'un Arménien, qui avait accompli cette règle austère, passait de Constantinople à Scutari pour se rendre à Moush. Pressé par la faim, il casse une croûte dans le caïque et dit: "Que je voudrais avoir un oignon pour croquer avec!" A l'instant même, un oignon y tombe du ciel; Sourp Garabed avait réalisé son désir, et resta sourd à ses prières lorsqu'il se rendit à Moush pour solliciter le don qu'il convoitait. Comme le "Sultan de Moush" est le dispensateur de la force et de l'adresse sous toutes leurs formes, c'est à lui que s'adressent non pas seulement ceux qui aspirent à devenir

troubadours, mais encore ceux qui veulent devenir acrobates ou athlètes, ou acquérir une telle force qu'ils puissent briser entre leurs doigts de grosses pièces de monnaie et des fers à cheval ou, sous la paume de leur main, les cailloux les plus durs. J'ai connu des Arméniens qui faisaient tout cela, et lorsque je leur témoignais mon admiration, ils répondaient, en rougissant de modestie, qu'ils devaient tout à Sourp Garabed. Ils portaient, dans des amulettes suspendues à leur cou, de la terre prise au tombeau du saint; les acrobates en avaient mis dans des pelotes suspendues aux deux bouts de leur barre d'équilibre. Ce culte est assurément beaucoup plus ancien que notre ère, et saint Jean-Baptiste n'est qu'un nom chrétien substitué au nom d'une divinité païenne (probablement de Vahakn), de même qu'on a donné un vernis chrétien à des fêtes purement païennes. On sait que le district de Moush n'est que l'antique Daron, où s'élevait le village sacré d'Ashdichad, riche en temples somptueux. Le plus célèbre de ces temples s'appelait Vahévahian, et l'on y adorait la statue de Vahakn (Héraclès), dispensateur de la force physique. Il est probable que dans le temple sur les ruines duquel a été bâti le monastère de Sourp Garabed, on adorait la force intellectuelle comme la force corporelle, personnifiées par des êtres mythiques. C'est donc à ce couvent que vont en pèlerinage tous ceux qui désirent se distinguer dans leur carrière; ils y pénètrent à genoux, prosternés dans la poussière, et baignent de leurs larmes le tombeau où reposent les reliques du saint. Les troubadours placent sur cette tombe leur *saz*, espèce de mandoline, qui n'est probablement autre chose que cet instrument à cordes dont se servaient les bardes de Koghthn et que Moïse de Khoren et Jean Catholicos appellent *pampirn*. Ils sortent du temple pleins de foi en eux-mêmes, et font entendre, devant les pèlerins réunis, leurs premières chansons, en invoquant toujours le nom de Sourp Garabed. Ces Homères rustiques errent ensuite de ville en ville, et chantent dans les rues populeuses, dans les places publiques, sur les ponts, dans les cafés fréquentés, entourés d'une foule bariolée qui les écoute

bouche béante et les yeux mouillés de larmes. J'en ai vu un qui a fait foudre en larmes de farouches Janissaires à barbe blanche, en chantant, dans un bateau de la Corne d'Or, une vieille chanson turque (*Tchifté dabandjayé tchakdèm, almadé*), qui leur a rappelé le souvenir des beaux jours de leur jeunesse, envolés comme une bande de bulbuls.

Les troubadours arméniens appartiennent, en général, à la classe des artisans. Le jour, ils exercent leur métier, réservant la nuit à leurs ébats poétiques. Ils vivent de la vie populaire et chantent les joies et les douleurs du peuple; ils critiquent même les actes arbitraires du gouvernement, en se servant d'allusions nébuleuses qui sont pourtant assez transparentes pour les indigènes, ainsi que je l'ai constaté plus d'une fois sur les lieux mêmes. Quelques-uns composent ou même improvisent des poésies didactiques et érotiques; d'autres jouent, en même temps, du *saz*. Tous ont la passion de la musique ou plutôt de l'harmonie. Celle-ci les pousse à la recherche de riches rimes intermédiaires et finales, ce qui les conduit parfois à des comparaisons outrées, parfois aussi à de charmantes découvertes. Elle les fait souvent dévier du sujet et tomber dans des répétitions. La répétition des motifs est d'ailleurs caractéristique à l'Orient; ne la retrouve-t-on pas dans les arabesques de son architecture et jusque dans les dessins de ses tapis?

Ces poëtes populaires, que les Arméniens appellent vulgairement des *achoughs*, du mot arabe *aachèk* (amoureux), sont, en général, aveugles et illettrés; mais ils possèdent une prodigieuse mémoire, connaissent la Bible et le Coran et discutent en vers avec des troubadours mahométans. Doués d'un tact surprenant, ils chantent la gloire du christianisme dans des milieux hostiles. Il y a quelque danger à le faire, lorsqu'on a pour auditoire des Turcs et des Persans, et l'on cite le cas d'un *achough* arménien qui, forcé à Constantinople par la populace musulmane à embrasser la religion du Prophète, a subi le martyre en chantant en turc ces deux vers:

Assël issaviyim, deunmem bir yané;
Dourmouchoum dinimdé merd ou merdané.

(Je suis un vrai chrétien, je ne tourne d'aucun côté; je reste dans ma foi en homme et en brave.)

Ce n'est pas uniquement la religion qui inspire ces discussions; l'art poétique les inspire aussi. Dès qu'un *achough* acquiert de la renommée, d'autres *achoughs* viennent rompre une lance avec lui. Toute la ville est en émoi quand on apprend qu'un troubadour étranger est venu disputer avec le plus fameux des troubadours locaux. Le café principal est choisi pour champ de bataille; l'on y voit, sur une estrade, les deux champions, accroupis et tenant leur *saz*. L'affluence est énorme, mais le silence est tel qu'on entendrait la chute d'un cheveu. Le provocateur a suspendu au plafond de l'établissement une énigme (*mouamma*), dont l'*achough* local doit deviner le mot. Le duel a lieu à coups de vers improvisés. Cette perspective de gloire ou de honte émeut tous les deux; ou se croirait au "Collège de la gaie science" ou aux Jeux Olympiques. Si le provoqué devine le mot, il propose à son tour une énigme à l'étranger, et le combat continue jusqu'à ce que l'un des poëtes jette, comme on dit, sa langue aux chiens. Le malheureux est condamné à rendre son *saz* au vainqueur, qui l'emporte en triomphe chez lui, tout en empochant la collecte faite au début de la séance. Mais, souvent, quelques notables interviennent et font retourner au vaincu son instrument, en lui faisant prendre l'engagement de quitter la ville ou, au moins, de ne plus chanter en présence du vainqueur. Pourtant, tout ne se passe pas toujours aussi paisiblement. Une partie de l'auditoire se prononce quelquefois en faveur d'un des rivaux, l'autre partie en faveur de l'autre, et la séance est levée au milieu d'une volée de coups de poing ou même de yatagan. Cette scène a surtout lieu à la fin de la lutte de deux *pehlivans* (athlètes); les coreligionnaires ou compatriotes de l'un attaquent à main armée ceux de l'autre, et bien des athlètes arméniens, sortis victorieux de leur lutte avec des athlètes musulmans, ont succombé aux poignards de leurs ennemis. Il y a à peine quelques ans, la police de Constantinople a dû exiler à Sivas le lutteur arménien Simon, qui avait provoqué au combat le lutteur

grec Panani; un quart de la population de la capitale est arménien, un autre quart est grec, et ces deux éléments étaient tellement surexcités à cause de la lutte que les autorités reléguèrent en Asie un des combattants, de peur que la moitié de la ville ne se mît en émeute, comme à l'époque des Bleus et des Verts.

En vous fournissant ces informations générales sur les troubadours arméniens, je vous ai déjà raconté, Mesdames et Messieurs, une partie de la vie de Saïat-Nova. Je me hâte de vous fournir à présent des détails spéciaux sur son compte, empruntés à l'excellent ouvrage de Guévork Akhverdian, qui a été publié, en 1852, à Moscou, sous la direction du savant philologue arménien Jean-Baptiste Emin, et dont la Société Royale Asiatique possède un exemplaire, depuis que les héritiers de M. Schrumpf lui ont offert, sur ma proposition, les livres arméniens ayant appartenu à notre regretté collègue.

Saïat-Nova est né, vers 1712, à Tiflis. Il a eu pour père un Arménien pauvre, qui avait émigré d'Alep, et pour mère une Arménienne de Havlabar, qui est à peu près pour la capitale géorgienne ce qu'est Whitechapel pour la capitale britannique. Apprenti chez un tisserand, le jeune Aroutin (c'est là son nom de baptême) invente une machine qui lui permet de tisser dans sa chambre, au lieu de tisser le long de la rue, suivant l'usage des tisserands orientaux. Il fréquentait pourtant, dès le bas âge, les réunions où chantaient les troubadours et surtout le fameux *achough* arménien Dosti, dont il ne reste pas une ligne aujourd'hui, de sorte que Saïat-Nova est le plus ancien troubadour armenien de Tiflis qui nous ait laissé de ses compositions. Tout en tissant, il s'exerçait à jouer du *saz*, du *kamantcha*, du *tchongour* et de l'*ambouré*, instruments de musique propres au Caucase et à l'Asie Antérieure. Assis devant le métier qu'il avait inventé, il composait des chansons au bruit monotone de sa navette et les chantait le soir dans les maisons des grands, dont il était très recherché pour sa voix mélodieuse. Ses succès l'encouragent à renoncer à la tisseranderie pour se livrer uniquement à la musique et à la poésie, et c'est à cette occasion qu'il prend le surnom de *Saïat-Nova.*

De 1742 jusqu'à 1759, il charme les habitants de Tiflis par ses poëmes turcs, géorgiens et arméniens, et devient même le chansonnier favori d'Hérеclé II, roi de Géorgie, de la cour et de la noblesse. La Géorgie, que Byron appelait "la patrie de la beauté," l'inspire par le pittoresque de sa nature, la pureté des traits de ses femmes et l'esprit chevaleresque de ses montagnards. Mais il sent la lassitude au bout de 17 années de gloire. Offusqué par l'éclat des banquets, que son souffle ranimait beaucoup plus que le nectar de Cakhet, il aspire au silence et à la solitude, surtout après la mort de sa femme, Marmar. Il est pris d'un tel remords qu'il abandonne, en 1770, ses quatre enfants, pour se faire moine au couvent de Sourp Nchan à Haghpat. Mais il paraît, d'après une tradition recueillie par Akhverdian, que ses admirateurs ne le laissaient pas tranquille dans sa retraite. Ils lui annoncent un jour qu'un célèbre troubadour étranger était arrivé à Tiflis. Pour sauvegarder l'honneur de sa ville natale, notre vétéran s'y rend malgré un hiver exceptionnellement rigoureux. Les domestiques du supérieur du couvent de Haghpat le retrouvent habillé en laïque, entouré de ses anciens camarades, assis sous le pont du Kour, sans autre tapis que la face glacée du fleuve, et sur le point de vaincre son rival aux accents de son violon.

Ce qui est beaucoup plus certain que cette légende, c'est que Saïat-Nova, poussé par l'instinct paternel, se rend en effet à Tiflis, à la nouvelle de l'invasion en Géorgie des cavaliers d'Agha-Mahmed-Khan. Il savait que ces Persans allaient mettre à feu et à sang la ville où vivaient ses enfants; il dépêche donc ceux-ci à Mozdok, où ils n'avaient aucun danger à redouter. L'ennemi pénètre à Tiflis, et le carnage et le pillage commencent. Les Persans découvrent Saïat-Nova, qui priait dans la cathédrale arménienne de la Grande Forteresse; ils l'invitent à sortir et à embrasser l'islamisme, s'il tenait à garder sa tête sur ses épaules. Mais le moine, qui avait alors 83 ans, leur crie dans leur idiome:

Tchĕkhmanam klissadan,
Donmanam Issadan.

(Je ne sors pas de l'église, je ne me détourne pas de Jésus.)

Exaspérés de cette réponse, les barbares l'assassinent à coups de cimeterre, en septembre 1795. Après le départ des Persans, on enterre le martyr devant la porte de la cathédrale.

Rien ne nous serait resté des chansons de Saïat-Nova, s'il n'en avait pas inscrit quelques-unes dans un recueil qu'il avait remis à son fils aîné Melkissed au moment de son départ pour Mozdok. Melkissed, musicien et poëte comme son père, conserve avec soin ce recueil, qu'un heureux hasard fait tomber entre les mains d'Akhverdian. Le recueil contenait 115 chansons en turc et 46 en arménien. Les meilleures poésies de Saïat-Nova étaient celles qu'il avait composées en géorgien, principalement pour la cour royale; il n'en reste malheureusement rien. Les 115 chansons turques, bien que plus importantes que celles en arménien (cette langue était alors moins répandue à Tiflis que le turc), restent encore inédites. Akhverdian n'a livré à la publicité que les 46 chansons arméniennes. Sept de ces poëmes sont incomplets, et, dans plusieurs parmi les autres, il y a des mots qui sont restés énigmatiques même pour Akhverdian, qui pourtant connaissait à fond le dialecte de ses compatriotes de Tiflis. Les intéressantes annotations de ce médecin arménien, à qui l'on ne saurait reprocher que d'avoir souvent pris pour persans des mots essentiellement arabes, m'ont permis de traduire quelques-unes des chansons de Saïat-Nova, dont le texte arménien, assez obscur parfois, est hérissé de mots persans, arabes, turcs et géorgiens, souvent défigurés dans la bouche de la foule.

Voici d'abord les beaux vers que le musicien-poëte a adressés à son violon:

"Loué parmi tous les instruments de musique, tu vaux, ô violon! un orchestre complet. L'homme vil ne saurait te voir; il t'évite comme le jeûne. Tâche d'attraper enfin les beaux jours. Qui pourrait t'enlever à moi? tu es un instrument de gloire pour le poëte.

"Ton oreille devrait être d'argent, ta tête pavée de pierreries; ton manche devrait être d'ivoire, ton ventre embelli de nacre; ta corde devrait être en or, ton fer ciselé à jour. Personne ne connaît ta valeur; tu es, ô violon! rubis et diamant.

"Ton archet devrait être doré et en mille espèces de couleurs; tes crins doivent être tirés de la queue de l'hippogriffe afin que tu parles en douce mélodie. A bien des personnes tu fais passer des nuits blanches; tu fais dormir bien d'autres comme avec de l'opium. Tu es, ô violon! une coupe d'or remplie de vin délicieux.

"Tu doubles la valeur de celui qui te manie. Tu demandes d'abord qu'on apporte du thé et du café. Tu es honoré dans le kiosque; en temps de repos, tu veux qu'on t'élève sur la corniche; quand tu descends dans l'assemblée, tu demandes de doux amusements et festins. Entouré de belles dames, tu occupes, ô violon! la moitié de l'assemblée.

"Tu réjouis bien des cœurs attristés, tu fais cesser le frisson du malade. Quand tu élèves ta voix douce, tu épanouis le visage de ton joueur. Prie le peuple de dire: *Vive celui qui te fait résonner!* Tant que Saïat-Nova sera en vie, tu verras bien des choses, ô violon!"

Voici un spécimen de ses poésies didactiques, où se révèle déjà l'âme du futur ermite:

"Viens m'écouter, ô cœur insensé! Aime la pudeur, aime la modestie, aime la retenue. Si le monde t'appartenait, qu'aurais-tu emporté avec toi? Aime Dieu, aime l'âme, aime l'amitié.

"Ne fais que ce qui plait à Dieu. Suis les conseils inscrits dans la Vie des Pères. Il y a trois choses qui conviennent à l'âme et au corps: Aime l'écriture, aime la plume, aime le livre.

"Viens, ô cœur! ne reste pas dans la même direction. Prends en juste considération le pain et le sel. Agis tellement qu'on ne se moque pas de toi. Aime le conseil, aime la patience, aime la justice.

"Si tu évites l'orgueil, tu plairas à ton maître. Sois humble devant ton inférieur. Dieu a donné à tous une même âme. Aime le pauvre, aime l'hôte, aime l'étranger.

"Saïat-Nova! plaise à Dieu que tu fasses ceci: Sacrifier, pour l'amour de ton âme, la moitié de la vie de ton corps! Si tu veux échapper au jugement dernier, aime le couvent, aime le désert, aime la grotte."

Mais c'est surtout dans les chants érotiques qu'excelle la lyre de Saïat-Nova. Sa palette emprunte au ciel éclatant de l'Orient ses couleurs les plus voyantes, et son ardente imagination, fort peu ascétique parfois, inonde d'une pluie d'or et de perles toute beauté qui captive son cœur. En voici un spécimen :

"J'ai parcouru le monde entier, sans en exclure l'Abyssinie, et n'ai vu, ma belle, une figure comme la tienne ; tu es supérieure à toutes les belles. Que tu t'habilles de toile écrue ou d'étoffe brodée d'or, tu la transformes en soierie, ma belle. C'est pourquoi celui qui te voit s'écrie : *Bravo ! bravo !*

"Tu es un précieux diamant ; heureux celui qui t'aura ! Celui qui te trouve, ne soupire plus ; malheur à qui te perd ! Que la tombe de ta mère soit illuminée ! elle est morte, hélas ! trop tôt. Elle devrait vivre, ma belle, pour mettre au monde encore une peinture comme toi.

"Tu es étincelante dès le principe ; tu es pointillée de taches d'or. Un collier de corail est suspendu aux fils de ta chevelure. Tes yeux sont des coupes d'or remplies de vin, des tasses façonnées au tour. Tes cils, ma belle, sont des flèches, des lancettes ou des canifs aiguisés.

"Ton visage ressemble au soleil et à la lune. Le cachemire qui serre ta fine taille est semblable à une ceinture d'or. Tu as hébété le peintre, et le pinceau est tombé de sa main. Assise, tu ressembles, ma belle, à une perruche ; debout, à un hippogriffe.

"Je ne serais pas Saïat-Nova si je fondais sur le sable. Que veux-tu faire de moi ? j'attends des nouvelles de ton cœur. Tu es de feu, tes habits aussi ; comment pourrais-je résister à tant de flammes ? Tu as couvert de mousseline, ma belle, l'étoffe brodée de fleurs de l'Hindoustan."

Voici, pour terminer, un autre chant d'amour, où le pinceau de Saïat-Nova semble rivaliser avec celui de l'auteur du Cantique des cantiques et fait pâlir le portrait de la belle Tehminé par l'immortel Firdoussy ; je l'ai inséré dans mon journal *Armenia-L'Arménie*, et c'est la seule poésie de Saïat-Nova qui ait encore été publiée en français ou en anglais :

(Traduction anglaise.)

In this world I do not sigh, as long as thou art my soul to me. Thou art a golden cup filled with the water of immortality to me. I sit me down, so that thou mayst cast thy shadow on me: a gold embroidered tent thou art to me. Learn my fault, then slay me: Sultan and Khan thou art to me!

Thy waist is like a cypress or a plane-tree, thy complexion like Frankish satin, thy tongue sugar, thy lip candy; thy teeth are pearls and diamonds, thy eyes gold enamelled cups adorned with precious stones; a rare and priceless gem, a ruby of Mount Bedakhsh thou art to me!

How can I endure this affliction? Is my heart turned into stone? Thou hast made my tears blood; I have lost my reason from my head. A young vine thou art in the fresh garden, surrounded everywhere with roses; may I hover over thee like a nightingale: thou art to me a landscape of love!

Thy love has made me drunk; I am awake, yet my heart slumbers! The world is surfeited with the world, but my heart keeps hungering for thee. Dearest, what shall I praise thee by? Nothing else remains in this world. A deer, a hippogriff sprung from the fiery sea thou art to me!

What matters it, if thou speakest to me but once, to show that thou art the sweetheart of Saïat-Nova? Thy rays fill the earth; thou art a shield in the face of the sun. Thou exhalest the perfume of cardamom, clove, cinnamon, rose, violet, and marjoram; a red flower of the field, a lily of the valley thou art to me!

Art. XII.—*The Buddhist Sources of the (Old Slav.) Legend of the Twelve Dreams of Shahaïsh, by Serge D'Oldenburg, Ph.D.* Translated by H. Wenzel, Ph.D.

[Extract from the Journal of the Public Instruction Office.]

The Old Russian literature took up the theme of *the king, who gets the explanation of some miraculous dreams from a wise man*, in two different versions. In the first of these versions, the dreams concern events in the king's life, and this version enters into the complex of *Stephanit* and *Ichnelat*, showing itself thus a pretty correct reproduction of the Indian original through the Pehlevi, Arab, and Greek over-workings. In the second version the dreams have an *eschatological character*, and this version appears as an independent tale, known as 'Word (=legend) of the dreams of king *Mamer*,' 'Word of the twelve dreams of Shahaïsh,' etc.: the nearest sources of this legend are yet unknown.

A. N. Veselovski,[1] in his 'Word of the twelve dreams of Shahaïsh,' after a MS. of the fifteenth century (Appendix to the 34th vol. of the Memoirs Imp. Ac. Sc. St. Petersburg, 1879), relying on a Jātaka communicated to him by *T. P. Minayev*, and on the rather probable connection between the words *Shahaïsh* and *Shahān-shāh*, thought it possible that this Slav. legend was taken immediately from the East. We, at present, cannot yet point

[1] Cf. also the same author's and *A. Galachov's* 'History of Russian Literature,' i. 431; *Polivka, G.*, 'Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko jugoslavenskith rukopisa u Pragu.' Starine, 1889, xxi. 187–194 (Dvanajest snova cara Šahinšaha).

out those immediate sources of the 'Word,' which, of course, is the most important thing, but we will communicate here two Indian versions of the same, not yet edited, which, it seems to us, will not be without importance, chief regard being had to the fact that it is apparently in some Buddhist document that the original of the Old Russian legend must be sought for.

The first of these Indian versions comes down to us in two texts: (1) in *Yaçomitra's Abhidharma Koça Vyākhyā*, a commentary on the well-known North Buddhist philosophical work; here the tale of the dreams is quoted from some Vinaya text (cf. Minayev, Buddhism, i. 90 *sq.*). For this text I have had the use of the following MSS.: (1) Paris National Library, Burn. 114; (2) Societé As.; (3) From the collection of Minayev.

(2) In the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (cf. Tāranātha, Germ. tr. p. 59), who calls this text Kāñcana Mālāvadāna. Cf. also Burnouf, Introd. p. 565 *sq.* (1st ed.). For this text I have had the use of MS. D. 98 of the Paris Library. In the Tibetan Kanjur there is a translation of this.

Both texts give the dreams and their explanation in almost identical words, but, regarding the occasions on which the dreams were explained, the commentary to the Abhidharmakoça says only: "ten dreams saw king *Kṛkin* . . . . and he told them to the Lord Buddha *Kāçyapa*, and the Lord explained them." Such brevity is easily understood in a quotation, but does not allow us to affirm certainly, that the frame for the dreams was the same here as in the *Sumāgadhāv.*, where the following is related:

"In past times, when men reached an age of 20,000 years, Buddha *Kāçyapa* lived, and settled in the neighbourhood of *Benares*. At the same time, to king *Kṛkin* of Benares a daughter was born with a golden wreath on her head, and therefore was called *Kāñcanamālā*. The king loved her much, and carefully brought her up. Being grown up, she heard the law from *Kāçyapa*, to whom she constantly gave liberal presents. Once king *Kṛkin* saw ten dreams (see below). He was frightened, and assembled his

brahmins to explain them to him. The brahmins said that, in order to avert the misfortune portented by those dreams, he must sacrifice the blood of the being he loved most. This they said having in view *Kāñcanamālā.* The king, on one hand frightened by the dreams, on the other filled with love for his daughter, was in despair. *Kāñcanamālā*, seeing her father's trouble, counsels him to turn to *Kāçyapa*. The king does so, and *Kāçyapa* explains the dreams and quiets the king. The dreams and their explanation are the following:

1. An elephant, going through a little window, sticks there with his tail.
2. A fountain runs after a thirsty man.
3. A measure of pearls is sold for a measure of porridge.
4. Sandal is sold for the price of common wood.
5. The gardens are full of flowers and fruits, and thieves take all flowers and fruits.
6. Elephants at the time of rutting-season are frightened by little children. (In *Sum.* first 5 then 6.)
7. A dirty, soiled, monkey defiles another.
8. A monkey is anointed king.
9. A piece of cloth is torn by eighteen persons (*Sum.* adds: and cannot be torn).
10. A crowd of people in quarrels, dissensions, enmities, thrash one another (*Sum.*: A crowd of people, assembling, give themselves over to quarrels, etc.).

Explanation: These dreams are prognostics of events that will happen at later times, after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha *Śākyamuni.*

1. The disciples of the Buddha, after they have left (their houses) relatives and friends, and taken up a religious life, again make themselves the likeness of houses in the monasteries.
2. The disciples will go to the laymen to teach them the law, but the laymen, thirsting after the law, will transgress it (?).

3. The disciples, for a measure of porridge, given as alms, will teach the highest knowledge.
4. The disciples will place the teaching of the heretics on the same grade with that of Buddha.
5. The disciples will use the gardens, belonging to the community, to their own profit.
6. The bad disciples will drive away the virtuous ones.
7. The bad disciples will (falsely) accuse the virtuous ones of different bad actions.
8. The disciples will commit, in the monasteries, *sāmantikābhisheka* (?), and in the world the *paçukāḥ* (?) will be masters.[1]
9. After the Buddha's death his doctrine will separate into eighteen schools; but the doctrine of salvation they will not be able to confuse (?).
10. Among the disciples schisms will arise.

As will be seen, with the exception of some insignificant differences, both texts present one and the same redaction. As we know the first of these texts only as a quotation, we cannot with any certainty define its relation to the other. But there is some probability that it is older than the Sumāgadhā Avadāna, and may even have been the latter's source, because the whole *avadāna* is composed of fragments of different Buddhist texts.

Unfortunately, we cannot as yet fix any certain date for our texts. It is only probable that they were composed in India. Some indication that similar legends were current in the Buddhist world at a comparatively early date is found in the information of the Chinese documents, from which we shall give below a second, not yet edited, version of the dreams. In Buniu Nanjio's Catalogue we find No. 543: *Ekottarāgama* Sūtra (translated in 384–385 A.D.), ch. 52; No. 631: *Sūtra on ten different dreams of the king of*

[1] These words are not quite intelligible to us: *sāmantikābhisheka* would mean "anointing of the inhabitants (or kings?) of the neighbouring countries"; *paçuka* "cattle." (In *Sum.* the eighth dream is explained thus: Impious king will reign.)

the country Çrâvastî (Prasenajit), translated before the first quarter of the fourth century; No. 632: *Sûtra spoken by Buddha on the ten dreams of Prasenajit, the king of the country (Çrâvasti)*. The Chinese traveller, *I-tsing*, of the seventh century mentions (Stan. *Julien*, Mélanges de Géogr. Asiat. et de Philol. Sinico-As. extr. des livres Chin. t. i, Paris, 1864, p. 305. Extr. du J.A.) that in an ancient book it is said that king *Bimbisâra* saw in a dream a piece of cloth and a golden stick being divided into eighteen parts; this the Buddha explained as a prognostic of the appearance of eighteen schools under king *Açoka*, hundred years after the death of the Buddha. The 'ancient book' mentioned by *I-tsing* and the 52nd chapter of the *Ekottarâgama* are not yet known to us, but we are able (thanks to the communication of *A. O. Ivanovski*) to give here the version contained in Nos. 631 and 632 of Bun. Nanj. Cat., which is interesting because it forms, as it were, the link between the Pāli version of the Jātaka and the Sanskṛit ones adduced above: with the latter it coincides in the *number* of dreams; with the former in their *contents*.

The 'frame' in all three versions—Pāli, Chinese, and Sanskṛit, is, in general, identical; only the king who sees the dreams is in the Sanskṛit text *Kṛkin*; in the two others *Prasenajit*; from the passage in *I-tsing* it will be seen that the theme of these dreams, with eschatological explanation, were also ascribed to king *Bimbisâra*. We give the 'frame' in abridgment, but the dreams and their explanation in full.

The Buddha was in *Çrâvastî*, in *Jetavana*. At this time king *Prasenajit* saw ten dreams, and got much frightened; the brahmins order him, for the prevention of the portented misfortunes, to offer a sacrifice of whatever he held most dear, beginning with the queen. The king is troubled; the queen sees his sorrow, asks him, and, learning the reason, bids him turn to the Buddha. The Buddha quiets him, and explains the dreams as referring, not to the present, but the future. The king thereon turns away from the brahmins.

5. 1. Three vessels stand in a row: the two outer ones full, the middle empty. From the outer ones wind arises and goes from one to the other, but does not enter the empty one.	Rich people at future times will make presents to each other, but will not give attention to the poor.
2. A horse eats from two sides—before and aft.	In the coming times the great (2 adds: and kings) will take payments from government, and, besides, rob the people.
3. On a little tree flowers grow.	In the coming times people will grow grey before they are 30 (2 adds: from desire, luxury, and avarice).
4. On a little tree fruits grow.	In coming times young girls will be married very young (2: before the 15th year), and will nurse their children without shame (2 also: they will visit their relatives).[1]
5. A man stretches a string; behind the man is a wether; the wether and the man eat the string (in 1 only the man eats the string).	In coming times, when the men go to business, their wives will enter into relations with other youths and sleep with them (so 1; 2: and squander their husband's wealth with them).
6. A fox on a beautiful (2 adds: golden) couch eats from golden vessels.	In coming times the enriched people ('parvenus') will occupy the highest places, and everybody will honour them.

[1] This probably alludes to the Chinese custom to visit the relatives after marriage.

7. A big cow sucks a calf.	In coming times people will be unjust; mothers will bring together their daughters with strange men, and reap money from this.
8. Four bulls, c together from the four regions, rush upon one another, trying to throw down each the other, and then disperse (the text is not quite clear).	In coming times the officials (2: kings, officials, and people) will not fear heaven, and will lead a bad life; therefore the rains will not come in time. People will pray for rain: a wind will arise, clouds assemble, and it will thunder, so that they hope for rain, but rain will not come.
9. In a large pond the water in the middle is muddy, but on the four sides clear.	In coming times, in India, they will not honour parents and respect the old, but will do so in other countries.
10. The water of a great river runs all red.	In coming times the kings will carry on wars, and fall one on the other; they will kill people and horses, and therefrom rivers of blood will run.

It is easy to conjecture the way along which our legend left India together with Buddhism; it came to the Iranian countries, which had a constant intercourse with India. But whether it was preserved there, and where it took its farther course, we know not. The Iranists as yet treat with remarkable disdain the novelistic literature of Persia, and thus deprive us of one material link in the chain of the transmigration of fables from East to West.

Finally, we would allow ourselves some remarks on Veselovski's work: If in *Shahaïsh* is hidden *Shahānshāh*, we may, perhaps, in *Irin* see *Iran*? On the words heard

by king *Pradyota*, cf. the *Lohakumbhij* Jātaka (314), Petavatthu, iv. 15, and *Aṭṭhasaddaj.* (418), which give the Pāli text of these words. Benfey's explanation of *Kibariūn*, *Kynaron* as *Kevalin* is not probable; rather we should seek here a corruption of the name of *Kātyāgana*. To the seventh dream of king *Prasenajit*, cf. now *Rouse*, "A Jātaka in Pausanias, Folk-lore," i. 409 (1890).

ART. XIII.—*Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation.*

By MABEL BODE.

SOME years ago the late Dr. Trenckner made a transcript of an important Pāli work, the commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, called *Manoratha Pūraṇī* ("Wish-Fulfiller"), written by the great Buddhist commentator, Buddhagosha. When this work is added, by-and-bye, to the list of Pāli Texts already published, its value, as a further contribution to our knowledge of early Buddhism, will hardly need putting forward—the book will speak for itself. Meanwhile, as it has not yet been edited, the following short extract from the Text, accompanied by a translation, may not be without interest.

The chapter chosen illustrates the working of the great Buddhist reformation, in its original strength and freshness. It deals with certain contemporary disciples of Gotama, whose names appear in a section of the first Nipāta of the collection of Suttas called the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Here we find a list of thirteen women-disciples, who, after entering the Order of "Bhikkhunīs," exercised great influence, either by their teaching or the holiness of their lives.

In Gotama's discourse the disciples are named in turn, and the virtue that distinguishes each one is pointed out. The commentator adds, beneath every name, an account of the disciple's life, dwelling particularly on that part of her career in which she earned the "high place" assigned to her by the Master.

The sources from which the following portion of the Text has been taken are:—

1. Dr. Trenckner's beautifully clear and exact transcript of a MS. in the Siñhalese writing which he collated with a Burmese MS. of Nipātas, 1–3. (Both the above MSS. are in the India Office Library, Nos. 30 and 31, Phayre Collection.)

This transcript is referred to in the footnotes under the initials T.I., where readings differ.

2. A Siñhalese MS. very kindly lent me by Dr. Morris (referred to as S.M.).

In the collection of Burmese MSS. at the British Museum there is a Ṭīkā (sub-commentary) on the Manoratha Pūraṇī—or rather on a part of it, viz. the first Nipāta.

The comments on the chapter in question consist chiefly of paraphrases of the expressions used by Buddhagosha, and brief explanations of the scripture verses quoted by him in his account of the thirteen Theris. There are also touches of extra detail added to a few of the stories. From the references made to other canonical works, the Ṭīkā would seem to be written for readers well versed in the Scriptures; and the meaning is apt to be a little obscure in places. It must be said too that, in this case, any difficulties, as far as the matter is concerned, are added to by the manner of the copying, for the sameness of the Burmese character lends itself to confusion, unless the rounded letters are finished off clearly and exactly; and the Ṭīkā betrays a rather careless hand.

It has been very easy to correct doubtful readings in the Trenckner transcript, by means of comparison with Dr. Morris's MS. In nearly every case these readings are evidently mere copyists' blunders, which Trenckner has already noted as such, by underlining. Differences in the sense are so rare that the MSS. may almost be said to be, word for word, the same.

With regard to my own translation, I have made it as literal as I could, trying to reflect faithfully all the small shades of meaning in the original. In all passages where I met with difficulties, I have referred them to Professor Rhys Davids, feeling that I can thus justify myself in placing my work (imperfect as it would have been, without his most kind help) before readers whom the subject may interest.

[This paper was prepared for the Ninth Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1892; and an abstract of it was read at the Congress. The Publication Committee being unable, for want of funds, to print it, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society was kind enough to order its publication in this *Journal.*]

[Manoratha Pūraṇī on Aṅguttara, I. 14. 5.]

1. *Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.*

Therīpāliyaṃ paṭhame yadidaṃ Mahā Gotamī therī rattaññūnaṃ aggā ti dasseti. Tassa pañhakamme ayam anupubbakathā. Ayaṃ kira Padumuttara-buddha-kāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā, aparena samayena satthu dhamma-desanā sunantī satthāraṃ ekam bhikkhuniṃ rattaññūnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ[1] disvā, adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ dānaṃ datvā sīlaṃ samādayitvā uposathaṃ upavasitvā kappasatasahassaṃ atikkamma Bārāṇasiyaṃ paññcannaṃ dāsisatānaṃ jeṭṭhikā hutvā nibbatti. Atha vassupanāyikasamaye pañca [satā][2] paccekabuddhā Nandamūlakapabbhārato Isipatane otaritvā nagare piṇḍāya caritvā Isipatanam eva gantvā: Vassupanāyika-kuṭiyā atthāya hatthakammaṃ yācissāmāti cīvaraṃ pārupitvā sāyaṇha-samaye nagaraṃ pavisitvā seṭṭhissa gharadvāre

[1] T.I. *has here* ṭhapetvā *and below often* ṭhapetuṃ.
[2] All MSS. *omit* satā.

aṭṭhaṃsu. Jeṭṭhakadāsī kūṭaṃ gahetvā udakatitthaṃ gacchantī paccekabuddhe nagaraṃ pavisante addasa. Seṭṭhi tesaṃ āgatakāraṇaṃ sutvā: Ambākaṃ okāso natthi, gacchantūti āha. Atha te nagarā nikkhamante jeṭṭhakadāsī kūṭaṃ gahetvā pavisantī disvā kūṭaṃ otāretvā vanditvā onamitvā mukhaṃ pidhāya: Ayyā nagaraṃ paviṭṭhamantā va nikkhamantā kinnu kho ti pucchi.[1]

Vassupanāyika-kuṭiyā hatthakammaṃ yācituṃ āgatamhāti.

Laddhaṃ bhante ti?

Na laddhaṃ upāsike ti.

Kiṃ pan'esā kuṭi issareh'eva kātabbā, duggatehi pi sakkā kātun ti.

Yena kenaci sakkā ti.

Sādhu bhante mayaṃ karissāmāti sve mayhaṃ bhikkhaṃ ganhathāti nimantetvā udakaṃ netvā puna kūṭaṃ gahetvā āgamma titthamagge ṭhatvā āgatāgatā avasesadāsiyo etth'eva hothāti vatvā, sabbāsaṃ āgatakāle āha: Ammā kiṃ niccam eva parassa dāsakammaṃ karissatha udāhu dāsabhāvato muccituṃ icchathāti.

Ajj'eva muccituṃ icchāma ayye ti.

Yadi evaṃ mayā pañca paccekabuddhā hatthakammaṃ alabhantā svātanāya nimantitā, tumhākaṃ sāmikehi ekadivasaṃ hatthakammaṃ dāpethāti.

Tā sādhūti sampaṭicchitvā sayaṃ aṭavito āgatakāle sāmikānaṃ ārocesuṃ. Te sādhūti jeṭṭhakadāsassa gehadvāre sannipatiṃsu. Atha ne jeṭṭhakadāsī: Sve tātā paccekabuddhānaṃ hatthakammaṃ dethāti ānisaṃsaṃ ācikkhitvā, ye pi na kātukāmā te gūḷhena ovādena tajjetvā paṭicchāpesi. Sā punadivase paccekabuddhānaṃ bhattaṃ datvā sabbesaṃ dāsaputtānaṃ saññaṃ adāsi.

Te tāvad eva araññaṃ pavisitvā dabbasambhāre samodhānetvā sataṃ sataṃ hutvā ekekaṃ kuṭiṃ caṅkamanādiparivāraṃ katvā manca-pīṭhapānīya-paribhojanādīni ṭhapetvā paccekabuddhe temāse tattha vasanatthāya paṭiññaṃ kāretvā vārabhikkhaṃ ṭhapesuṃ.[2] Yo attano vāradivase na sakkoti

[1] So all MSS. (? vā-vā).
[2] S.M. paṭṭhapesuṃ.

tassa jeṭṭhakadāsī sakagehato nīharitvā deti. Evaṃ temāsaṃ jaggitvā jeṭṭhakadāsī ekekaṃ dāsiṃ ekekaṃ sāṭakaṃ vissajjāpesi, pañcathūlasāṭakasatāni ahesuṃ. Tāni parivattāpetvā pañcannaṃ paccekabuddhasatānaṃ ticīvarāṇi katvā adāsi. Pañcannaṃ paccekabuddhasatātāsaṃ passantānaṃ yeva ākāsena Gandhamādanapabbataṃ agamaṃsu. Tā pi sabbā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devaloke nibbattiṃsu. Tāsaṃ jeṭṭhikā tato cavitvā Bārāṇasiyā avidūre pesakāragāme pesakāra-jeṭṭhakassa gehe nibbatti. Ath'ekadivasaṃ Padumavatiyā[1] puttā pañcasatā paccekabuddhā Bārāṇasirañño nimantitā rājadvāraṃ āgantvā kanci olokento pi adisvā nivattitvā nagaradvāreṇa nikkhamitvā taṃ pesakāragāmakaṃ agamaṃsu. Sā itthi paccekabuddhe disvā sampiyāyamānā sabbe vanditvā bhikkhaṃ adāsi. Te bhattakiccaṃ katvā Gandhamādanam eva agamaṃsu. Sā pi yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devamanussesu saṃsarantī amhākaṃ satthu nibbattito puretaram eva Devadahanagare Mahāsuppabuddhassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Gotamī ti 'ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Mahāmāyāya kaniṭṭha-bhaginī hoti. Mantajjhāyaka-brāhmaṇā lakkhaṇāni paṭigaṇhantā imāsaṃ dvinnam pi kucchiyaṃ vasitadārakā cakkavattino bhavissantīti vyākariṃsu. Suddhodana-mahārājā vayappattakāle tā dve pi mangalaṃ katvā attano gharaṃ ānesi. Aparabhāge amhākaṃ bodhisatto Tusitapurā cavitvā Mahāmāyāya kucchiyaṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Mahāmāyā tassa jātadivasato sattame divase kālaṃ katvā Tusitapure nibbatti. Suddhodanamahārājā mahāsattassa mātucchaṃ Mahāpajāpatiṃ aggamahesiṭṭhāne ṭhapesi tasmiṃ kāle Nandakumāro jāto. Ayaṃ Mahāpajāpatī Nandakumāraṃ dhātannaṃ datvā sayaṃ bodhisattaṃ parihari. Apareṇa samayena bodhisatto mahābhinikkhamanaṃ nikkhamitvā sabbaññutaṃ patvā lokānuggahaṃ karonto anukkamena Kapilapuraṃ patvā nagaraṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Ath'assa pitā mahārājā antaravīthiyaṃ yeva dhammakathaṃ sutvā sotāpanno ahosi, dutiya-divase Nando pabbajito, sattame divase Rāhulo. Satthā aparena samayena Vesāliyaṃ upanissāya Kūṭāgārasālāyaṃ viharati. Tasmiṃ samaye

[1] See the whole story below under No. 3, Uppalavaṇṇā.

Suddhodanamahārājā setacchattass'eva heṭṭhā arahattaṃ sacchikatvā parinibbāyi. Tadā Mahāpajāpatī pabbajjāya cittaṃ uppādesi. Tato Rohiṇinadītīre Kalahavivādasutta-pariyosāne nikkhamitvā pabbajitānaṃ pañcannaṃ kumāra-satānaṃ pādaparicārikā sabbā va ekacittā hutvā Mahāpajā-tiyā santikaṃ gantvā sabbā va: satthu santike pabbajissāmāti Mahāpajāpatiṃ jeṭṭhikaṃ katvā satthu santikaṃ gantvā pabbajitukāmā ahesuṃ. Ayan ca Mahāpajāpatī paṭhamam eva ekavāraṃ satthāraṃ pabbajjaṃ yācayamānā nalattha. Tasmā kappakaṃ pakkosāpetvā kese chindāpetvā kāsāyāni acchādetvā sabbā tā Sākiyāniyo ādāya Vesāliṃ gantvā Ānandathereṇa dasabalaṃ yācetvā aṭṭhahi garudhammehi pabbajjañ ca upasampadañ ca alattha. Itarā pana sabbā pi ekato upasampannā ahesuṃ.

Ayaṁ ettha saṇkhepo, vitthārato pan'etaṃ vatthuṃ pāli-yaṃ āgatam eva. Evaṃ upasampānnā pana Mahāpajāpatī satthāraṃ upasaṃkamitvā abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ath'assa satthā dhammaṃ desesi. Sā satthu santike ca kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā arahattaṃ pāpuni. Sesā pañcasatā bhikkhuniyo Nandakovādapariyosāne arahattaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu. Evam etaṃ vatthuṃ[1] samuṭṭhitam. Aparabhāge satthā Jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento Mahā-pajāpatiṃ rattaññūnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

Fourth Vagga.

1. *Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.*

The first of the series of theris (that is to say Mahā Gotamī) appears as the chief of those who are great in experience. Without going into the history of her former deeds, it is said that she entered existence in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, in a noble family at Haṃsavatī. Afterwards, hearing the Teacher discourse upon the Law, and seeing him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same place. When

[1] T.I. vatthu.

she had done deeds of charity her whole life through, and had taken the vow to fulfil the precepts, and had observed the Sabbath, after a hundred thousand Kappas had passed she was reborn at Benares, being the chief among five hundred slaves. Now when the Vassa season began, five hundred Pacceka Buddhas came down from the mountain caves to Isipatana and went about the city for alms. And just as they came to Isipatana they thought, "We will ask them to make ready a dwelling for us; huts for the Vassa season." So, donning mendicant's robes, and entering the city in the evening, they stood by the gate of a merchant's house.

The chief of the women-slaves had taken her water-jar and was going down to the ford for water, when she beheld the five Pacceka Buddhas entering the city.

The merchant, hearing the (reason of) their coming, said: "We have no time! Let them go away."

Now, as they were departing from the city, the chief slave, bearing her water-jar, was entering (the city) and saw them. She greeted them and made obeisance to them, covering her face. "Sirs," she asked, "Wherefore did you enter the city, and wherefore are you leaving?" "We came to ask that a dwelling for the Vassa season might be built for us," they said.

"And have you succeeded, sirs?" she said.

"We have not succeeded, daughter," they said.

"And these huts that should be built—can they be built only by gentlefolk or by poor folk?" she asked.

"They can be built by any man soever."

"Very good, sirs, we will do it," she said. "To-morrow receive your food from me." And having thus invited them and led them to the water-side, she once more took up her water-jar and went away. And, standing on the path leading to the ford, she said to each one of the slave-girls as they came along, "Stay here," and when they had all come, she said, "My daughters, will you always do the work of a slave for another, or do you desire to be freed from slavery?"

"We would fain be free this very day, mother," they answered.

"If so, get your husbands to labour one day for these five hundred holy ones, who cannot find labourers and whom I have promised to provide for to-morrow," she said.

"So be it," they said.

And, having agreed to this themselves, they told their husbands of it, when they came back from the forest.

"Very well," said they, and assembled together at the door of the head-man's dwelling.

Now the chief woman-slave said to them, "My friends, give your labour to these holy men." And pointing out her intention (and scolding with strong admonition those who did not wish to work) she made them agree.

On the morrow, when she had given a meal to the Pacceka Buddhas, she gave the directions to all the slaves.

They forthwith went into the forest and brought together building materials, and, dividing into parties of a hundred, they built, for each Buddha, huts, having first made an enclosure of cloisters. And they placed furniture, to wit, beds and chairs and drinking-water, there, and caused the Buddhas to take a vow to dwell there three months.

And they appointed an order of feeding them, and if any man were not able (to do so) when his turn came, food was brought to him from the house of the chief slave, that he might give it.

And, having thus fed them for three months, the chief woman-slave made each one of the women-slaves take off one cloth garment. There were five hundred thick cloths; and having caused these to be exchanged, she bought for each of the five hundred holy ones three robes. And, even as they beheld them, the five hundred Buddhas, passing through the air, returned to the mountain Gandhamādano. So all these women, having spent their life in good deeds, were reborn in the Deva heaven. And the chief one, vanishing from thence, was reborn at a village of weavers near Benares, in the house of a master-weaver.

Now, on a certain day, five hundred young Buddhas came

to Benares, invited by the king, and when they had come to the gate of the palace, looking about and seeing no one there, they turned back, and, setting forth by the city gate, they reached the village of weavers.

This woman, seeing the Buddhas and saluting them in a friendly way, gave them food.

They, after taking their meal in due manner, returned forthwith to Gandhamādano.

And the woman, after leading a virtuous life, and passing through deva worlds and the world of men, was reborn, just before our Teacher, re-entering life in the dwelling of the eminent Suppabuddho.

Her family name was Gotamī. She was the younger sister of the celebrated Māyā. The Brahmins, who were learned in spells, having perceived the signs of greatness in these two, prophesied that the children conceived by them would be universal monarchs.

The great King Suddhodano, holding a great festival at his coming of age, brought the two sisters home to his own palace.

Afterwards our Bodhisat vanished from the Tusita heaven and re-entered existence in the womb of Māyā. Māyā, on the seventh day after his birth, was born again in dying the Tusita heaven. King Suddhodana raised Pajāpatī (aunt of the Blessed One) to the place of Queen-consort. At this time the young prince Nanda was born. Pajāpatī, handing Nanda over to a foster-mother, continued to tend the Bodhisat.

Later on, when the Bodhisat had secluded himself from the world and attained wisdom, doing good to mankind, and had, in due course, reached the town of Kapila, he entered the city, seeking alms.

Now his father, the great king, having heard him preach the Law even on the high road, became converted. On the second day Nanda embraced the ascetic life, and on the seventh day Rāhulo.

Afterwards the Blessed One took up his abode in a turretted hall near Vesāli. At this time the great King

Suddhodana died, having attained to Arahatship under the royal white umbrella.

Then Pajāpatī conceived the thought of entering the religious life. And afterwards, at the end of the Kalaha-vivāda-Sutta, or Discourse on the strife and contention on the banks of the river Rohini, Pajāpatī set out, attended by five hundred young maidens, who had become converted, and who had come, all of one accord, to Pajāpatī, thinking, "we will enter the religious life under the Teacher." And placing Mahāpajāpatī at their head, and going to the Teacher, they craved that they might enter the Order.

But even this woman Pajāpatī, the first time she besought the Teacher that she might enter the Order, did not gain her desire.

Therefore, sending for the barber, she caused her hair to be cut off, donned the yellow robe, and taking all these Sākya women with her, she went to Vesāli, and got the Thera Ānanda to entreat the Holy One for her. And she did succeed in entering the religious life and receiving ordination, subject to the eight chief laws.

And all the other women received ordination at the same time.

This is a brief summary, as the story is related in full in the Canon.[1]

When thus admitted to the Order, Pajāpatī, having approached the Teacher and made obeisance to him, stood on one side. And the Teacher preached the Doctrine to her, and this woman, instructed by the Teacher in ecstatic meditation, attained to Arahatship. And the other five hundred nuns, at the end of the discourse to Nandaka attained to Arahatship. Thus did this story arise.

Afterwards, the Teacher, seated at Jetavana, when assign- the places to the Bhikkhunīs, exalted Pajāpatī to the chief these among those who are great in experience.

reborn

from t

Benares,

Now,

[1] Vinaya, Texts III. 320–327.

2. *Khemā.*[1]

Dutiye Khemā ti evaṃ-nāmikā bhikkhunī. Ito paṭṭhāya ca pana pañhakamme ayam anupubbakathāti avatvā sabbattha abhinīhāraṃ ādiṃ katvā vattabbam eva vakkhāmi.

Atīte kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatī-nagare ayaṃ pariyāpannā hutvā nibbatti. Ath' ekadivasaṃ tassa bhagavato aggasāvakaṃ Sujātatheraṃ nāma piṇḍāya carantaṃ disvā tayo modake datvā taṃ divasaṃ eva attano kese vissajjetvā therassa dānaṃ datvā: Anāgate buddhuppāde tumhe viya mahāpaññā bhaveyyan[2] ti patthanaṃ katvā, yāvajīvaṃ kusalakamme appamattā hutvā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā, Kassapabuddhakāle Kikissa Kāsirañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsatiṃ vassasahassāni gehe yeva komārabrahmacariyā caritvā tāhi bhaginīhi saddhiṃ dasabalassa vasanapariveṇanaṃ kāretvā, ekaṃ buddhantaraṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā, imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Maddaraṭṭhe Sāgalanagare rājakule paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Khemā ti 'ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Tassā sarīravaṇṇe suvaṇṇarasa-piñjaro ahosi. Vayappattā ca pana Bimbisārarañño gehe agamāsi. Sā tathāgate Rājagahaṃ upanissāya rāja-gehe viharante: satthā kira rūpe dosaṃ dassetīti rūpamadamattā hutvā mayhampi rūpe dosaṃ dasseyyā ti bhayena dasabaladassanāya na gacchati. Rājā cintesi: ahaṃ satthu aggupaṭṭhāyako: mādisassa ca nāma ariya-sāvakassa aggamahesī dasabalaṃ dassanāya na gacchati. Na me etaṃ ruccatīti. So kavīhi Veḷuvanuyyānassa vaṇṇaṃ bandhāpetvā: Khemāya deviyā savanupacāre gāyathāti āha. Sā uyyānassa vaṇṇam sutvā gantukāmā hutvā rājānam paṭipucchi. Rājā: uyyānaṃ gaccha, satthāraṃ pana adisvā āgantuṃ na labhissasīti āha. Sā rañño paṭivacanaṃ adatvā maggaṃ paṭipajji. Rājā tāya saddhiṃ gacchante purise āha: Sace devī uyyānato nivattamānā dasabalaṃ passati,

[1] The whole of this story recurs in different wording in the Paramattha Dīpanī on Therī Gāthā 139-144 (pp. 126 foll. of Prof. Edward Müller's forthcoming edition for the Pali Text Society).

[2] T.I. bhāveyyan.

iccetaṃ kusalaṃ, sace pana na passati rājāṇāya naṃ dassethāti.

Atha kho sā devī divasabhāgaṃ uyyāne caritvā nivattantī dasabalaṃ adisvā va gantuṃ āraddhā. Atha naṃ rājapurisā attano aruciyā va satthu santikaṃ nayiṃsu. Satthā naṃ āgacchantiṃ disvā iddhiyā ekaṃ devaccharaṃ nimminitvā tālavaṇṭaṃ gahetvā vījamanā viya akāsi. Khemā devī taṃ disvā cintesi: manā vatamhi natthā,[1] evarūpā nāma dibbaccharāpaṭibhāgā itthiyo dasabalassa avidūre tiṭṭhanti. Ahaṃ etāsaṃ paricārikā pi nappahomi. Manamhi akāraṇā pāpacittassa vasena naṭṭhā ti nimittaṃ gahetvā tam eva itthim olokayamānā aṭṭhāsi. Ath assā passantiyā va tathāgatassa adhiṭṭhānabalena sā itthi paṭhamavayaṃ atikkamma majjhimvaye ṭhitā viya majjhimavayaṃ atikkamma pacchimavaye ṭhitā viya ca valittā ca palitakesā khaṇḍasithiladantā ahosi. Tato tassā passantiyā va saddhiṃ tālavaṇṭena parivattitvā papati. Tato Khemā pubbahetu-sampannattā tasmiṃ ārammaṇe āpāthagate evaṃ cintesi: Evaṃ-vidham pi nāma sarīraṃ c'eva rūpaṃ vipattiṃ[2] pāpunāti. Mayham pi sarīraṃ evaṃ-gatikaṃ eva bhavissatīti. Ath'assā evaṃ cintitakkhaṇe satthā imaṃ Dhammapade gātham āha:

Ye rāgarattā anupatanti sotaṃ.
Sayaṃ kataṃ makkaṭako va jālaṃ.
Etam pi chetvāna paribbajanti.
Anapekkhino kāmasukhaṃ pahāyāti.[3]

Sā gāthā-pariyosāne patiṭṭhita-pade ṭhitā yeva saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuni.

Agāramajjhe ca nāma arahattaṃ pattena taṃ divasam eva parinibbāyitabbaṃ pabbajitabbaṃ vā[4] hoti. Sā pana attano āyusaṅkhārāṇaṃ pavattanaka-bhāvaṃ ñatvā: attano pabbajjaṃ anujānāpessāmīti satthāraṃ vanditvā rājanivesanaṃ gantvā rājānaṃ anabhivādetvā va aṭṭhāsi. Rāja ingiten'eva aññāsi; ariya-dhammaṃ arahattaṃ pattā bhavissatīti Atha nam āha: Devī! gatā nu kho si satthāraṃ dassanāyāti.

[1] S.M. manaṃ vat'amhi naṭṭhā.
[2] So S.M. T.I. *has* sarīraṃ evaṃ rūpasantiṃ, etc.
[3] Dhammapada, verse 347.
[4] T.I. *omits* pabbajitabbaṃ vā.

Mahārāja tumhehi diṭṭhadassanaṃ parittakaṃ, ahaṃ pana dasabalaṃ sudditṭhaṃ akāsiṃ, pabbajjaṃ me anujānāthāti.

Rājā; sādhu devī ti sampaṭicchitvā sovaṇṇa-sivikāya bhikkhunī-upassayaṃ pesetvā pabbājjesi. Ath'assā Khemā nāma gihibhāve ṭhitā va arahattaṃ pattā ti mahāpaññā-bhāvo pākaṭo ahosi. Idam ettakaṃ vatthuṃ. Atha satthā aparabhāge Jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento Khemaṃ theriṃ mahāpaññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

2. *Khemā.*

In the second Sutta the name Khemā means the Bhikkhunī so called. Now henceforth, without going into the history of their former deeds, I will say only whatever ought to be otherwise said, beginning (in the case of each one) from her first resolve.

It is said that, in days gone by, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, this woman was reborn, a native of the city Haṃsavatī.

Now, one day, seeing the thera Sujāta, one of the two chief disciples of that Blessėd One, going his round for alms, she gave him three sweetmeats. And that very day, she had her own hair cut off, and (bartered it for) gifts which she gave to the thera, uttering the prayer: "Hereafter, at some time when a Buddha appears in the world, may I become full of wisdom, like you!"

Thenceforth, spending her life zealous in good works, and wandering from world to world among gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence, at the time of the Buddha Kassapa, in the palace of Kiki, King of Kasī, as one among seven sisters; and for twenty thousand years she lived there a life of chastity, and, with her sisters, had a dwelling place built for the Blessėd One.

Then, having passed the interval between that time and the birth of the next Buddha, wandering from life to life in the worlds of gods and men, she was reborn, in the time

of this our Buddha, in the royal family in the city of Sāgala, in the Madda country.

They gave her the name Khemā; and her skin was of exceeding beauty, yellow as fine gold.

Now when she had come of age, she entered the household of King Bimbisāra.

And it was told her of the Blessèd One, who was dwelling in a royal precinct, not far from Rājagaha: "The Master finds fault with beauty;" so she, being intoxicated with her own loveliness, and fearing lest he should point out blemishes in her too, would not go to see him.

The king thought to himself: "I am a chief supporter of the Master. Yet she, the consort of so leading a disciple, does not go to see him who has the ten Powers of Wisdom. I don't like it!"

So he bade the Court poets compose a poem on the glories of the Veluvana Hermitage, and told them: "Go and sing that in the hearing of Khemā, the Queen."

She, hearing of the beauty of the Hermitage, was seized with a desire to go there, and asked the king's leave.

The king replied: "Go to the Hermitage by all means; but you will not be able to return thence without paying your respects to the Teacher."

She made no reply to the king, but started forth on her way.

The king said to the attendants who were going with her: "If the Queen, as she is returning from the Hermitage, should catch sight of the Blessèd One, well and good! But if she does not, do you point him out to her, in the king's name."

Now the Queen, after wandering about the Hermitage during the day, was about to depart, without having seen the Blessèd One. So the royal attendants, against her will, led her into the presence of the Master.

The Master, seeing her approaching, created, by the power of Iddhi, the form of a nymph of heavenly beauty, who, holding a palm-leaf, seemed to be fanning him.

Khemā, the Queen, beholding this nymph, thought to

herself: "Alas! I am undone!—inasmuch as women of loveliness so divine surround the Blessèd One! I am not worthy to be even as their handmaid. Methinks it is by nothing else but my wicked thoughts that I am undone!"

And, drawing this conclusion, she stood spell-bound, gazing at the woman. And, even as she gazed, the woman (by the stedfast will of the Tathāgata) seemed to pass from her first youth and change to middle-age, and from middle-age she seemed to pass on to old age, and stood there, with hair grown grey and teeth become all loose and broken. And then the Queen, still watching, saw her fall, fan and all, lifeless to the ground.

Then Khemā, (since all the causes heaped up in her former existences wrought this result in her,) thought thus: "So glorious and beautiful a body has fallen thus on destruction! Even to a like end must this my body come!" And at the moment she was thinking this, the Master uttered this verse of the Dhammapada: "They who are slaves to lust drift down the stream, as the spider down the web he himself has made. But, parting from it, they forsake the world, and, with gaze no longer set on life, they put far from them the pleasures of lust!"

And, at the end of the stanza, she, even as she stood there, acquired the Paṭisambidhās (the Four Gifts of Perfect Understanding) and attained to Arahatship.

Now he who attains to Arahatship while he is yet a layman, must pass away in death that very day or enter the religious life. She therefore, understanding that the end of her days was near, thought to herself, "I will ask permission to forsake the world, myself."

And, making obeisance to the Master, she returned to the palace, and, saluting the king, stood before him.

The king, feeling from her very manner that she had reached the noble state of Arahatship, said to her: "Queen, have you then really been to see the Blessèd One?"

"Oh great king," she answered, "What you have seen is of little moment. But to me the Blessèd One has been fully revealed, even to the utmost. I pray you, let me

forsake the world!" And the king granted her request, and sent her in a golden palanquin to the nunnery, where she should dwell.

Now since she, while still a laywoman and called Khemā, had attained to Arahatship, it became noised abroad that she must have been one gifted with great wisdom.

This is the story thus far.

Now afterwards the Master, seated at Jetavana, when assigning places, one after the other, to the Bhikkhunīs, gave to the therī Khemā the chief place among those who are full of wisdom.

3. *Uppalavaṇṇā.*

Tatiye *Uppalavaṇṇā* tī nīluppalagabbhasadisena* vaṇṇena samannāgatattā evaṃ laddhanāmā therī. Sā kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparabhāge mahājanena saddhiṃ satthu santikaṃ gantvā dhammaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ iddhimantānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne·ṭhapetvā disvā sattāhaṃ buddhapamukhassa saṅghassa mahādānaṃ datvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devamanussesu saṃsarantī Kassapabuddhakāle Bārāṇasī nagare Kikissa-rañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā sattānaṃ bhaginīnam abbhantarā hutvā vīsativassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhusaṅghassa pariveṇaṃ kāretvā devaloke nibbattā; tato cavitvā puna manussalokaṃ āgacchantī ekasmiṃ gāmake sahatthā kammaṃ katvā jīvanakaṭṭhāne nibbattā. Sā ekadivasaṃ khettakuṭiṃ gacchantī antarāmagge ekasmiṃ sare pāto va pupphitaṃ padumapupphaṃ disvā taṃ saraṃ oruyha tañ c'eva pupphaṃ lājapakkhipanatthāya sa [1]-paduminipattañ ca gahetvā kedāre sālisīsāni chinditvā kuṭikāya nisinnā. Lāje bhajjitvā pañca lājasatāni gaṇesi. Tasmiṃ khaṇe Gandhamādanapabbate nirodhasamāpattito vuṭṭhito eko paccekabuddho āgantvā tassāviduraṭṭhāne aṭṭhāsi.

[1] T.I. saṃ.

Sā paccekabuddhaṃ disvā lājehi saddhiṃ padumapupphaṃ gahetvā kuṭṭo oruyha lāje paccekabuddhassa patte pakkhipitvā padumapupphena pattaṃ pidhāya adāsi. Ath'assā paccekabuddhe thokaṃ gate etad ahosi: pabbajitā nāma pupphena anatthikā. Ahaṃ pupphaṃ gahetvā pilandhissāmīti, gantvā paccekabuddhassa hatthato pupphaṃ gahetvā cintesi: sace ayyo pupphena anatthiko abhavissa pattamatthake ṭhapetuṃ na adassa addhā assa attho bhavissatīti. Puna gantvā pattamatthake ṭhapetvā paccekabuddhaṃ khamāpetvā: bhante imesaṃ lājānaṃ nissandena lājā gaṇanāya puttā assu padumapupphanissandena nibbattaṃ nibbattaṭṭhāne pade pade padumapupphaṃ uṭṭhahatūti patthanaṃ akāsi. Paccekabuddho tassā passantiyā va ākāsena Gandhamādanaṃ gantvā taṃ padumaṃ Nandamūlakapabbhāre pacceka-buddhānaṃ akkamanasopānasamīpe pādapuñjanaṃ katvā ṭhapesi. Sā pi tassa kammassa nissandena devaloke paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi, nibbattakālato paṭṭhāya c'assā pade pade mahāpadumapupphaṃ uṭṭhāsi. Sā tato cavitvā pabbatapāde ekasmiṃ padumasare padumagabbhe nibbatti. Taṃ nissāya eko tāpaso vasati. So pāto va mukhadhovanatthāya saraṃ gantvā taṃ pupphaṃ disvā cintesi: idaṃ pupphaṃ sesehi mahantataraṃ sesāni ca pupphitāni idaṃ makulīnam eva bhavitabbam ettha kāraneṇāti udakaṃ otaritvā taṃ pupphaṃ gaṇhi. Taṃ tena gahitamattam eva pupphitaṃ tāpaso antopadumagabbhe nipannaṃ dārikaṃ addasa diṭṭhakālato paṭṭhāya dhītusinehaṃ labhitvā padumen'eva saddhiṃ paṇṇasālaṃ netvā mañcake nipajjāpesi. Ath'assa tassā puññānubhāvena aṅguṭṭhake khīraṃ nibbatti. So tasmiṃ pupphe milāte aññaṃ navaṃ pupphaṃ āharitvā taṃ nipajjāpesi.

Ath'assā ādhāvanavidhāvanena kīḷituṃ samatthabhāvato paṭṭhāya padavāre padavāre padumapupphaṃ uṭṭhāti kuṅkuṭṭharāsissa viy'assā sarīravaṇṇo hoti. Sā appattā devavaṇṇaṃ atikkantā mānusavaṇṇaṃ ahosi. Sā pitari phalāphalatthāya gate paṇṇasālāyaṃ ohiyyati. Ath'ekadivasaṃ tassā vayappattakāle pitari phalāphalatthāya gate eko vanacarako taṃ disvā cintesi: Manussānaṃ nāma evaṃvidhaṃ rūpaṃ n'atthi vīmaṃsissāmi nan ti tāpasassa āgamanaṃ

udikkhanto nisīdi. Sā pitari āgacchante paṭipaṭhaṃ gantvā tassa hatthato kācakamaṇḍaluṃ aggahesi āgantvā nisinnassa c'assa attanā kārakavattaṃ dassesi. Tadā so vanacarako manussabhāvaṃ ñatvā tāpasaṃ abhivādetvā nisīdi. Tāpaso taṃ vanacarakaṃ vanamūlaphalena ca pāniyena ca nimantetvā: Bho purisa imasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne bhavissasi udāhu gamissasīti pucchi. Gamissāma bhante idha kiṃ karissāmīti.

Idaṃ tayā diṭṭhakāraṇaṃ etto va gantvā akathetuṃ sakkhissasīti. Sace ayyā na icchanti kiṃ kāraṇā kathessāmīti: tāpasaṃ vanditvā puna āgamanakāle magga sañjānanatthaṃ sākhāsaññaṃ ca rukkhasaññaṃ ca karonto pakkāmi. So pi Bārāṇasiṃ gantvā rājānaṃ addasa. Rājā: kasmā āgato sīti pucchi. Ahaṃ deva tumhākaṃ vanacarako pabbatapāde acchariyaṃ itthiratanaṃ disvā āgatomhīti sabbaṃ pavattiṃ kathesi.

So tassa vacanaṃ sutvā vegena pabbatapādaṃ gantvā avidure ṭhāne khandhāvāraṃ nivesetvā vanacarakena c'eva appehi ca purisehi saddhiṃ tāpasassa bhattakiccaṃ katvā nisinnavelāya tattha gantvā abhivādetvā paṭisanthāraṃ katvā ekamante nisīdi. Rājā tāpasassa pabbajitaparikkhārabhaṇḍam pādamūle ṭhapetvā: bhante imasmiṃ ṭhāne kiṃ karoma gacchissāmāti āha.

Gaccha mahārājāti.

Gacchāmi bhante, ayyassa pana samīpe „visabhāgaparisā atthīti assumha papañco eso pabbajitānaṃ mayā saddhiṃ gacchatu bhante ti.

Manussānaṃ cittaṃ nāma duttosayaṃ kathaṃ[1] bahunnaṃ majjhe vasissatīti.

Amhaṃ rucitakālato paṭṭhāya naṃ sesānaṃ jeṭṭhakaṭṭhāne ṭhapetvā paṭiggahituṃ sakkhissāma bhante ti.

So rañño kathaṃ sutvā daharakāle gahitanāmavasen'eva: amma Padumavatīti dhītaram pakkosi. Sā ekavacanen'eva paṇṇasālato nikkhamitvā pitaraṃ abhivādetvā aṭṭhāsi. Atha naṃ pitā āha: Tvaṃ amma vayappattā, imasmiñ ca ṭhāne raññā diṭṭhakālato paṭṭhāya vasitum aphāsukaṃ, raññā

[1] *So all* MSS.

saddhiṃ yeva gaccha ammā ti. Sā sādhūti pitu vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā abhivādetvā parodamānā aṭṭhāsi.

Rājā: Imissā pitu cittaṃ gaṇhāmīti tasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne kahāpanarāsimhi ṭhapetvā abhisekaṃ akāsi.

Atha naṃ gahetvā attano nagaraṃ ānetvā āgatakālato paṭṭhāya sesitthiyo anoloketvā tāya saddhiṃ yeva ramati. Ta itthiyo issāpakatā naṃ rañño antare paribhinditukāmā evam āhaṃsu: Nāyaṃ mahārāja manussajātikā. Kahaṃ nāma tumhe manussānaṃ vicaranaṭṭhāne padumāni uṭṭhahantāni diṭṭhapubbāni? addhā ayaṃ yakkhini, nīharatha naṃ mahārājāti.

Rājā tāsaṃ kathaṃ sutvā tuṇhī ahosi. Ath'assa apareṇa samayena paccanto kupito so garubhārā Padumavatī ti taṃ nagare ṭhapetvā paccantaṃ agamāsi. Atha tā itthiyo tassā upaṭṭhāyikāya lañcaṃ datvā: Imissā dārakaṃ jātamattam eva apanetvā ekaṃ dārughaṭikaṃ lohitena makkhetvā santike ṭhapehīti āhaṃsu. Padumavatiyā pi na cirass'eva gabbha-vuṭṭhānaṃ ahosi. Mahāpaduma-kumāro ekako va kucchiyaṃ vasi, avasesā ekūna pañcasatā dārakā Mahāpadumakumārassa mātukucchito nikkhamitvā nipanna-kāle saṃsedajā hutvā nibbattiṃsu.

Ath 'assa na tāva ayaṃ satiṃ labhatīti ñatvā sā upaṭṭhāyikā ekaṃ dārughaṭikaṃ lohitena makkhetvā svamīpe ṭhapetvā tāsaṃ itthīnaṃ saññaṃ adāsi. Tā pañcasatā pi itthiyo ekekā ekekaṃ dārakaṃ gahetvā cundānaṃ santikaṁ pesetvā karaṇḍakaṃ āharāpetvā attanā attanā gahitadārake tattha nipajjāpetvā bahi lañjanaṃ katvā ṭhapayiṃsu. Padumavatī pi kho saññaṃ labhitvā tad upaṭṭhāyikaṃ: Kiṃ vijātamhi ammā ti pucchi. Sā taṃ santajjetvā: Kuto tvaṃ dārakaṃ labhissasīti vatvā Ayaṃ te kucchito nikkhantadārako ti lohitamakkhitaṃ dārughaṭikaṃ purato ṭhapesi. Sā taṃ disvā domanassappattā: Sīghaṃ taṃ phāletvā apanehi. Sace koci[1] passeyya lajjitabbaṃ bhaveyyāti āha. Sā tassā kathaṃ sutvā atthakāmā viya dārughaṭikaṃ phāletvā uddhane pakkhipi.

Rājā pi paccantato āgantvā nakkhattaṃ paṭimānento bahi-

[1] T.I. kovi.

nagare khandhāvāraṃ māpetvā nisīdi. Atha tā pañcasatā itthiyo rañño paccuggamanaṃ āgantvā āhaṃsu: Tvaṃ mahārājā amhākaṃ na saddahasi, amhehi vuttaṃ akāraṇaṃ viya hoti. Tvaṃ mahesiyā upaṭṭhāyikaṃ pakkosāpetvā paṭipuccha dārughatikaṃ te devī vijātā ti.

Rājā taṃ kāraṇaṃ anupaparikkhipitvā amanussa-jātikā bhavissatī ti taṃ gehato nikkaḍḍhi. Tassā rājagehato saha nikkhamanen'eva padumapupphāni antaradhayiṃsu. Sarīracchavi pi vivaṇṇā ahosi. Sā ekikā va antaravīthiyā pāyāsi. Atha naṃ ekā vayappattā mahallikā itthi disvā dhītusinehaṃ uppādetvā: Kahaṃ gacchasi ammāti āha.

Āgantukamhi vasanaṭṭhānaṃ olokentī carāmīti.

Idhāgaccha ammā ti vasanaṭṭhānam datvā bhojanaṃ paṭiyādesi.

Tassā iminā va niyāmena tattha vasamānāya tā pañcasatā itthiyo ekacittā hutvā rājānaṃ āhaṃsu: Mahārājā tumhesu khandhāvāraṃ gatesu amhehi Gaṅgādevatāya: Amhākaṃ deve vijitasaṅgāme āgate balikammaṃ katvā udakakīḷaṃ karissāmāti patthitaṃ atthi, etamatthaṃ deva jānāpemāti.

Rājā tāsaṃ vacanena tuṭṭho Gaṅgāya udakakīḷikaṃ kātuṃ agamāsi. Tā pi attanā attanā gahitakaraṇḍakaṃ paṭicchannaṃ katvā ādāya nadiṃ gantvā tesaṃ karaṇḍakānaṃ paṭicchādanatthaṃ pārupitvā pārupitvā udake patitvā karaṇḍake vissajjesuṃ. Te pi kho karaṇḍakā sabbe pi gantvā heṭṭhāsote pasāritajālamhi laggiṃsu. Tato udakakīḷaṃ kīḷitvā rañño uttiṇṇakāle jālaṃ ukkhipantā te karaṇḍake disvā rañño santikaṃ nayiṃsu.

Rājā karaṇḍake oloketvā: Kim tātā karaṇḍakesūti āha.

Na jānāma devāti.

So te karaṇḍake vivarāpetvā olokento paṭhamaṃ Mahāpaduma-kumārassa karaṇḍakam vivarāpesi.

Tesaṃ pana sabbesampi assa karaṇḍakesu nipajjāpitadivase yeva paññiddhiyā[1] aṅguṭṭhake khīraṃ nibbatti. Sakko devarājā tassa rañño nikkaṅkhabhāvatthaṃ antokaraṇḍake akkharāni likhāpesi: Ime kumārā Padumavatiyā kucchismiṃ nibbattā Bārāṇasirañño puttā, atha ne Padumavatiyā

[1] S.M. Puññiddhiyā.

sapattiyo pañcasatā itthiyo karaṇḍakesu pakkhipitvā udake khipiṃsu. Rājā imaṃ kāraṇam jānātūti.

Karaṇḍake vivaṭṭamatte rājā akkharāni vācetvā dārake disvā Mahāpadumakumāraṃ ukkhipitvā: Vegavegena rathe yojetvā asse kappetha, ahaṃ ajja antonagaraṃ pavisitvā ekaccānaṃ mātugāmānaṃ piyaṃ karissāmīti pāsādavaraṃ āruyha hatthigīvāya sahassabhaṇḍikam ṭhapetvā bheriñ carāpesi: Yo Padumavatiṃ passati imaṃ sahassaṃ gaṇhatūti.

Taṃ kathaṃ sutvā Padumavatī mātu saññaṃ adāsi: Hatthigīvato sahassaṃ gaṇha ammāti.

Nāhaṃ evarūpaṃ gaṇhituṃ visahāmīti.

Sā dutiyam pi tatiyam pi vutte: Kiṃ vatvā gaṇhāmi ammā ti āha.

Mama dhītā Padumavatī devī nāmāti vatvā gaṇhāhīti.

Sā: Yaṃ hotu taṃ hotūti gantvā sahassa-caṅgoṭakaṃ gaṇhi. Atha naṃ manussā pucchiṃsu: Padumavatiṃ deviṃ passasi ammāti.

Ahaṃ na passāmi. Dhītā kira me passatīti āha.

Te: Kahaṃ pana sā ammāti vatvā tāya saddhiṃ gantvā Padumavatiṃ sañjānitvā pādesu nipatiṃsu. Tasmiṃ kāle: Sā Padumavatī devī ayan ti ñatvā: Bhāriyaṃ vata itthiyā kammaṃ kataṃ yā evaṃvidhassa rañño mahesi samānā evarūpe ṭhāne nirārakkhā vasīti, āgatā pi rājapurisā Padumavatiyā nivesanaṃ setasānihi parikkhipāpetvā dvāre ārakkhaṃ ṭhapetvā gantvā rañño ārocesuṃ.

Rājā sovaṇṇa-sivikaṃ pesesi. Sā: Ahaṃ evaṃ nagamissāmi, mama vasanaṭṭhānato paṭṭhāya yāva rājagehaṃ etthantare varapotthakacittattharake attharāpetvā upari sovaṇṇa-tārakavicittaṃ celavitānaṃ bandhāpetvā pasādhanatthāya sabbālaṅkāresu pahitesu padasā va gamissāmi, evam me nāgarā sampattiṃ passissantīti āha.

Rājā Padumavatiyā ruciṃ karothāti āha. Tato Padumavatī sabbapasādanaṃ pasādetvā rājageham gamissāmīti maggaṃ paṭipajji. Ath 'assā akkanta-akkanta-akkantaṭṭhāne varapotthake cittattharakaṃ bhinditvā padumapupphāni uṭṭhiṃsu. Sā mahājanassa attano sampattiṃ dassetvā rāja nivesanaṃ āruyha sabbe pi te cittattharake tassā mahallikāya

posāvanikamūlaṃ katvā dāpesi. Rājā pi tā pañcasatā itthiyo pakkosāpetvā imā te devi dāsiyo katvā demīti āha.

Sādhu mahārāja etāsam dinnabhāvaṃ sakalanagare jānāpehīti.

Rājā nagare bheriṃ carāpesi: Padumavatiyā dubhīkā[1] pañcasatā itthiyo etissā va dāsiyo katvā dinnā ti. Sā tāsaṃ sakalanagare va dāsibhāvo sallakkhito ti ñatvā: Aham mama dāsiyo bhujissā kātuṃ labhāmi devāti.

Rājā naṃ pucchi: Tava icchā devīti. Evaṃ*sante tam eva bherivādakaṃ pakkosāpetva: Padumavati-deviyā attano dāsiyo katvā dinnā pañcasatā va itthiyo sabbā va bhujissā katā ti puna bheriñ carāpethāti āha.

Tāsaṃ bhujissabhāve kate ekūnāni pañca puttasatāni tāsaṃ yeva hatthe posanatthāya datvā sayaṃ Mahāpadumakumāraṃ yeva gaṇhi.

Atha aparabhāge tesaṃ kumārānaṃ kīḷanavaye sampatte rājā uyyāne nānāvidhaṃ kīḷanaṭṭhānaṃ kāresi. Te attano solasavassuddesikakāle sabbe va ekato hutvā padumasañchannāya maṅgalapokkharaṇiyā kīḷantā nava-padumāni pupphantāni purāṇa-padumāni ca vaṇṭato patantāni disvā: Imassa tāva anupādinnakassa evarūpā jarā pāpuṇāti, kimaṅga pana amhākaṃ sarīrassa, idam pi hi evaṃ gatikam eva bhavissatīti ārammaṇaṃ gahetvā, sabbe va paccekabodhiñāṇaṃ nibbattetvā uṭṭhāyuṭṭhāya padumakaṇṇikāsu pallaṅkena nisīdiṃsu.

Atha tehi saddhiṃ gatapurisā bahugataṃ divasaṃ ñatvā: Ayyaputtā tumhākaṃ velaṃ jānāthāti āhaṃsu. Te tuṇhī ahesuṃ. Purisā gantvā rañño ārocesuṃ: Kumārā deva padumakaṇṇikāsu nisinnā amhesu kathentesu pi vacībhedaṃ na karontīti.

Yathāruciyā nesaṃ nisīdituṃ dethāti.

Te sabbarattiṃ gahitā ārakkhā paduma-kaṇṇikāsu nisinnaniyāmen eva aruṇaṃ uṭṭhāpesuṃ. Purisā punadivase upasaṃkamitvā: Devā velaṃ jānāthāti āhaṃsu.

Na mayaṃ devā, paccekabuddhā nāma mayan ti.

Ayyā tumhe bhārikaṃ *kathaṃ kathetha paccekabuddhā

[1] *So* T.I. S.M. *has* dūbhikā.

nāma na tumhādisā honti, dvaṅgulakesamassu pana kāye paṭimukka-aṭṭha parikkhārā hontīti.

Tena tumhe bhāriyaṃ kathethāti dakkhiṇa-hatthena sīsaṃ parāmasiṃsu. Tāvad eva gihilingaṃ antaradhāyi aṭṭha-parikkhārā kāye paṭimukkā va ahesuṃ. Tato passantass'eva mahājanassa ākāsena Nandamūlakapabbhāraṃ agamaṃsu.

Sā pi kho Padumavatī devī: Ahaṃ bahuputtā hutvā niputtā jātā ti hadayasokaṃ patvā ten'eva rāgena kālaṃ katvā Rājāgahanagare dvāra-gāmake sahatthena kammaṃ katvā jīvanaṭṭhāne nibbatti.

Atha aparabhāge kulagharaṃ gatā ekadivasaṃ sāmikassa khettaṃ yāguṃ haramānā tesaṃ attano puttānaṃ antare aṭṭha paccekabuddhe bhikkhācāravelāyaṃ ākāsena āgacchante disvā sīgha-sīghaṃ gantvā sāmikassa ārocesi: Passa ayya[1] paccekabuddhe, ete nimantetvā bhojeyyāmāti. So āha: samaṇā sakuṇā nāma, te aññadā pi evaṃ caranti, na ete paccekabuddhā ti. Te tesaṃ kathentānaṃ yeva avidūraṭṭhāne otariṃsu. Sā itthī naṃ divasaṃ attanā labhanakaṃ khajjabhojjaṃ tesaṃ datvā te aṭṭha pi jane[2]: Mayhaṃ bhikkhaṃ gaṇhathāti āha.

Sādhu upāsike, tava sakkāro ettako va hotu āsanāni ca aṭṭh'eva hontu, aññe pana bahu pi paccekabuddhe disvā tava cittaṃ sandhāreyyāsīti.

Sā punadivase aṭṭha āsanāni paññāpetvā aṭṭhānaṃ sakkārasaṃmānaṃ paṭiyādetvā nisīdi. Nimantitā paccekabuddhā sesānaṃ saññaṃ adaṃsu: Mārisā ajja aññattha agantvā sabbe va tumhākaṃ mātu saṅgahaṃ karothāti. Te tesaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā sabbe va ekato ākāsena āgantvā mātu gāmadvāre pātur ahesuṃ. Sā pi paṭhamaṃ laddhasaññātāya bahu pi disvā na kampittha, sabbe va te gehaṃ pavesetvā āsanesu nisīdāpesi. Tesu pi paṭipāṭiyā nisīdantesu navamo navamo aññāni aṭṭha āsanāni māpetvā sayaṃ dhurāsane nisīdati. Yāva āsanāni vaḍḍhanti tāva gehaṃ vaḍḍhati, evaṃ tesu sabbesu pi nisinnesu sā itthi aṭṭhānaṃ paccekabuddhānam paṭiyāditaṃ sakkāraṃ pañcasatānampi yāvadatthaṃ datvā aṭṭha nīluppalahatthake āharitvā nimantita-

[1] T.I. ayiyyo.
[2] T.I. *has* janā *corrected to* jane. S.M. *has* tesaṃ datvā seva aṭṭha pi janā.

paccekabuddhānam yeva pādamūle ṭhapetvā āha: Mayhaṃ bhante nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne sarīravaṇṇo imesaṃ nīluppalānaṃ antogabbhavaṇṇo hotūti. Paccekabuddhā mātu anumodanaṃ katvā Gandhamādanaṃ yeva agamaṃsu.

Sā pi yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā tato cutā devaloke nibbattitvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Sāvatthiyaṃ seṭṭhikule paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Nīluppalagabbha-samāna-vaṇṇatāya c'assā Uppala-vaṇṇā t'eva nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Ath'assā vayappattakāle sakala-Jambudīpe rājāno ca seṭṭhino ca seṭṭhissa santikaṃ pahiṇiṃsu: dhītaraṃ amhākaṃ detūti.[1] Apahiṇanto nāma nahosi. Tato seṭṭhi cintesi: Ahaṃ sabbesaṃ manaṃ gahetuṃ na sakkhissāmīti, upāyaṃ pan'ekaṃ karissāmīti. Dhītaraṃ pakkositvā: pabbajituṃ amma sakkhissasīti āha.

Tassā pacchimabhavikattā taṃ vacanaṃ sīse āsitta-satapākatelaṃ viya ahosi. Tasmā pitaraṃ: Pabbajissāmi tātāti āha. So tassā sakkāraṃ katvā bhikkhunī-upassayaṃ netvā pabbājesi.

Tassā acirapabbajitāya eva uposathāgāre tālavāro pāpuṇi. Sā dīpaṃ jāletvā uposathāgāraṃ sammajjitvā padīpasikkhāya nimittaṃ gaṇhi. Tasmā ṭhatvā va punappuna olokiyamānā tejokasiṇārammaṇaṃ jhānaṃ nibbattetvā tad eva pādakaṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Arahattaphalena saddhiṃ yeva iddhi-vikubbane ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Sā aparabhāge satthu Yamakapāṭihāriyaṃ katadivase: Aham bhante pāṭihāriyaṃ karissāmīti sīhanādaṃ nadi. Satthā idaṃ kāraṇaṃ aṭṭhuppattiṃ katvā Jetavanavihāre nisinno paṭipāṭiya bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ iddhi-mantānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

3. *Uppalavaṇṇā.*

In the third Sutta by *Uppalavaṇṇā*, he means the Therī, who came by that name, because she had a skin like the colour in the heart of the dark blue lotus.

They say that this woman re-entered existence in a noble family at Haṃsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara.

[1] S.M. pesetu.

And afterwards, on hearing the Law preached, she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are gifted with spiritual powers, and (thereupon) for seven days, she showed great hospitality to the Order of Bhikkhus, with the Buddha at their head, and she herself aspired to that same high place.

And after spending her whole life in good deeds, and passing from world to world of gods and men, she was reborn, as one of seven sisters, in the palace of Kiki, the king, in the city of Benares, in the time of the Buddha Kassapa. And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus, and was then reborn in the Deva heaven. And falling from thence, and again entering the world of men, she was reborn in a certain village, as one who laboured with her hands for a living.

One day, when she was going to her hut in the field, she saw, in a certain pond, a lotus blossom that had opened that very morning. So she stepped down into the pond, and took that same lotus blossom and a lotus leaf to hold the seeds. Then she cut some heads of rice in the field and sat down in her hut, and when she had separated the seeds and counted them there were five hundred.

At this moment, a certain Pacceka Buddha, having arisen from a trance on the mountain Gandhamādano, came and stood at a spot near her.

Now, when she saw the Pacceka Buddha, she took the seeds and the lotus-blossom, and coming down from her hut, she threw the seeds into the alms-bowl of the Pacceka Buddha, and gave him the lotus-blossom, as a cover for the bowl.

But when the Pacceka Buddha had gone on a little way, the thought came to her: "A flower is of no use to an ascetic! I will get back the blossom and adorn myself with it."

So she went and took the blossom from the Pacceka Buddha's hand.

But then she thought: "If the holy man had not wanted

the flower he would not have let me put it on his bowl. For a certainty, he must have need thereof."

So she went back, and put the leaf again on the top of the bowl, and begged the forgiveness of the Pacceka Buddha.

And she uttered this prayer: "Sir, may this gift of seeds bring this result to me—may I have children even as the seeds in number! and because of the gift of the lotus, may lotus-blossoms spring up in my footsteps, wheresoever I may be born again!"

And, even as she gazed, the Pacceka Buddha, rising into the air, returned to Gandhamādano; and, taking the flower, he placed it on the stairs used by the Pacceka Buddhas, up the slope which had (Lake) Manda at its base.

And this woman also, as a result of that deed of her's, re-entered existence in the Deva heaven. And from the time of her birth there, there sprang up at her every footstep, a great lotus-blossom. Then, having fallen from thence she was reborn, in the heart of a lotus-flower, in a certain lotus-pond, at the foot of a mountain. Near to this spot there lived a hermit. Having gone to the pond one morning to wash his mouth, and seeing that blossom, he thought: "This blossom is larger than the rest. The others are full-blown, yet this is only a bud. There must be a reason for it." And he stepped down into the water and plucked the blossom; and, even as he plucked it, it opened, and the hermit saw, lying in the heart of the flower, a baby girl. As soon as he saw her he felt the love of a father for her, and he bore her, lotus and all, to his hut of leaves and laid her on his bed. And behold! by reason of the power of her virtue, there came milk from his thumb, wherewith to feed her.

Now, when that blossom was faded, he brought another fresh one and laid her in it. And, from the time she was able to run hither and thither in play, at every step she took, a lotus-blossom sprang up. And her skin was like the colour of fine clay, and her beauty, though not wholly god-like, surpassed mortal beauty.

Now when her father went out to seek for fruits, she used to be left in the hut. So, one day, when she was grown up, and her father had gone to seek for fruits, a certain forester saw her and thought: "A being of such loveliness cannot be mortal! I must look into this!" And he seated himself, waiting for the hermit to come back.

Now she, on her father's return, went to meet him, and took from his hand his carrying-pole and water-pot, and when they had come home, and he had sat down, she showed him the work she had done herself. And then the forester saw that she was a human being. So, after greeting the hermit, he seated himself.

Now when the hermit had offered the forester roots and fruits, he asked him:

"Sir, are you one who belongs to this place, or are you going hence?"

"I am going hence, reverend sir, why should I stay here?"

"When you have gone hence, will you be able to keep silence on what you have seen here?"

"If you do not wish it, your reverence, why should I talk about it?"

So he bade farewell to the hermit and set out. But, in order to recognize the road again, when he should return, he put marks on the branches and trees.

Moreover, he went straight to Benares and saw the king.

The king said to him: "What have you come here for?"

And he said: "Your highness, I am your forester. And thus employed at the foot of a mountain I saw a jewel among women. So I have come hither." And he told him the whole matter.

The king, after hearing his story, went forthwith to the foot of the mountain, and had a camp pitched hard by, and, together with that same forester and a few attendants he went to the hermit, at a time when he had just finished his meal and was sitting down.

And on his arrival he saluted the hermit, and offered him a friendly greeting, and seated himself on one side.

Then the king, after placing at the hermit's feet such things as are needed for the use of an ascetic, said:

"Reverend sir, what could we do in such a place as this? We must be getting off."

"Go, then, great king!"

"I am just off. But it is rumoured that there are people of the other sex here. Now that is a hindrance to the life of a recluse. Let her go away with me."

"The thoughts of men are evil. How could she dwell amongst so many?"

"Oh! we are able to take charge of her, and put her in a position of great standing above others."

The hermit listened to what the king said, and summoned her, saying: "Come, Lotus, my child!" using the name which he had given her as a baby.

And, at the very first summons, she came out of the hut and made obeisance to her father and stood there.

Then her father said to her: "My child, you are grown up now. And henceforth, since the king has seen you, it is not well that you should live in this place. Go, my child, go with the king himself."

"Very well, father mine," said she, consenting, and making obeisance to him.

But even as she stood there she burst into tears.

And the king said to himself: "I gather what the father wants." And, then and there, he had her seated on a heap of gold coins, put down there, and anointed queen.

Then he took her away and brought her to his own city. And, from the time of her coming there, he did not look at the other women, but took delight only in her. Now those other women, waxing jealous, and anxious to cause division between her and the king, said to him: "This woman is not sprung from the race of men, great king! Where did you ever before see lotuses spring up in the footsteps of a human being? Truly this woman is uncanny! Put her away, great king!"

But the king, hearing this, said nothing.

Now soon afterwards a border province broke out into

revolt, and he, knowing that Padumavatī was far gone with child, left her in the city, while he went away to the border province.

So those other women gave her serving-woman a bribe, and said to her: "As soon as her child is born, take it away and smear a log of wood with blood, and put it beside her."

Now shortly afterwards Padumavatī was delivered. And Mahā Paduma, the Prince, was alone in her womb, but five hundred children, less one, came into being from the moisture, at the moment when Mahā Paduma was laid down, after his birth.

Then the serving-woman, seeing that Padumavatī had not yet come to herself, smeared a log of wood with blood, and put it beside her, and told the other women. So the five hundred women, taking each of them one of the children, sent to the turners and caused boxes to be brought, and each laid therein the child she had taken, and sealed the box outside.

And now, behold! Padumavatī came to herself, and asked the serving-woman: "Mother! what have I brought forth?" And the other, reviling her, said: "How could you be able to bear a child! This is the child of your womb!" and she put before her the log smeared with blood. And Padumavatī, on seeing that, was cast down, and said: "Break it up quickly and bear it away! Were anyone to see it, I should be sorely shamed!"

And the servant, hearing this, as if she was anxious to destroy it, broke it up and flung it into the oven.

And now the king, when he had returned from the border province, celebrated a festival, and pitching his camp outside the city, he toook up his abode there. Then those five hundred women went to welcome the king, and said to him: "You would not believe us, great king, you thought there was no reason in what we said! Now summon your consort's serving-woman, and question her! Your queen has given birth to a log of wood!"

And the king, without looking into their motive, thought:

"She is not of the human race!" And he drove her forth from his house.

And, as for her, even as she departed from the royal palace, her lotus-blossoms vanished and the colour of her skin grew wan.

So, all alone, she went through the streets.

Now a certain aged woman saw her, and feeling a motherly tenderness for her, said to her:

"Daughter, where are you going?"

"I am wandering about, seeking a dwelling-place among strangers," she answered.

"Come here then, my daughter!" "And she gave her a home and provided her with food."

Now, when she was living there in this way, the other five hundred women, agreeing together, said; "The people have petitioned the king, saying: 'Great king, when we have gone to your camp, and with you have offered sacrifice to the goddess of the Ganga River (since our king has returned victorious), let us celebrate a river-festival!' Let us tell the king this," they said.

And the king, well pleased with what they said, went to hold a river-festival.

Then did those women, each one carrying the child she had taken, keeping it out of sight, go to the river, and, each one covering up her box to hide it, they threw the boxes into the water. But lo! these boxes, going along, were caught in some nets spread under the water. Then, on the river-festival being celebrated, when the time came for the king to cross the river, the people drew their nets. And, seeing these boxes, they brought them to the king. The king looked at the boxes and said: "What is in these boxes, friends?"

"We do not know, your highness."

And the king caused the boxes to be opened and looked within. The first to be opened was the box wherein was the child of the great lotus-flower.

And in the box of each one of the children, on the very day they had been laid in it, milk had appeared by a miracle.

Sakko, the king of gods, in order to free the king's mind from doubt on this (matter), had caused letters to be written on the boxes inside, saying:

"These children were born of Padumavatī. They are the sons of the king of Benares. Now they are the glory of Padumavatī. And the other five hundred women put them into boxes and cast them into the water. Be this known to the king!"

As soon as the boxes had been opened, and the king had had the letters read and seen the children, he lifted up the Child of the Lotus-flower, and said: "Quick! quick! get ready the chariot; harness the horses. This day I will go into the city to make it sweet for certain women (I know of)!"

So going up to his upper chamber, and bidding them tie up a thousand pieces of money and put the bundle on an elephant's neck, he made proclamation:

"Whosoever shall point out Padumavatī let him receive the thousand pieces of money!"

Now when Padumavatī heard the proclamation she told her mother, saying:

"Go you, my mother, and receive the thousand pieces from the neck of the elephant!"

"Nay," she said, "I dare not go and take such a sum!"

And when Padumavatī had spoken twice and three times, her mother said:

"What shall I say, that I may receive it, my daughter?"

"Say to them, 'My daughter, Padumavatī, is the queen! and so receive it,'" she answered.

And the mother said: "Well, well, so be it!" and she went and received the casket with the thousand pieces.

So the men asked her: "Mother, have you seen Padumavatī, the queen?"

"I have not seen her," she answered, "But my daughter says that she has seen her."

"Stay! mother, where is this daughter of yours?" they asked, and they went with her, and, recognizing Padumavatī, they fell at her feet.

And then, having seen that this was Padumavatī, the queen, they said:

"Truly a grievous wrong has been done to this woman, that she, being the consort of so great a king, should dwell in such a place as this, unguarded!"

And on returning, the king's attendants drew white curtains round the dwelling of Padumavatī, and set a guard at the door, and went and told the king.

And the king sent a golden palanquin for her, but she said: "I will not go thus! Let them spread a beautiful carpet, woven in many colours, all the way from my dwelling to the royal palace; and let them fix up above a canopy of cloth, studded with gold stars, and I will go on foot, decked out with all the royal gems, to adorn me. So will the whole city be witness of my glory!"

And the king said: "Do as Padumavatī desires."

And then said Padumavatī: "When they have adorned me with all the jewels, I will go!" And she set out.

And as she passed along, step by step, lotus-blossoms sprang up, breaking through the gorgeous, many-coloured carpet, wheresoever she trod.

So, when she had displayed her glory before all the people, she went up into the royal palace; moreover, she had all those gorgeous carpets given to the old woman, as a reward for keeping her.

And, besides this, the king sent for the other five hundred women, and said to her (Padumavatī), "I give these women to you as your slaves, oh queen!"

"It is well, great king!" she answered. "But make it known to the whole city that they have been given to me."

So the king caused it to be proclaimed:

"These five hundred women, who injured Padumavatī, have even been given to her as slaves!"

But she found that the giving of these women as her slaves was not noticed by everyone in the city, so she asked the king:

"Will you give me leave to free my slaves, your highness?"

"As you wish, queen!"

"Very well, then; send for that crier and bid him again proclaim:

"Padumavatī, the queen, has freed those five hundred women—one and all—who were given to her as her slaves!"

And when they had been freed, she handed over to each one of them one of her five hundred sons to bring up, and she herself kept Mahāpaduma, the child of the great lotus-flower.

Now afterwards, when these children had grown old enough to play about, the king had gardens and all manner of play-grounds made for them.

These boys, when they were sixteen years old, were all disporting themselves in the royal pleasure-pond covered with lotuses, and they saw fresh blossoms opening and faded blossoms falling from their stalks, and they thought:

"Thus, indeed, does decay overtake such a thing as this when the causes of its growth are stopped; how much more then must a like future be the lot of our bodies!"

And setting their minds upon this thought they all attained to the knowledge which is the gift of Pacceka Buddhas, and, coming up (from the water), they seated themselves, cross-legged, each in the middle of a lotus.

Now the attendants who had come with them, seeing that the day was far advanced, said to them:

"Little masters! Do you not know what time it is?"

But they kept silence. So the attendants went and told the king:

"Your highness! The young princes are sitting, each in a lotus-flower, and when we speak to them they make no manner of answer."

"Let them sit just as they please," said the king.

So watch was kept over them all night, and thus they sat in the same way, each in the heart of a lotus, until daybreak.

The next day the attendants drew near, and said:

"Princes! Know that it is time to go!"

"We are not princes!" they answered, "We are Pacceka Buddhas!"

"Nay, sirs, it is a hard saying that you say," said the attendants. "Pacceka Buddhas are not like you. They have hair and beards but two inches long, and carry the eight needful things for ascetics bound about their bodies."

"Nay, then, your saying is harder still," answered the youths, and they touched themselves on the head with the right hand. And forthwith, all the marks that are characteristic of laymen vanished from them, and moreover the eight things needful for ascetics were there, bound about their bodies!

Then, even while all the multitude were gazing at them, they passed through the air to the cave at the foot of the mountain Nanda.

And then, indeed, Padumavatī, the queen, said: "I, who had many sons, am left childless!" therefore she wasted away, and forthwith died.

And she was reborn in a village by the gates of the city Rājagaha, among those who toiled for their living. And in due course she got married.

Now, one day, she had taken some rice-gruel to her husband in the field, and while she was among their own children, she saw eight Pacceka Buddhas passing through the air, at the time they go forth seeking alms. And immediately she ran and told her husband: "Look! see those holy Pacceka Buddhas! Let us invite them and give them food."

But her husband said: "Those are birds, not ascetics! They are often going about thus. Those are not Pacceka Buddhas."

Now, even as they were talking, these Pacceka Buddhas alighted at a spot hard by.

So this woman gave them such food as lay in her means, saying, moreover, to eight of them:

"Accept your daily food from me!"

"Very well, sister!" they answered. "Truly your hospitality goes thus far, and eight seats, indeed, there are (provided). But if you saw many other Pacceka Buddhas besides, you would be less open-hearted!"

Now, on the following day, she made ready eight seats, and prepared to do honour to the eight Pacceka Buddhas, and sat down. And the eight who had been invited told the rest about it, saying: "Noble brothers! do not go elsewhere to-day, but, one and all, show favour to this, our mother."

So, on hearing what these few said, they went, one and all, passing through the air together, and appeared at this woman's door. And she (not only when she recognized those whom she had first received, but also when she saw many others) was not perturbed, but brought them all into her house and made them sit down in the seats. And, as they seated themselves, one after another, every ninth one, in turn, caused eight more seats to appear, and seated himself in the chief place. And even as the number of seats grew, so did the dwelling grow larger.

And, when they were all seated, this woman offered the five hundred such hospitality as she had prepared for the eight, and there was sufficient. Then she brought eight handfuls of blue lotuses and laid them at the feet of those same Pacceka Buddhas that she had invited, saying:

"Sirs, may I, hereafter, wheresoever I may be born again, have a skin in colour like to the heart of these dark lotuses!"

And the Pacceka Buddhas thanked the mother and went back to Gandhamādano.

And this woman, after spending her whole life in good deeds, and after falling from that life, and being reborn in the deva heaven, returned to existence in the family of the Treasurer at Sāvatthī, at the time of the birth of this, Our Buddha. And, because her skin was of a colour like the heart of the dark lotus, they gave her the name Uppalavaṇṇā.

Now, when she had come of age, every Prince and every Treasurer in Jambudīpa sent to the Treasurer, her father, saying: "Give me your daughter in marriage!" And there was not one who did not send to him.

So the Treasurer thought to himself: "I cannot satisfy all these men! But I can hit on a stratagem." And he

sent for his daughter and said to her: "My child, have you strength to forsake the world?"

And to her, since she had reached her last birth, these words were as sweet as if oil, a hundred times refined, were sprinkled on her head. Therefore she said to her father: "Dear father, I will forsake the world."

And when he had done honour to her, he took her to the home of the Bhikkhunī's, and caused her to be ordained.

And, only a little while after, she entered the Order, her turn came to have the key of the Hall of Assembly. And when she had lighted her lamp and swept the hall, she fixed her mind in contemplation of the lamp, and, standing even thus, gazing again and again, she brought about that rapt meditation which is centred on fire. And, making this her stepping-stone, she attained to Arahatship. And, together with the Fruit of Arahatship, she became also versed in the miraculous gift of Iddhi.

Afterwards, on the day that the Master wrought the Twofold Miracle, she broke out into exultation and said: "I, too, Master, will work a miracle!" like the roaring of a lion.

It was on account of this that the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunī's in turn, exalted this Therī to the chief place among those who have the gift of Iddhi.

4. *Paṭācārā.*[1]

Cattutthe vinayadharānaṃ yadidaṃ Paṭācārā ti Paṭācārā therī vinayadharānaṃ aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ vinayadharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ

[1] The whole of this touching story is also told in different words, but the same in substance, by Dhammapāla in his commentary on Therī Gāthā 112.

ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā deva-manussesu saṃsaritvā Kassapabuddhakāle Kikissa rañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnam abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhu-saṅghassa pariveṇam kāretvā puna devaloke nibbattitvā ekaṃ buddhantaraṃ sampattiṃ anubhavitvā imasmiṃ buddhu-ppāde Sāvatthiyaṃ seṭṭhigehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi.

Sā aparabhāge vayappattā attano gehe ekena kamma-karena saddhiṃ santhavaṃ katvā[1] aparabhāge attano samā-najātikaṃ kulaṃ gacchantī tassa katasanthavassa purisassa saññaṃ adāsi: Tvaṃ sve paṭṭhāya maṃ pāṭihārasatena pi daṭṭhuṃ na labhissasi. Sace te kammaṃ atthi idānim eva maṃ gaṇhitvā gacchāti.

So evaṃ hotūti anucchavikaṃ hatthasāraṃ gahetvā taṃ ādāya nagarato tīni cattāri yojanāni paṭikkamitvā ekasmiṃ gāmake vāsaṃ kappesi. Aparabhāge tassā kucchiyaṃ gabbho patiṭṭhāsi. Sā gabbhe paripakke: Idaṃ amhākaṃ anāthaṭṭhānam, kulagehaṃ gacchāma sāmīti āha.

So ajja gacchāma sve gacchāmāti gantuṃ asakkonto kālaṃ vītināmesi. Sā tassa kāraṇam ñatvā: nāyaṃ bālo maṃ nessatīti tasmiṃ bahi gate: ekikā va kulagāmaṃ gamis-samīti maggaṃ paṭipajji.

So āgantvā taṃ gehe apassanto paṭivissake pucchitvā, kulagehaṃ gatā ti sutvā: maṃ nissāya kuladhītā anātha-jātā ti padanupadikaṃ gantvā sampāpuṇi. Tassā antarā-magge va gabbhavuṭṭhānaṃ ahosi. Tato: yassatthāya mayaṃ gaccheyyāma so attho antarāmagge va nipphanno, idāni gantvā kiṃ karissāmāti paṭiniattiṃsu.

Puna tassā kucchiyaṃ gabbho patiṭṭhāsīti purimanayeneva vitthāretabbaṃ. Antarāmagge pan'assā gabbhavuṭṭhāne jātamatte yeva catusu disāsu mahāmeghā uṭṭhahiṃsu.[2] Sā taṃ purisaṃ āha: Sāmi avelāya catusu disāsu meghā vuṭṭhitā anovassakaṭṭhānaṃ kātuṃ vāyamāhīti. So: evaṃ karissā-mīti; daṇḍakehi kuṭiṃ katvā chadanatthāya tiṇaṃ āharis-sāmīti ekasmiṃ vammikapāde tiṇaṃ chindati. Atha naṃ

[1] With the following incidents compare the story of the seṭṭhi's daughter at Jātaka I. pp. 114, 115.
[2] S.M. vuṭṭhahiṃsu.

vammike nipanno kaṇhasappo pāde ḍasi. So tasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne patito.

Sā pi: idāni āgamissati idāni āgamissatīti sabbarattiṃ khepetvā: addhā maṃ so anāthā esā ti magge chaḍḍetvā gato bhavissatīti āloke sañjāte padānusārena olokentī vammikapāde patitaṃ disvā: Maṃ nissāya naṭṭho puriso ti paridevitvā, daharadārakaṃ passenādāya mahallakaṃ aṅgulīhi gāhāpetvā maggena gacchantī, antarāmagge ekaṃ uttārananadikaṃ[1] disvā: dve pi dāni dārake ekappahārena ādāya gantuṃ na sakkhissāmi: jeṭṭhakaṃ orimatīre ṭhapetvā daharakaṃ paratīraṃ netvā pilotikacumbaṭe[2] nipajjāpetvā puna nivattitvā itaraṃ gahetvā gamissāmīti nadiṃ otari.

Ath' assā nadimajjhaṃ pattakāle eko seno maṃsapiṇḍako ayanti saññāya dārakaṃ vijjhituṃ āgacchati. Sā hatthaṃ pasāretvā senaṃ palāpesi. Tassā taṃ hatthavikāraṃ disvā mahallakadārako maṃ pakkosatīti saññāya nadiṃ otaritvā sote[3] patito yathā sotaṃ agamāsi. So pi seno tassā asampattā yeva[4] taṃ dārakaṃ gaṇhitvā agamāsi. Sā balavasokābhibhūtā antarāmagge imaṃ vilāpagītakaṃ gāyantī gacchati.[5]

Ubho puttā kālakatā.
Panthe mayhaṃ patī mato ti.

Evaṃ vilapamānā va Sāvatthiṃ patvā kula sabhāgam gantvā pi sokavasen'eva attano gehaṃ vavatthāpetuṃ asakkontī: imasmiṃ ṭhāne evaṃvidhaṃ nāma kulaṃ atthi, kataraṃ taṃ gehan[6] ti paṭipucchi.

Tvaṃ taṃ kulaṃ pucchitvā kiṃ karissasi, tesaṃ vasanagehaṃ vātappahārena patitaṃ, tattha te sabbe pi jīvitakkhayaṃ pattā, atha nesaṃ khuddakamahallake ekacitakasmiṃ yeva jhāpenti, passa esā dhūmavaṭṭi paññāyatīti.

Taṃ kathaṃ sutvā va: kiṃ tumhe vadathāti attano nivatthasāṭakaṃ sandhāretuṃ asakkontī jātaniyāmen'eva

[1] *So* S.M. T.I. *has* uttānanadikaṃ.
[2] S.M. Pilotikaṭumbaṭe.
[3] T.I. *has* te patito.
[4] S.M. asampattāya yeva.
[5] S.M. icchanti.
[6] S.M. kataraṃ gehanti.

bāhā paggayha kandamānā ñātīnaṃ citakaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā tam vilāpagītam paripuṇṇaṃ kathaṃ paridevamānā:

Ubho puttā kālakatā.
Panthe mayhaṃ patī mato.
Mātā pitā ca bhātā ca.
Ekacitakasmiṃ ḍayhare[1] ti.

Āha. Aññena janena paṭaṃ dinnam pi phāletvā phāletvā chaḍḍeti. Atha naṃ diṭṭhadiṭṭhaṭṭhāne mahājano parivāretvā carati. Ath 'assā ayaṃ paṭācāraṃ paṭapariharaṇaṃ vinā caratīti. Paṭācārā tyeva nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Yasmā c'assā so naggabhāvena alajji ācāro pākaṭo ahosi tasmā paṭu ācāro assā ti Paṭācārā t'eva nāmaṃ akaṃsu.

Sā ekadivasaṃ satthari mahājanassa dhammaṃ desente vihāraṃ pavisitvā parisa-pariyante aṭṭhāsi. Satthā mettā pharaṇena pharitvā: satiṃ paṭilabha bhagini! satiṃ paṭilabha bhaginīti āha.[2] Tassā satthu vacanaṃ sutvā balavahirottappaṃ āgataṃ, sā tatth 'eva bhūmiyaṃ nisīdi, avidūre ṭhitapuriso uttarisāṭakaṃ khipitvā adāsi. Sā naṃ nivāsetvā dhammaṃ assosi. Satthā tassā cariyavasena imā Dhammapade gāthā āha:

Na santi putta tāṇāya na pitā na pi bandhavā.
Antakenādhipattassa n'atthi ñātisu tāṇatā.

Etam atthavasaṃ ñatvā paṇḍito sīlasaṃvuto nibbānagamanaṃ maggaṃ khippam eva visodhaye ti.[3]

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathā ṭhitā va sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāya satthāraṃ upasaṃkamitvā vanditvā ṭhitā pabbājjaṃ yāci. Satthā tassā: bhikkhunīupassayaṃ gantva pabbajjāti pabbajjāṃ sampaṭicchi. Sā pabbajitvā na cirass 'eva arahattaṃ pattā buddhavacanaṃ uggaṇhantī.[4] Vinayapiṭaka-ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Aparabhāge satthā Jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiya ṭhānantare ṭhapento Paṭācāraṃ Vinayadharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

1 S.M. mayhare.
2 S.M. *omits the repetition.*
3 Dhammapada, verses 288, 289; compare 43.
4 T.I. *has* gaṇhantī.

4. *Paṭācārā.*

In the fourth sutta, by the words "of those who are versed in the Rules of the Order (Vinaya), namely Paṭācārā," he points out the Therī Paṭācārā as the chief among those who are versed in the Rules of the Order.

They say that this woman, in the time of the Buddha Padumattara, was reborn in a noble family at Haṃsavatī.

Afterwards, when hearing the Master preach the law and seeing him raise a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those versed in the Vinaya, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And, having spent her whole life in good works, and having passed through deva worlds and worlds of men, she re-entered existence, as one of seven sisters dwelling in the household of Kiki, the king, in the time of the Buddha Kassapo. And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and built a dwelling for the Order of Bhikkhus, and after being reborn once more in the deva heaven, during the interval between the coming of two Buddhas, she re-entered existence (at the time of the birth of this, Our Buddha) in the household of the Treasurer at Sāvatthī.

And, when she came of age, she had a lover, who was a hired labourer at her own home. But afterwards she was to have been married into a family of equal rank with her's. So she told her lover: "After to-morrow there will be a hundred door-keepers to keep you from seeing me! If you have the spirit, take me with you and depart this very moment!" So he took an elephant suited for his purpose, and, taking her with him, departed to his own village, three or four leagues from the city, and there took up his abode.

Later on she was with child,[1] and when the full time had come for her delivery, she said: "Husband! We are friendless here! Let us go to my home."

[1] From here down to the birth of the second child the story is nearly word for word the same as that of Little Roadling in Jātaka I. pp. 114, 115 (No. 4).

But he, saying: "We will go to-day" and "We will go to-morrow," and failing to go, let the time slip by. So she, seeing this, thought, "This slow-coach will never take me. He is out; I will go alone to my home!" and she set out. He, having returned and not seeing her, inquired of the neighbours and heard that she had gone home. So thinking, "It is through me that she, the daughter of a noble house, has come to wretchedness!" he followed close after her and overtook her.

And on the journey her travail came upon her. Then she said: "That very thing which was the reason for our journey has happened now, on the way! why need we go any further?" So they turned back.

And again she was with child.

And all the rest should be understood in full, the same as before. But, at the moment when her travail came upon her, in the midst of the journey, great storm-clouds arose on every side. So she said to her husband: "There has arisen, out of due time, a mighty storm! Try to make me a place of shelter from the rain." "I will" he said. And he made a hut of twigs; and thinking, "I will bring some grass for a thatch," he began to cut some grass at the foot of an ant-hill. Then a snake on the ant-hill bit him in the foot, and he fell dead on that very spot.

And thinking, "He will be returning now! He will come back now!" she waited, the whole night through. (Then) she thought, "Surely he has said to himself 'This woman has no friends!' and so has left me by the roadside and gone away!"

But when the day broke and she was looking for him, following his trail, she saw him, where he had fallen dead. Then, weeping at the thought: "My husband has perished for my sake!" she took her younger child upon her side and, leading the elder by the hand, she went on her way. And she saw that in the middle of the road was (a stream) she would have to cross, and thought: "Now I cannot go across carrying both the children at once. I will put the elder boy on this bank, and carry the younger one across

to the further side. And when I have laid him down on my head-cloth, I will return and take the other and go across." So she went down into the stream. But just as she, coming back, reached the middle of the river a certain hawk, thinking "This is a piece of meat," flew down to peck at the child she had left. She threw up her hands to scare away the hawk. The elder boy, seeing the motion of her hands, thought, "She is beckoning to me," and stepped down into the stream.

And he lost his foothold and was borne away by the torrent. And the hawk, even before she could reach him, bore away the other child.

So, overwhelmed with her great sorrow, she went on her road, wailing out this lamentation :

"Dead are both my sons,
And my husband dead upon the road!"

And thus, making her moan, she reached Sāvatthī, and went to the quarter where the noble families dwelt. But since, because of her grief, she could not distinguish her own home, she questioned people: "In this place there lived such and such a family. Where is their house?"

They answered: "What do you mean by asking for that family? Their dwelling was blown down by a whirlwind. They were slain, all of them, and now they are burning there, on one funeral pyre, all, both young and old! Look! you can see the curling upwards of the smoke!"

And when she heard this she said: "What do you tell me?" And, unable to bear the oppression of her clothes, naked, as at her birth, stretching forth her arms and weeping, she went to the funeral pyre of her kinsfolk. And, putting a finishing touch to that song of lamentation, she bewailed herself, saying:

"Dead are both my sons,
And my husband dead on the road,
And my mother and father and kinsfolk
They burn on one funeral pyre!"

And though men gave her a garment, again and again, she tore it up and cast it aside. And so she roamed about, and, wherever she was seen, a great crowd of people followed her. And, on account of this behaviour of hers, men said: "This woman goes about without keeping on a garment," and so they gave her the name Paṭācārā (she who goes about unclad). Or, perhaps, as this shameless wandering about naked became well-known, they said (in scorn): "This is a wise way of going about!" and they gave her this very name Paṭācārā (she who goes about wisely).

Now one day, when the Master was preaching the Law to a great multitude, she had entered the Vihāra and stood at the back of the assembly.

Then the Master, suffusing her with the felt sense of his loving-kindness, said to her: "Sister, return to your right mind! Sister, return to your right mind!"

And, even as she heard these words of the Master, deep shame came upon her, and, on the very spot where she stood, she crouched upon the ground. And a man who stood near threw a garment over her. And she put it on and listened to the preaching. And the Master uttered this verse (which is in the Dhammapada) to her for her to notice:—

"Neither in children is refuge, nor in parents, nor in
relations;
To him, whom Pale Death assails, there is no refuge in
kinsfolk!
It is when he has realised this, that the wise man, guarded
in conduct,
Can swiftly, yea swiftly, make plain the road that leads to
Nirvāna."[1]

And at the end of the stanza, even as she stood there, her conversion was firmly established. And, drawing near to the Master, she did homage to him and begged that she might enter the Order. And he consented, saying: "Go to the home of the Bhikkhunīs and enter the Order."

[1] Dhammapada, verse 288.

And when she was ordained, she attained, soon afterwards, to Arahatship. And, grasping the Buddha's teaching, she became versed in the Canon Law.

So, on a festive occasion, when the Master, seated at Jetavana, was assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, he put Pāṭācārā in the chief place among those who are versed in the Vinaya.

5. *Dhammadinnā.*

Pañcame *dhammakathikānan* ti dhammakathikabhikkhunīnaṃ Dhammadinnā aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ parāyatatthāne nibbattitvā Padumuttarassa bhagavato aggasāvakassa Sujātatherassa adhikāraṃ[1] katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvam kusalaṃ katvā sagge nibbatti. Sabbaṃ heṭṭhā Khemātheriyā abhinīhāravasen'eva veditabbaṃ. Phussabuddhakāle pan'esā satthu vemātikānaṃ tinnaṃ bhātikānaṃ dānādhikāre ṭhapita kammikassa gehe vasamānā ekaṃ dehī ti vuttā dve adāsi. Evaṃ sabbaṃ aparihāpentī datvā dvenavuti kappe atikkamma Kassapabuddhakāle Kikissa rañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā sattānaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhusaṅghassa vasanakapariveṇaṃ kāretvā ekaṃ buddhantaraṃ devamanussesu saṃsarantī imasmiṃ buddhuppāde kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparabhāge Visākhaseṭṭhino gehaṃ gatā.

Visākhaseṭṭhi nāma Bimbisārassa sahāyako rañño saddhiṃ dasabalassa paṭhama-dassanaṃ gantvā dhammaṃ sutvā sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhito aparabhāge anāgāmiphalaṃ sacchākāsi. So taṃ divasaṃ gharaṃ gantvā sopānamatthake ṭhitāya Dhammadinnāya hatthe pasārite hatthaṃ anālambitvā va pāsādaṃ abhirūhi, bhuñjamāno pi: imaṃ detha imaṃ harathā ti na vyāhari. Dhammadinnā kaṭacchuṃ gahetvā parivisamānā cintesi: ayamme hattholambakaṃ dentiyā pi hatthaṃ na ālambi, bhuñjamāno pi kiñci na katheti, ko nu

[1] T.I. adhikara-kammaṃ.

kho mayhaṃ doso ti. Atha naṃ bhuttāviṃ: ko nu kho me ayya doso ti pucchi.

Dhammadinne tuyhaṃ doso n'atthi. Mayhaṃ pana ajja paṭṭhāya santhavavasena tumhākaṃ santike nisīdituṃ vā ṭhātuṃ vā āharāpetvā āharāpetvā khādituṃ vā bhuñjituṃ vā abhabbo. Tvaṃ sace icchasi imasmiṃ gehe vasa no ce icchasi yattakena te dhanena attho taṃ gaṇhitvā kulagharaṃ gacchāti. Ayyaputta, evaṃ sante ahaṃ tumhehi chaḍḍitakhelaṃ vamita-vamanaṃ na sīsena ukkhipitvā vicarissāmi, mayhaṃ pabbajjaṃ anujānāthāti.

Visākho: sādhu Dhammadinne ti rañño ārocetvā Dhammadinnaṃ sovaṇṇasivikāya bhikkhunīupassayaṃ pabbajjatthāya pesesi. Sā pabbajitvā cintesi: ayaṃ tāva seṭṭhi gharamajjhe ṭhito va dukkhass'antaṃ akāsi pabbajjaṃ laddhakālato paṭṭhāya pana mayā pi dukkhassa aññaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatīti ācariyaupajjhāyānaṃ santikaṃ gantvā: ayye mayhaṃ ākiṇṇaṭṭhāne cittaṃ na ramati gāmakāvāsaṃ gacchāmīti āha. Theriyo tassā mahākulā nikkhamma pabbajitabhāvena cittaṃ kopetuṃ asakkontiyo taṃ gahetvā gamakāvāsaṃ āgamaṃsu. Sā atīte majjhita[1] saṅkhāratāya na cirass 'eva saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Ath'assā etadahosi: Mayhaṃ kiccaṃ matthakaṃ pattaṃ idha vasitvā kiṃ karissāmi Rājagahaṃ eva gacchāmi tatra maṃ nissāya bahu ñātisaṅgho puññāni karissantīti theriyo gahetvā nagaram eva paccāgatā. Visākho tassā āgamanabhāvaṃ sutvā sighaṃ āgatā ukkaṇṭhitā nu kho bhavissatīti sāyaṇhasamaye tassā santikaṃ gantvā abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisinno ukkaṇṭhitabhāvaṃ pucchituṃ ayuttan ti pañcakhandhādivasena pañhaṃ pucchi. Dhammadinnā khaggena uppalanāle chindantī viya pucchitapucchitaṃ vissajjesi. Upāsako Dhammadinnatheriyā ñāṇassa surabhāvaṃ ñatvā attanā adhigataṭṭhāne paṭipāṭiyā tīsu maggesu sabbākārena pañhe pucchitvā uggahavasena arahattamaggesu pi pucchi.

Dhammadinnā therī pi upāsakassa yāva anāgāmiphalā va visayabhāvaṃ ñatvā idāni attano visayaṃ atikkamitvā dhāvatī ti taṃ nivattentī: accasarāvuso Visākha pañhe nāsa-

[1] S.M. majjita.

kkhissasi pañhānaṃ pariyantaṃ gahetuṃ: nibbānogadhaṃ hi āvuso Visākha brahmacariyaṃ nibbānaparāyanaṃ nibbānapariyosānaṃ ākaṅkhamāno ca tvaṃ āvuso Visākha bhagavantaṃ upasaṃkamitvā etamatthaṃ puccheyyāsi. Yathā ca te bhagavā vyākaroti, tathā naṃ dhāreyyāsī ti āha.

Visākho satthu santikaṃ gantvā sabbaṃ pucchā vissajjana nayaṃ kathesi. Satthā tassa vacanaṃ sutvā: mama dhītāya atītāgatapaccuppannesu khandhesu taṇhā n'atthīti vatvā Dhammapade imaṃ gātham āha:

Yassa pure ca pacchā ca majjhe ca n'atthi.

Kiñcanaṃ akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmanan ti.[1]

Tato Dhammadinnāya sādhukāraṃ datvā Visākhaṃ upāsakaṃ etad avoca: Paṇḍitā Visākha Dhammadinnā bhikkhunī mahāpaññā Visākha Dhammadinnā bhikkhunī mañ ce pi tvaṃ Visākha etam atthaṃ puccheyyāsi ahampi taṃ evam evaṃ vyākareyyaṃ yathā naṃ Dhammadinnāya bhikkhuniyā vyākataṃ. Eso c'eva tassa attho evañca naṃ dhārehī ti. Evam etaṃ vatthu samuṭṭhitaṃ. Aparabhāge pana satthā Jetavane nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento idameva Cullavedallaṃ aṭṭhuppattiṃ katvā theriṃ imasmiṃ sāsane dhammakathikānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesī ti.

5. *Dhammadinnā.*

In the fifth Sutta by the words *dhammakathikānaṃ* he points out Dhammadinnā as the chief among those Bhikkhunīs who preach.

They say that this woman was reborn, in the condition of a slave, at Haṃsavatī in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and having done service to the Thera Sujāta, of the two chief disciples of Padumuttara, the Blessed [illegible] she aspired to the said distinction.

After having spent her whole life zealous in good works was reborn in heaven. All is to be understood to have

[1] Dhammapada, verse 421.

followed (according to this resolve of her's) even as in the history of the Therī Khemā, already told.

Furthermore, in the time of the Buddha Phussa, this woman (while dwelling in the house of a servant, in the almshouse of the three half-brothers of the Master), whenever she was told to give one thing, gave two.

Thus, giving of everything without stint, she passed ninety-two æons and re-entered existence as one of seven sisters, dwelling in the palace of Kiki, the king, in the time of the Buddha Kassapa.

And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and she had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus.

And after wandering from world to world of gods and men, during the interval between the coming of one Buddha and another, she was reborn in a nobleman's family, at the time of the birth of this our Buddha.

And afterwards she entered the household of Visākha, the Treasurer.

Now Visākha, the Treasurer (who was a friend of the King Bimbisāra), the very first time he went with the king to see him who is gifted with the Ten Powers, was straightway converted, and, soon after, attained the Fruit of the Third Path.

When he went back to his house that day Dhammadinnā[1] was standing at the head of the stairs with outstretched hands, but he mounted to the house-top without even touching her hand;[2] and during his meal he never said: "Give me this," or "Bring me that."

Dhammadinnā, taking a spoon, served him with food, thinking:

"He would not lean on the hand I held out to support him; and, whilst eating, he says not a word to me! What wrong have I done?"

[1] The Ṭīkā adds, she had unbolted the lattice, and seeing him coming, thought: "What is the matter with him?" And, going to meet him, she stood at the head of the stairs.

[2] She thought to herself: "I shall know why, to-morrow, at the time of the morning meal" (Ṭīkā).

So, when he had finished, she asked him: "Sir, what wrong have I done?"

"You have done no wrong, Dhammadinnā, but, from this day forth, our living thus in love together must not be—nor can we stand or sit together, nor can I eat and drink what you bring to me, from time to time.

"If it be your wish, dwell in this house; but if you desire to depart to your own home, depart, taking with you whatsoever treasure you may need."

But she answered: "If that be so, neither will I take up and bear away what you, with such disgust, even as it were but spittle and vomit, have cast aside! Give me leave, too, to forsake the world."

Visākha said: "So be it, Dhammadinnā!" And he sent her, in a golden palanquin, to the home of the Bhikkhunīs.

Now, after she had entered the Order, she thought to herself: "Truly, this Treasurer, albeit he still remains a layman, has put an end to his trouble; but my sorrow lasts on, since I entered the Order. I must do something else to end it."

And so, going to her teacher and superior, she said: "Noble ladies, my soul finds no joy in this crowded spot. I will go and dwell in a village."

The Therīs, feeling that they could not offend her (since she, on her entrance into the Order, had come from a nobleman's household), took her with them and went to the village, where she was to dwell.

And since, in former births, she had subdued the Sankhāras, she shortly afterwards gained the Four Gifts of Perfect Understanding and attained to Arahatship.

And now she thought thus: "I have reached the summit of all that should be done; what need is there for me to dwell here? I will go to Rājagaha. There my kinsfolk, for my sake, shall do many good works." And taking the Therīs with her she returned even to the city.

Visākha, on hearing that she had come back, thought: "She has soon returned! Can it be that she is discontented with the religious life?"

So, in the evening, he went to her, and bowing down before her, seated himself on one side. And thinking: "It would not be seemly to ask her if she is discontented," he began by asking her a question about the five Khandhas, or constituent elements of Being.

Then, as easily as one could cut through the stalk of a lotus with a sword, Dhammadinnā answered each question as soon as he asked it.[1]

And the disciple saw how keen[2] was the wisdom of the Therī Dhammadinnā, and when he had questioned her, in every way in turn, on those three paths whereunto he himself had attained, he questioned her, even as a learner, about the paths that lead to Arahatship.

Then Dhammadinnā, in her turn, knowing that the disciple had but reached the Fruit of the Third Path, and thinking: "Now is he overstepping his own province and rushing on too far," kept him back, saying:

"You will not be able, brother Visākha, to understand the answers to questions on things beyond your limit—even such as Nirvāna, brother Visākha, the duties of the religious life, the final bliss of Nirvāna, and those things whose end is Nirvāna. And if you desire (to learn) go to the Blessèd One, O brother Visākha, and ask him concerning these matters; and even as he expounds them to you bear them in mind."

And Visākha went to the Blessèd One and told him all about the questions and answers.

The Teacher, after hearing what he had to say, answered: "In my daughter there is no lust after life past, present, or to come."

And when he had spoken thus, he uttered this verse which is in the Dhammapada:

"He who cares not to call anything his own, either in this birth, or in a past birth, or in a birth to come; him, indeed, do I call a Brahman, for he is free from craving."[3]

[1] Ṭīkā explains "sūra bhāvaṃ" by "tikkha bhāvaṃ."

[2] The conversation is given in full in the Culla Vedalla Sutta (pp. 299–305 in the Pali Text Society's edition of Majjhima Nikāya).

[3] Dhammapada, verse 421.

Then, having praised the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, he spoke thus to the disciple Visākha: "Wise, Oh Visākha, is the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, great in wisdom, Oh Visākha, is the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, and, furthermore, if you asked me, Visākha, concerning this matter, I myself should expound it to you, even as the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā expounded it. And this is the meaning thereof—Do you bear it in mind."

Thus did this story arise.

And afterwards the Master, seated at Jetavana assigning places to the bhikkhunīs in turn, when he had explained this very Culla Vedalla gave the Therī, on that occasion, the chief place among those who preach.

[*To be continued.*]

Art. XIV.—*Kumbha Jātaka or the Hermit Varuṇa Sūra and the Hunter.* Translated from the Burmese by R. F. St. Andrew St. John, M.R.A.S.

In times long past, when Brahmadatta reigned in Benares, a certain hunter, who dwelt in the land of Kási, went one day to the Himavanta forest in search of elephant tusks, yák tails, etc. Now in a certain part of the forest, it happened that there was a tree, in which there was a hollow place like a large pot, which became full of water during the rains, and round about it grew a number of fruit trees, the fruit of which dropped into this water when they were ripe. The birds also dropped grains of rice into it when they were eating in the branches of the tree, and the whole becoming fermented by the summer heat, produced a red liquor which was pleasant to the taste. When the birds drank this liquor they became intoxicated and fell to the ground, but when they had slept off the effects, they flew away singing sweetly. The hunter chancing to pass by this tree, saw the birds and monkeys lying about, and thought they had died of poison, but when he saw them get up, after a little time, and go away he felt reassured, and had the curiosity to drink the water in the hollow of the tree. Finding that it had a pleasant taste, and that it also made him feel very merry, he stayed there for some days, eating the birds which he picked up there, and amusing himself by dancing. Not far from that spot there dwelt a hermit, whose acquaintance he had made, so the hunter determined to go and tell him of his wonderful discovery and get him to try the water too; having filled a bamboo bottle with it, and taking some roast birds, he proceeded to the hermit's cell, and presented them to his friend. They both ate and drank together, and the

hermit got so fond of this liquor that he became known as "Varuṇa sūra." He gave up his ascetic life, and went about with the hunter to all the villages, selling this wonderful liquor. At last it came to the ears of the king, and he sent for them. When they were brought into his presence, they made an offering of some of their liquor, and the king enjoyed it so much that he got very drunk, and soon finished all they had. He then asked for more, and Varuṇa and the hunter promised to go and get some.

The trade at last became so brisk that they determined to set up a regular brewery in the city, and from the king downwards all the people took to drinking, and were completely ruined. The hunter and Varuṇa thereupon removed to another city, and in course of time Benares, Mihtila, Takshasila, Kosambhi, Pataliputra, and Sakéta were visited, and the inhabitants reduced to a state of penury. From Sakéta the pair went to Savatthi, where reigned a king named Sabbamitta (the friend of all), who made much of them, and gave them all the requisites for brewing. In order to keep the mice away from the rice, they tied a cat near each of the vats, and the cats licking up what trickled from them, became drunk and went to sleep. The mice came and bit off the cats' ears, tails, and whiskers. People seeing this, told the king that his cats were all dead, and the king, thinking they had been poisoned, ordered that Varuṇa and the hunter should be put to death and the pots broken; but as the cats soon woke up and began to play about, the king came to the conclusion that the liquor must be pleasant, directed the release of the prisoners, and having erected a great booth in the midst of the city, and sitting there on his throne with all his nobles, commenced a series of drinking bouts. The god Sakka, feeling uncomfortable, roused himself to see who was in need of assistance, and seeing what was going on at Savatthi, thought that if that sort of thing were allowed, all Jambudvipa would be ruined; so, taking the form of a Brahman, with a bowl of liquor in his hand, he displayed himself in the air right in front of the king, and cried out, "Will you buy this bowl?" King

Sabbamitta, on seeing him, said, "O Brahman, whence comest thou, and what is that in thy pot?" Sakka answered, "O king, listen unto me; this bowl contains neither butter, nor oil, nor molasses, nor honey, but is filled with every kind of evil. He that drinks intoxicating liquors reels to and fro; he falls down precipices, into pools of water, and into the deep mire. Being unable to control himself, he is like the ox that eats the grass that he has defiled, and like one that has no religion. He is like those heretics who walk about naked and are without shame. His mind being diverted from the right path, he is addicted to slothfulness, and when he arises from the place where he has laid himself, he can neither control his head nor his limbs. He is puffed up with pride, and saith, 'Who is like unto me?' He is the ruin of his family, and is slain by the hand of others. He speaks words that he ought not to utter and is ruined utterly. He abuses his father and mother and behaves with his mother-in-law and sister-in-law after the manner of brute beasts. The woman who is a drunkard, respecteth neither her parents-in-law, nor her husband, nor even her own father and mother. The drunkard slays even the Brahman, who is the teacher of that which is good, and falls into the lowest hell. He speaketh not the truth, nor does he even know that which is wrong. He is beset by disease and dies of madness. Who then ought to drink intoxicating liquors, which are like unto poison? Through drunkenness the ten princes, the sons of Andakavanna,[1] fought and slew one another on the shore of the ocean. Through the use of intoxicants, life is shortened, how then can he that is wise drink thereof? O king, I have related to you the evils contained in this vessel; if you still desire to purchase it, do so: you are warned of its nature." On hearing this, King Sabbamitta returned thanks and said, "O Brahman, my father and mother never told me this, but thou, O Brahman, hast done me a great benefit. I will listen to



[1] What is the story of King Aṇḍakavaṇṇa?

thy instructions, for you desirest my welfare. I will reward thee with the revenue of a village that produces one hundred thousand pieces of silver, and I will give unto thee an hundred hand-maidens, seven hundred oxen, and ten chariots drawn by thorough-bred horses." Sakka answered, "O king, be thine the slaves, the villages, the oxen, and the chariots. I am Sakka, King of Távatimsa; live well, eschew that which is evil, and follow the good path that leads upwards." Having thus spoken, he returned unto his heaven, and King Sabbamitta, in accordance with the advice of Sakka, caused all the pots of liquor to be broken, and henceforth observing strictly his religious duties, he acted in accordance with the Law and obtained the reward of Devaland.

Sabbamitta is now Ananda, and Sakka is now I, the Buddha.[1]

[1] The Kumbha Jātaka is No. 512 in the Pāli. The above version is adapted from one I contributed to the Indian Magazine.

Art XV.—*Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise.* By M. Gaster, Ph.D.

The recent recovery of the Revelation of St. Peter has again attracted attention to this branch of apocalyptic literature. Speculation has been rife as to the sources of that Revelation.

I intend publishing now, for the first time in English garb, the oldest extant Revelations which must have served as source to that of Peter, then to that of Paul, Ezra, Abraham, Isaiah, Virgin Mary, St. Macarius, and the host of others down to Dante and St. Patrick.

It is not here the place to enter into a more minute disquisition of the history of these visions. We find parallels in the old Ægyptian literature, in the Assyrian we have the well-known "Descensus ad inferos" of Izdubar (Nimrud). The Buddhist literature knows the Suhṛllekha, the letter of Nāgārjuna to King Udayana. In the Avesta literature we have the Nameh of Arda-viraf; in the Mahommedan we have the vision of Mahommed. All these Christian Revelations and of the others, at any rate the last two, are based directly upon those Hebrew visions, a fact which has hitherto not been noticed.

I reserve for a book, which I am writing, the fuller discussion of these points, and the study of the internal connection between these apocalyptic visions.

It would be bold to speculate on the relative age of each of the visions which I publish here. They all go back to the pre-Christian age, as is shown by the existence of those Christian visions almost verbally identical with the Hebrew. On the other hand one cannot doubt that they underwent some changes in the course of the ages. The substance

remained intact, but many passages were interpolated or omitted. The different texts complement thus each other to assist us to arrive at a probable common source. The tendency of all these popular writings is to grow in the course of time, to attract and to assimilate various elements. We can see this process very clearly in the Revelation of Moses, which has been hitherto almost unknown. It has nothing in common with those known under that title. We have two recensions of it. A shorter one, and a longer which is more amplified and contains interpolations taken from the Zohar and the Talmud. Whether the biblical passages belonged originally to these visions is still a matter of doubt. They may have been tacked on to the narrative as a kind of scriptural proof, or they may stand as the beginning of a series of details and pictures which have been evolved out of them, by a rather fantastical exegesis, but by no means uncommon in the Oriental literature.

To each text I have added a full bibliography, and parallels from most of the extant apocryphal revelations. I have striven to be as literal as possible. The attempt to obliterate the Oriental touch by a polished translation, robs the text of its originality and local colour, which ought to be preserved.

1. The Revelation of Moses. (A.)

Heaven, Hell, and Paradise.

(*Gedulath Mosheh*, Amsterdam, 1854, v. Jellinek, Beth-hammidrash, II. pp. x., xiv. ff., and xix–xx.)

1. [As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons (Song of Songs, ii. 3). (This applies to Moses, upon whom be peace.)]
2. In that hour when God said unto him: "Go and bring out the children of Israel from Egypt, for I have heard their groaning, and I remembered the covenant, and the oath I swore to Abraham my

servant." Moses said: "O Lord of the Universe, who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" (Ex. iii. 11). God said: "Thou hast humbled thyself in saying 'Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh?' but I will honour thee [as it is said: 'He that is of lowly spirit shall obtain honour' (Prov. xxix. 23)], and I will give the whole of Egypt into thy hands, and I will bring thee up even near to my throne of glory; and I will shew thee the angels of the Heaven." Thereupon God commanded Metatron, the angel of his presence (of the face), and said unto him: "Go and bring Moses with harps, and pipes, and drums, and dances, with joy, and songs, and praises."

3. And Metatron answered and said: "O Lord of the Universe, Moses is not able to come up and see the angels, for there are angels who are of fire and he is only of flesh and blood."
4. God said: "Go and change his flesh (body) into fire." And Metatron went to Moses.
5. When Moses beheld Metatron he trembled with fear, and said to him: "Who art thou?"
6. And he answered: "I am Enoch the son of Jared, thy father's father. The Almighty hath sent me to bring thee up to his throne of glory."[1]
7. Moses said: "I am only flesh and blood, and cannot look upon the angels." And Metatron changed Moses' tongue into a tongue of fire, and his eyes he made like the wheels of the heavenly chariot, and his power like unto that of the angels, and his tongue like a flame, and brought him up to heaven. 15,000 angels were on the right hand, and 15,000 on the left, Metatron and Moses in the middle. In this way was Moses carried up to heaven.[2]

[1] Ascensio Isaiae, ed. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1877. ix. 9; Apoc. Virg. Mary.
[2] Testament of Abraham, ch. 9 and 10, Rec. *A*. ed. M. R. James, Cambridge, 1892.

8. The first heaven to which Moses ascended corresponds to the first day of the week; there he saw the waters standing in lines. This heaven was full of windows, and at each window stood an angel. And Moses asked Metatron: "What are these windows?" and Metatron answered: "These windows are—the window of prayer, the window of request, the window of supplication, the window of crying (tears), the window of joy, the window of satiation, the window of famine, the window of poverty, the window of riches, the window of war, the window of peace, the window of pregnancy, the window of birth, the window of the treasures of rain, the window of dew, the window of sin, the window of repentance, the window of smallness, the window of greatness, the window of death, the window of life, the window of disease among men, the window of disease among animals, the window of healing, the window of sickness, the window of health." And Moses saw great things past finding out, "yea marvellous things without number" (Job ix. 10).[1]

9. Moses ascended then the second heaven, which corresponds to the second day of the week. There he saw an angel whose name is X.[2] His length is 300 parasangs and 50 myriads of angels stand before him; they are of fire and water, and their faces are directed towards the *Shekina* above; and all sing hymns, saying: "Great is the Lord and highly to be praised" (cxlv. 3).

10. And Moses asked Metatron and said: "Who are those?" He answered: "These are the angels who are placed over the clouds, the wind, and the rain; they go and fulfil the will of their Creator and return to their places and praise the Almighty."

[1] Enoch, ch. 60, v. 12 ff. translated by Charles, p. 156 ff., B. of Jubilees, ch. 1, v. Roensch, d. Buch d. Jubilaeen, p. 259; cf. *Sefer Raziel*, Amsterdam, 1701, f. 34[b] ff.

[2] In this recension the names of the angels are omitted. They are to be found, however, in the shorter.

And Moses asked: "Why have they their faces turned towards the Shekina?" And Metatron answered: "From that day when God created them until to-day they have not been moved from their position." [1]

11. Moses went up to the third heaven, which corresponds to the third day of the week. There he saw an angel whose name is X. His length is a journey of 500 years. He has 70,000 heads, in each head 70,000 mouths, in each mouth 70,000 tongues, and in each tongue 70,000 dictions; before him stand 70,000 myriads of angels, all of white fire; they all praise and sing to God [and say: "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and power," etc. (1 Chr. xxix. 11)].

12. Moses asked Metatron: "Who are these? and what is their name?" And he answered: "Their name is *Erelim*; they are placed over the grass (herbs), and over the trees, and over the fruits, and over the corn; and they all go and fulfil the will of their Creator and return to their places."

13. Moses went up to the fourth heaven. There he saw the temple built; the columns of red fire, the sides of green fire, the thresholds of white fire, the hooks and the planks of blazing fire; the portals of carbuncle and the halls of sparkling gems. And he saw angels going therein praising (and saying) [as King David, upon whom may peace rest, said: "Bless the Lord, ye angels of His, ye mighty in strength, that fulfil his word" (Ps. ciii. 20)].[2]

14. Moses asked Metatron and said: "Who are these angels?" And Metatron answered: "These are the angels, who are placed over the earth, and over the sun, and over the moon, and over the stars, and over the planets, and over the spheres, and ever sing they hymns unto Him." And he saw two big stars, each

[1] Enoch, *l.c.*; Jubilees, *l.c.*
[2] Testament Levi, ch. 5.

of them as big as the whole earth; the name of one was *Nogah*, and the name of the other *Maadim*, one standing above the sun, and the other above the moon. Moses asked Metatron: "Why do these stand above those others?" And he said: "The one stands above the sun in summer in order to cool the world from the heat of the sun, and that is the star *Nogah*; whilst the other stands near the moon in order to warm the world from the cold of the moon (and this is the star *Maadim*)."[1]

15. Moses went to the fifth heaven and he saw there troops of angels half of fire and half of snow, and the snow is above the fire without extinguishing it, for God makes peace between them [as it is said: "He maketh peace in his high places," Job xxv. 2], and all praise the Almighty.

16. And Moses asked Metatron: "What are these doing?" He said: "Since the day when God created them are they so." Moses asked: "What is their name?" and he answered: "These are the *Erelim* who are called *Ishim* [as it is said: 'Unto you, O Ishim (men), I call,' Prov. viii. 4, *i.e.*: I call you Ishim!]."

17. Moses went up to the sixth heaven, there he saw an angel whose length was 500 years' journey; his name was X., and he was wholly of *hail* (ice), and by him stood thousands and myriads of angels, without number, and all sung praises to the One who said and the world was created [as it is said: the heaven proclaim the glory of God (Ps. xix. 2)].[2]

18. Moses asked Metatron: "Who are these?" and he answered: "These are the *Irin Kadishin*, (the holy watchers," Daniel iv. 10–14).

19. Moses went up to the seventh heaven, and he saw an angel wholly of fire; and two angels, whose names were X. These were fastened with two chains of red

[1] Cf. Pirke de R. Eliezer, ch. 6.

[2] Ch. 8–17, cf. Othioth de R. Akiba (Jellinek, Bet-hamm. III. 20–21).

and dark fire; and each of them had the length of 500 parasangs.

20. Moses asked Metatron: "Who are these?" And he answered: "These are wrath and anger, and God created them during the six days of creation, that they should fulfil his will."[1]

21. Moses replied: "I am afraid of these angels, and I cannot look on them." Thereupon Metatron embraced Moses, placed him in his bosom and said: "O Moses, beloved of God, be not frightened nor dread thou aught." And Moses was immediately calmed.

22. After this Moses saw another angel, whose countenance was totally different from those of the other angels, for he was ugly and his height of 540 years' journey, and he was girded forty times around his waist. From the sole of the foot unto the head he was full of fiery eyes, and whosoever looked at him, fell down in dread.

23. And Moses asked Metatron: "Who is this?" He answered: "This is the angel of death, who takes the souls of men."[2] And he asked him: "Where is he now going?" And Metatron answered: "He goes to take the soul of Job the pious."

24. And Moses said before God: "May it be thy will, O Lord, my God and God of my fathers, that thou shouldst not deliver me into the hands of this angel!"

25. Then saw he angels standing before God; each of them having six wings. With twain wings they covered their faces, so that they might not look upon the *Shekina*. With the other twain wings they cover their feet, for they have the feet of a calf, and with the other twain wings they fly and praise God. The length of each wing is 500 years' journey, and the width from one end of the world

[1] Cf. Rev. of Paul, ch. 11 (*Tischendorf*, Apoc. Apocryphae, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 34–69).

[2] Cf. Test. of Abraham, ch. 17.

to the other. And Moses asked: "Who are these?" and Metatron answered: "These are the holy Creatures."[1]

26. [Our sages tell[2] that at the time when Nebuchadnezzar the impious said: "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High" (Isaiah xv. 14), the Holy Spirit came forth and said: "O impious man! How many are the days of the years of thy life? Threescore and ten, or even by reason of strength, fourscore years (Ps. xc. 10), and the distance from earth to heaven alone is 500 years, the thickness of the heaven again 500 years, and from the heaven Rakia to the heaven Shehakim 500 years, and its thickness 500 years, and from Shehakim to Zebul again 500 years, and its thickness 500 years, and from Zebul to Meon 500 years, and its thickness 500 years, and from Meon to Araboth 500 years, and its thickness 500 years, and the feet of the holy Creatures are equal to the whole; and their ankles are equal to the whole; and the wings of the creatures are like the whole, and their necks are like the whole, and their heads like the whole, and their horns like unto the whole, and upon them is the throne of glory which is equal to the whole. [It is like the terrible ice, Ezek. i. 22.] And there sits the King of Kings, the Holy, blessed be He exalted and high, and thou sayest: "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High! Woe unto thee, O impious man and woe unto thy soul, for thou shalt be brought down to the uttermost parts of the pit (cf. Isaiah xiv. 15) to the seven regions of hell to be punished for ever and ever."]

[1] Cf. P. d. R. Eliezer, ch. 4.

[2] *Talmud B.*, Tractate Pesachim, f. 94a-b; *Yalkut*, II. f. 44c, § 286; cf. Tract. Hagiga, f. 12b.

27. And after that Moses saw an angel in the heaven called Araboth, *i.e.* the seventh heaven, and this angel was teaching the souls which were created by God at the time of the Creation and have been placed in paradise. The name of the angel was X. He teaches them in seventy languages in the college on high, and they answer: "Thus is the law of Moses given by tradition from Mount Sinai [as it is said Dina was set and the books were opened (Daniel vii. 10), and Dina is none other than this angel, who is the guardian angel of the Law and of wisdom." He has also another name, they call him Jefefiyah, for the name of the guardian angel of the Law is Iofiel].[1]

28. [(From the Zohar) R. Simeon, son of Johai, said: "At that time when Moses went up to heaven an angel sat before him and taught him 370 mysteries of the Law, Moses then said to God, 'I will not depart from here unless Thou wilt give me good gifts.'" God answered: "Moses, my servant, faithful in my house, I will give thee my Law wherein are good gifts, as it is written: 'For I gave thee a good gift' (Prov. iv. 2). Therein are also the commandments, positive and negative, and not only this (I grant thee) but also that the Law shall be recorded in thy name, as it is written: 'Remember ye the Law of Moses, my servant' (Malachi iii. 22)." Whence do we know that Moses did actually ascend seven heavens? We learn it from the verse, "And Moses ascended to God." (It is further written, "God went up amidst the sounds of trumpets") (Ps. xlvii. 6). Moses is therefore called Elohim like unto his Master, for it is said: "See I have made thee as Elohim unto Pharaoh," therefore it is written: "Like an apple-tree in the wood is my beloved among the sons." This is Moses, master of the Prophets and servant of God; he is like an apple in odour and taste.]

[1] About *seven heavens* v. Ascensio Isaiae and Test. Levi, ch. 3.

29. At that time a *Bath-Kol* came forth from underneath the throne of glory and said: "Moses, my servant! Art thou afraid of them?" [It is written: "A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty and bringeth down the strength of the confidence thereof" (Prov. xxi. 22). Strength means the Law as it is said: "God will give strength to his people" (Ps. xxix. 11).]

30. God said then to Moses: "Moses, my servant! Thou camest up here and hast been worthy of the privilege of seeing all with thy (earthly) power; and I have made thee ascend seven heavens, and have shown thee my treasures and I have given thee my law. Now thou shalt be worthy of seeing the two parks I have created in this world, one for the righteous and one for the sinners, viz. Paradise and Hell."

31. At that hour God sent Gabriel and said unto him: "Go with my beloved servant Moses and show him Hell!"

32. And Moses said to him: "I cannot enter Hell, that blazing fire." He said to him: "Moses, there is a fire which burns more than all the seven Hells, and yet when thou wilt tread it with thy feet, it shall not burn thee."

33. At an hour when Moses entered Hell, the fire of Hell withdrew for 500 parasangs. The master of Hell said to him: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am the son of Amram." The Lord of Hell answered: "Not here is thy place." And Moses said: "I came to see the powerful works of God, blessed be He." And God said to the Lord of Hell: "Go and show him how men are in Hell."[1]

[1] I draw attention here to two more apocalyptic visions which do not seem to have been noticed hitherto. (1) The apocalypse of the Virgin *Mary* (v. *Tischendorf*, Apoc. Apocryphae, p. xxvii.; *Gaster*, Literatura populara română, Bucharest, 1883, p. 362-366; B. P. *Hasdeu*, Cuvente d. Bătrânĭ, II. Bucharest, 1879, p. 301-367) extant in Slavonic texts of the twelfth century. Greek, Roumanian, etc.; Æthiopic and Syriac? In this text the tortures of Hell are very fully described. (2) *Questions of St. Macarius*, of which I possess 6, *Roumanian* MSS.; A *Syriac* Fragment of the twelfth century I found in the British Museum, Add. 17,262 (*Wright*, II. p. 867-8, No. 837), and a *Greek* text of the fifteenth century I discovered in Cod. Baroccianus (Bodleian), No. 147. f. 294b *sqq*.

34. Immediately he went with Moses, like a pupil before his master, and entered Hell together with him.
35. Moses saw there men tortured by the angels of destruction. Some of the sinners were hanged by their eyelids, some by their ears, some by their hands, and others by their tongues, and they cried bitterly. And he saw women hanging by their hair and by their breasts and in such like ways, all were hanging by chains of fire.[1]
36. And Moses asked the Lord of Hell, and said "Why are these hanged by their eyes and by their tongues and are so fearfully tortured and so sorely punished?" And the master of Hell answered: "Because they looked with an evil eye at fair women, and at married women, and at the money of their friends and neighbours, and gave false witness against their neighbours."[2]
37. Also saw he in Hell men hanging by their sexual organs and their hands were tied, and he asked: "Why do these hang?" The Lord answered: "Because they committed adultery, and stole, and killed, and murdered."[3]
38. He saw other men hanging by their ears and their tongues, and he asked: "Why are these hanging by their ears and tongues?" And he answered: "Because they neglected the study of the law, and talked slander and vain words and empty words.[4] The women are hanging by their hair and breasts, because they used to uncover their breasts and their hair before the young men and desired them, and came thus to sin."[5]
39. Hell cried then with a bitter and loud voice, and said to the Master of Hell: "Give me the sinners, that

[1] Cf. V. 7. 15-19. Peter, ch. 9 (II. 24); *Robinson* and *James*, The Gospel according to Peter, etc., London, 1892, p. 37 *sqq.*; cf. A. *Harnack* (II.) Bruchstücke d. Evgl. u. der Apocalypse d. Petrus, Leipzig, 1893, p. 16 *sqq.*
[2] Cf. V. 15, 17. Peter, ch. 7 (II. 22); Paul, ch. 37, 38.
[3] Cf. Peter, ch. 9, 10 (H. 24-25); Paul, 32; Virg. Mary.
[4] V. 16.
[5] V. 17; Peter, ch. 9 (H. 22); cf. Paul, ch. 40.

I may destroy them." For Hell is always hungry and never satisfied, and crieth always for the sinners to devour them, but hath no power over the righteous.[1]

40. Moses went further and saw two sinners hanged by their feet with their heads downwards, and they cried by reason of the torture of Hell, and their bodies were covered with black worms, each worm 500 parasangs long. And these sinners cry and lament, saying: "Woe unto us, for the terrible punishment of Hell; would we could die." But they cannot die [as it is said: "They long for death but it cometh not" (Job iii. 21)].[2]

41. Moses asked the master of Hell: "What acts have these committed?" And he answered: "These are those who swore falsely, and profaned the Sabbath, and despised the learned, and persecuted the orphans; and gave bad names to their neighbours, and bare false witness. Therefore hath God delivered them to these worms to take vengeance on these sinners." And Moses asked: "What is the name of this place?" And he answered: "Aluka [as it is said; Aluka hath two daughters" (Prov. xxx. 15)].[3]

42. Moses went then to another place. There the sinners were lying on their faces; and he saw two thousand scorpions swarming over them and stinging them and torturing them, and the sinners cried bitterly. Each scorpion has 70,000 mouths, and each mouth 70,000 stings, and each sting has 70,000 vesicles filled with poison and venom, and with these are the sinners imbued and thus are they tortured; and their eyes are sunk in their sockets for fear and dread, and their cry: "Woe unto us, for our sins, and for the day of judgment."[4]

[1] Cf. Ev. Nicodemi, Greek form, ch. 20 ff.: "O all devouring and insatiable Hades."
[2] Peter, ch. 9, 13 (H. 24, 28).
[3] Cf. V. 16; Paul, ch. 39.
[4] V. 24; VII. 4; Peter, ch. 13 (H. 28).

43. And Moses asked: "What have these committed?" And he answered: "These have wasted the money of others; they have taken bribery, and elevated themselves above others; they have put their neighbours publicly to shame; they have delivered up their brother Israelite to the gentile;[1] they denied the oral Law and maintained that God did not create the world. Therefore God has handed them over to the scorpions to be avenged on them."[2]

44. He saw there another place where the sinners stood up to their knees; the name of that place is *Tit hayaven* ("miry clay," Ps. xl. 3). Angels of destruction tie them up with chains of iron and lash them with fiery whips, and they take fiery stones and break with them the teeth of the sinners, from morning until evening, and during the night they prolong their teeth again to the length of a parasang in order to break them anew next morning; [as it is said: "Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked" (Ps. iii. 8)]. And the sinners cry: "Woe unto us, woe unto us!" but nobody takes pity on them.[3]

45. Moses asked the master of Hell: "What have these committed?" He answered: "They ate all kinds of forbidden fruit and gave them to Israelites to eat; they were usurers, and apostates and blasphemers; they wrote the ineffable name of God for Gentiles;[4] they had false weights; they stole money, and ate on the fast day of Kippur [for whosoever eats blood, or reptiles, or worms, and does not keep away from them is punished by being cut off], these are for ever punished in Hell, and therefore God hath delivered them to the angels of destruction to chastise them.[5]

[1] Peter, ch. 12 (H. 27).
[2] Paul, ch. 42; cf. Virg. Mary.
[3] Cf. Talmud, Tr. Berachoth, f. 54b.
[4] Probably on amulets.
[5] Cf. Paul, 36; Macarius, 40.

46. [He saw there further how they punish the wicked with fire and snow; and torture them terribly.] The Lord of Hell said then to Moses: "Come and see how the wicked are punished in Hell with fire." Moses answered: "I dread to go." But the Lord of Hell answered: "Go and dread naught," [as it is said: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil" (Ps. xxiii. 4)].
47. And Moses stood up to go, and he saw the *Shekina* moving before him, so that he should not be in dread of the angels of destruction. Each of these is full of eyes, and hath fiery chains in his hands, and his length is 500 years' journey.
48. Moses went and saw how the wicked were punished by fire, being half in fire and half in snow, with worms crawling up and down their bodies and a fiery collar round their necks, and having no rest,[1] except on Sabbath days and Festival days.[2] All (the other) days they are tortured in Hell. Of these speaks the verse: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me, for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched" (Isaiah cxvi. 28).
49. And Moses asked the angel of Hell: "What have these committed?" And the angel answered: "This is the punishment for those who have committed adultery, sodomy, idolatry, and murder, and who have cursed their parents. Therefore hath God delivered them to the angels of destruction to be avenged on them."[3] And Moses asked: "What is the name of this place?" And he answered: "The name of it is *Abadon*."
50. Thereupon Moses went up (to heaven) and said: "May it be Thy will, O Lord, my God, and God

[1] V. *Bahya*, comment. to Pentateuch, Venice, 1544, f. 181[b].
[2] Paul, ch. 44; cf. Pesikta rabbati, ed. Friedman, ch. 23, f. 112[a].
[3] Peter, ch. 9 (H. 24); cf. Macarius, 22, 27, 39, V. Mary.

of my fathers, that Thou mayest save me and Thy people Israel from those places which I have seen in Hell."

51. God said to Moses: "Moses, my servant? I have created two parks: Paradise and Hell. Whosoever committeth evil deeds goeth down to Hell, and whosoever doth good deeds cometh into Paradise" [as it is said: "I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings" (Jer. xvii. 10)].

52. Then Moses lifted up his eyes and beheld the angel Gabriel; and he fell down and bowed himself before him. And the angel said: "Hast thou seen Hell?" He answered: "Yea." And the angel said: "Come then, I will show thee Paradise, by the will of God." So Moses went with him to Paradise.

53. When they came there, the angels said: "Thy time is not yet arrived to leave the world." Moses answered: "I came to see the mighty deeds of God, and the reward of the pious in Paradise, what is their condition there."

54. The angels began then to praise Moses and they said: "Hail, O Moses, servant of the Lord; Hail, O Moses, born of woman, who hast been found worthy to ascend seven heavens, hail the nation to whom such belongs." [שככה *such* in arithmetical calculation is equal to משה.]

55. When Moses went into Paradise he saw an angel sitting under the tree of life. Moses asked the angel Gabriel: "Who is this angel?" He answered: "This is the Lord (guardian) of Paradise and his name is X."

56. This angel then asked Moses: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am the son of Amram." He said to him: "Why didst thou come hither?" And Moses answered: "To see the reward of the pious in Paradise have I come hither."

57. The angel took Moses by the hand, and they went both together. Moses looked up and saw seventy thrones fixed, one next to another; all made of precious stones, of emerald, sapphire and diamond and precious pearls, and the foot of each was of gold and fine gold. Around each throne stood seventy angels. Amongst the thrones was one greater than the others, and twenty of the ministering angels kept ward thereover.

58. Moses enquired of the angel and said: "Whose is that throne?" He answered: "It is the throne of Abraham the Patriarch."

59. Thereupon Moses went immediately up to Abraham. Abraham asked him: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am the son of Amram." And Abraham asked: "Is perchance already thy time come to leave the world?" Moses answered: "My time is not yet come, but with the permission of God I came to see the reward of the pious."[1] Abraham then said: "Praise ye the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever" (Ps. cvi. 1).

60. Then went Moses to the throne of Isaac, and he spake with him in a similar manner, and Moses answered in like wise.

61. Then asked Moses, the guardian angel of Paradise: "What is the length and width of Paradise?" The angel answered: "There is none who could measure it; no angel or Seraph can ever know the length and width of Paradise, for it is unlimited and boundless and immeasurable. The angels guard only the thrones and these are unlike to one another, for some of them are of silver, others of gold, others of bdellium, others of ruby, topaz, and carbuncle, others of emerald, sapphire and diamond, others of precious stones and pearls, others of rubies and carbuncles."

62. Moses asked the angel: "For whom is the throne of pearls?" He answered: "It is for the scholars

[1] Cf. Ascensio Isaiae, viii. 27, 28.

who study the Law day and night for the sake of heaven." "And those of precious stones?" "For the pious men." "And those of rubies?" "For the just." "And those of gold?" "For the men who repent;" "but the greatest throne is for thy forefather Abraham, the other thrones are for Isaac and Jacob, and for the prophets and righteous, and the holy and wise pious men, each after his worth and position and the good works he hath performed in the world."

63. Moses then said to the angel: "For whom is that throne of copper?" He answered: "For the wicked man, whose son is pious; because through the merits of his son he obtains a portion of heavenly bliss; as thou seest in the case of Terah, who had worshipped all the idols in the world, but who through the merits of his son Abraham obtained that throne of copper [as it is said: "Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace" (Gen. xv. 15), thus announcing to him (Abraham) that God would give (his father also) a place in Paradise]."

64. Afterwards Moses looked and beheld a spring of living water welling forth from underneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, [and it comes from under the throne of glory] and they encompass the Paradise from one end to the other. And under each throne there flow four rivers, one of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.[1] These all pass beneath the feet of the just, who are seated upon thrones.

65. [It is said in the Zohar. King Messias said to R. Simeon, son of Johai: "Worthy art thou of thy portion in heaven, for thy teaching is divided (spread) through 670 heavens, each heaven is divided into 670 lights, each light is divided in 670 arguments, each argument is divided in (among) 670 worlds, each world is divided in 670 streams of pure balsam.]

[1] Paul, ch. 23.

66. And all these streams flow round Paradise and beneath all the thrones. All these were created by God for the just, and whoso becometh equal to them in merit, sees and enjoys, as they enjoy, the splendour of the Shekina.

67. When Moses saw all these godly and pleasant things he felt great joy, and exclaimed: "Oh! how great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee, which Thou hast wrought for them that put their trust in Thee, before the sons of men" (Ps. xxxi. 19).

68. And Moses retired from there and went away. At that same moment a voice from Heaven (Bath-Kol) was heard saying: "Moses, servant of the Lord, faithful in His house; even as thou hast seen the reward which is preserved for the just in the future world, so also in the days to come shalt thou see the rebuilding of the Temple and the advent of the Messiah, and behold the beauty of the Lord, and meditate in His Temple" (Ps. xxvii. 4). (May it now be Thy will, O Lord, my God and the God of my fathers, that I and the whole nation of Israel may be deemed worthy of sharing in good and the great consolation, and the days of the Messiah, and the rebuilding of the Temple, and the everlasting life. Amen.)

II. The Revelation of Moses. (B.)

Heaven.

[*Ziyuni*, fol. 93 *c-d*, cf. *Yalkut Reubeni*, fol. 100*d*–101*a*; *Jellinek*, Beth-hammidrash, I. 58–64; *Pesikta Rabbati*, ed. Friedmann, sec. 20, fol. 96*a*–98*b*; *MS. Oxford*, No. 1466, 14 (Cat. Neubauer)].

1. Moses, our teacher, upon whom may rest peace, said to Israel: "Hear, O Israel, you the whole nation! I went up on high, and I saw all the Heavenly rulers. I saw

the angel *Kemuel*, the Janitor, who is placed over 12,000 angels of destruction, and who stands at the gates of heaven.

2. I saw further the angel *Hadarniel*, who is higher by 60 myriads of parasangs than Kemuel, and with every diction that comes out of his mouth go forth 12,000 flashes of lightning.

3. I saw further *Sandalfon*, the prince, greater than Hadarniel by 500 years' journey. Of him said Ezekiel: "One wheel upon the earth besides the living Creatures, for each of the four faces thereof" (Ezek. i. 15).

4. [This is the Sandalfon who weaves crowns for his master. When this crown appears before the heavenly hosts, they all shake and tremble and the holy Creatures are struck dumb, and the holy Seraphim roar like lions, and they say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory" (Is. vi. 2). And when the crown approaches the throne the wheels of the throne of glory move, and the thresholds of brilliancy quake, and all the heavens are seized with terror. And when the crown passes on to the throne of glory to its right place all the heavenly hosts open their mouths, turn to the Seraphim and say: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place." They say: "From his place" (Ezek. iii. 12), because they do not know His actual place. When the crown comes near to God's head He accepts it graciously from His servants. And the heavenly Creatures and the Seraphim, and the wheels of the throne of glory, and the heavenly hosts, and the Hashmalim and Cherubim praise the Creator, acknowledge him as their king, and exclaim unanimously: "The Lord reigneth, the Lord reigned, the Lord will reign for evermore."][1]

5. I saw further the fiery river *Rigyon*, which comes out before God, from under the throne of glory, and is formed from the perspiration of the holy Creatures who support the throne of glory; and out of dread of God's majesty perspire fire.[2] This river is meant by the saying

[1] Talmud B., Hagigah, f. 13b; *Longfellow*, Sandalfon.
[2] Cf. Pirke de R. Eliezer, ch. 4.

"a fiery stream issued and came forth before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened" (Dan. vii. 10). For the Almighty sits and judges the ministering angels, and after the judgment they bathe in that river of fire and are renewed. Afterwards the river flows on and carries with it fiery coals, and falls on the heads of the sinners in Hell, as it is said: "Behold the tempest of the Lord, even His fury is gone forth, yea, a whirling tempest; it shall burst on the head of the wicked" (Jer. xxiii. 19).[1]

6. I saw further the angel *Galitzur*, surnamed also *Raziel*, who stands behind the curtain and listens to all that is decreed in heaven and proclaims it. This proclamation is then handed over to the prophet Elijah and he proclaims it to the world from the Mount Horeb.

7. The wings of *Galitzur* are spread and keep off the breath of the holy Creatures, for otherwise all the ministering angels would be burned by the breath of the holy Creatures.

8. I saw further *Michael*, the great prince, standing at the right side of the throne, and *Gabriel* at the left; and *Iefefiyah*, the guardian of the law, standing before it; and *Metatron*, the angel of the presence, standing at the door of the palace of God. And he sits and judges all the heavenly hosts before his master. And God pronounces judgment and he executes it.

9. I saw then a troop of the terrible angels who surround the throne of glory, they were more powerful and mightier than all the other angels. All these whom I saw wished to scorch me with the breath of their mouths, but out of dread of the presence of the Almighty, the king of kings, they had no power to injure me, for they all were full of fear and agony and dread before Him.

[1] V. 23; cf. Peter, 8 (H. 23); Paul, 32; V. Mary.

III. The Revelation of R. Joshua ben Levi. (A.)

Paradise, Hell.

(*Orhot Hayim* II. Cod. 52, Montefiore College, f. 281b–282b; *Cod.* 28, Jews' College, London, f. 145b–147a; *Jellinek*, Beth-hammidrash, II. 48–51; with *Agadath Bereshit*, Warsaw, 1867, fol. 51*a*–*b*; *Kolbo*, § 120; *Zunz*, Gottesdienstl. Vortraege, p. 141, No. *e*.)

1. R. Joshua, son of Levi, was a pious man. When the time approached that he should leave this world, the Lord said to the angel of death, "Go and fulfil whatever his wish may be." He went to him and said unto him: "The time is nigh when thou shalt leave this world, but now tell me what thou wishest, that I may fulfil it."[1]

2. As soon as R. Joshua heard this, he said: "I pray thee, show me my place in Paradise." He answered and said: "Come and I will show thee it." R. Joshua answered and said, "Give me thy sword, so that thou shouldst not frighten me." And he gave him his sword. So they went together till they reached the wall of Paradise. There being outside the wall, the angel of death lifted R. Joshua from the ground and placed him upon the crest of the wall, and said unto him: "Behold thy place in Paradise."

3. At that moment R. Joshua jumped down from the wall and fell into Paradise. The angel of death caught him by his mantle and said to him, "Get thee out thence." But R. Joshua swore by the name of God that he would not do so. The angel of death had no power to enter therein. The ministering angels seeing this, said to the Almighty: "Lord of the Universe, behold what R. Joshua hath done! By force hath he taken possession of his portion in Paradise." God answered: "Go and see if he has ever broken his oath, then shall this oath of his be likewise void and null." They searched and could not find any such case. So they came and said: "He hath never broken his oaths in his

[1] Cf. Test. Abraham, ch. 9.

lifetime." And God answered: "If it be so, let him remain there."

4. When the angel of death saw this, he said to R. Joshua: "Give me now my sword back." But R. Joshua did not fulfil his request till a voice came forth and said: "Give him the knife, for it is of necessity for His creatures."

5. R. Joshua then said to him: "Swear unto me that thou wilt not show it any more to the creatures at the moment when thou takest their souls." [For up to that time the angel of death used to kill men openly, as one slaughters animals, and he showed it even to the suckling in the bosom of their mother.] At that hour he swore unto him, and R. Joshua returned the knife to him.

6. After that began the prophet Elijah to proclaim and to cry out aloud to the just: "Clear the way for the son of Levi."

7. [He went and saw R. Joshua sitting in the compartment of the just, and he asked him: "Art thou the son of Levi?" And he answered: "Yes." He asked again: "Hast thou seen a rainbow in thy lifetime?" Again R. Joshua answered: "Yes." And he replied: "Then if this is so, thou art not the son of Levi."—In fact it had not been the case. Now R. Joshua had not seen a rainbow, but he did not wish to boast of it and to ascribe it to his own merits. He had asked him about the rainbow, for it is the sign of the covenant between God and the world; and when the rainbow appears then God (remembers) and pitieth his creatures; but when there liveth a just man, there is no longer any necessity for a rainbow, as through his merits the world is saved. As it is said: "And the just is the foundation of the world" (Prov. x. 25). Therefore did he ask him about the rainbow.]

8. The angel of death went to R. Gamaliel and told him: "So and so hath R. Joshua done unto me." R. G. answered and said: "He served thee right. But now please go and tell him I request him to search through heaven and hell their mysteries and to write them down and send it to me [also if there are idolators in hell]."

9. The angel went, and R. Joshua answered: "I will do so."

10. Thereupon R. Joshua went and searched through Paradise and he found therein *seven* compartments,[1] each of twelve myriads of miles in width, and twelve myriads of miles in length; the measure of their width being the same as that of their length.

11. The first compartment corresponds to the first door of Paradise. Here dwell the proselytes who had embraced Judaism of their own free will, not from compulsion. The walls are of glass and the wainscoting of cedar. As I tried to measure it the inhabitants rose to prevent me from doing it. Obadiah the just, who presides over them, rebuked them and said: "What are your merits that this man should dwell here with you?" (for they wished to retain him there). Thereupon they allowed him to measure it.

12. The second compartment corresponds to the facing of the door of Paradise. It is built of silver and the wainscoting thereof of cedar. Here dwell those who repent, and Manasseh, son of Ezekiah, presides over them.

13. The third compartment, facing the third door, is built of silver and gold. Here dwell Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all the Israelites who came out of Egypt, and the whole generation who had lived in the desert, and all the kings (princes), with the exception of Absalom. There is also David, and Solomon, and Kilab, son of David, still alive, and all the kings of the house of Judah, with the exception of Manasseh, who presides over those who repent. Over these here preside Moses and Aaron. Here are the precious vessels of silver and gold, and jewels, and canopies, and beds, and thrones, and lamps of gold, and precious stones and pearls. And I asked: "For whom are all these prepared?" And David answered and said: "They are for those who still dwell in the world whence thou comest." And I asked:

[1] Cf. Midrash *Kônen* in *Arze Lebanon*, Venice, 1601, f. 3a–b; Yalkut Reubeni, Amsterdam, 1700, f. 13d–14a.

"Is here perhaps one also from the Gentiles, at least from my brother Esau?" And he answered and said: "No; because the Almighty gives the reward of every good deed they do in their lifetime in that world, but after death they go down to Hell; whilst the sinners in Israel get their punishment in their lifetime in that world, but after death they obtain the merit of their good deed here." As it is said: "And he payeth."[1]

14. The fourth compartment, facing the fourth door of Paradise, is beautifully built, like to the first compartment, but its wainscoting is of olive-wood. Here dwell the perfect, and faithful, and just men. Why is the wainscoting of olive-wood? Because their life has been bitter to them as olives.

15. The fifth compartment is of silver, and gold, and refined gold, and of crystal, and bdellium; and through its midst flows the river Gihon. The walls are of silver and gold, and a perfume breathes through it more exquisite than the perfume of Lebanon. And beds of silver and gold are there prepared, covered with violet and purple covers, woven by Eve, and mixed with scarlet and made of hair of goats, woven by angels. Here dwell the Messiah and Elijah in a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon; the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the seat of it of purple. Herein lieth the Messiah, the son of David, who is the love of the daughters of Jerusalem, the midst thereof is love. The prophet Elijah takes the head of the Messiah and places it in his bosom and says to him: "Be quiet and wait, for the end draweth nigh." On every Monday and Thursday and Saturday and Holiday the Patriarchs come to him and the fathers of the Tribes and Moses and Aaron and David and Solomon and every king of Israel and of the house of Judah, and they weep with him and comfort him, and say unto him: "Be quiet and wait and rely upon thy Creator, for the end draweth nigh." Also Korah and his company and Dathan and Abiram and

[1] Cf. Othioth de R. Akiba (Jellinek *l.c.* p. 23).

Absalom come to him on every Wednesday, and ask him: "When will the end of our misery come? When wilt thou reveal thyself?"

16. He answereth them and says: "Go to your fathers and ask them." And when they hear of their fathers they feel ashamed and do not ask any further.

17. When I came to the Messiah he asked me: "What is Israel doing in the world from which thou comest?" And I answered and said: "Every day they await Thee." He immediately raised His voice and wept.

18. In the sixth compartment dwell those who died through performing a pious act.

19. In the seventh compartment dwell those who died from illnesses caused through the sins of Israel.

20. R. Joshua, son of Levi, tells further: "I asked the Messiah to allow me to look into Hell, but he did not allow me, as the righteous should never behold Hell." So I sent to the angel called *Komm* that he might describe Hell for me. But it was impossible, for at that moment R. Ismael, the high priest, and R Simeon, son of Gamaliel, and ten just men were killed, and the news reached us, so I could not go with the angel. I went afterwards with the angel *Kipod* and the light went with me up to the gates of Hell, and the Messiah came with me, and they were open. The sinners who were there saw the light of the Messiah, and rejoiced, and said to one another: "This will bring us out from here."[1]

21. I saw compartments of ten miles length and of five width, full of pits of fire, and these consume the sinners, and after their destruction they are again made whole and fall again into the fire. In that compartment are ten nations from the Gentiles, and Absalom presides over them. These nations say one to another: "Our sin is that we have not accepted the Law; but what is your sin?" And the other answers: "That is also our sin, we are like you." They say then to Absalom: "Why

[1] Ev. Nicodem.

art thou punished, seeing that thou as well as thy parents hast accepted the Law?" And he answers them and says: "Because I did not hearken to the commandments of my father." Angels stand close by and with their staves drive them back into the fire and burn them. Then they hurry to Absalom to beat him also, and to burn him; but a voice calls out to them: "Do not beat him and do not burn him, for he is from the seed of Israel, who said 'We will do and hearken,' and he is the son of my servant David." So they leave him upon his seat and honour him with the honour of a king. They bring out afterwards the sinners from the fire just as if they had not been burnt and the fire had never touched them; and they burn them again. This they repeat seven times, three times at day and four times at night. Absalom alone is saved because he is the son of David.

22. After having seen this I returned to Paradise, wrote description of Hell and sent it to R. Gamaliel and the ten elders of the Jews, and I told them all what I had seen in Paradise and Hell.

IV. The Revelation of R. Joshua Ben Levi. (B.)

Paradise.

(*Jellinek*, Beth-hammidrash II. p. 52–53; *Yalkut* I. § 20, f. 7ᵃ; *Elia ha-Cohen*: Shebet Mussar, Constantinople, 720, ch. 25, f. 80–81ᵃ.)

1. R. Joshua, son of Levi, tells: "Paradise has two gates of carbuncle, and sixty myriads of ministering angels keep watch over them. Each of these angels shine with the lustre of the heavens. When the just man approaches them they divest him of the clothes in which he had been buried and clothe him with eight clothes, woven out of clouds of glory, and place upon his head two crowns, one of precious stones and pearls and the other of gold,[1]

[1] Cf. Ascensio Isaiae, viii. 14, ix. 9, 24.

and they place eight myrtles in his hand and praise him and say to him: "Go and eat thy bread with joy." And they lead him to a place full of rivers (waters) surrounded by roses and myrtles. Each one has a canopy according to his merits, as it is said: "For over all the glory shall be spread a canopy" (Is. iv. 5).

2. And through it flow four rivers, one of oil, the other of balsam, the third of wine, and the fourth of honey. Every canopy is overgrown by a vine of gold, and thirty pearls hang down from it, each of them shining like the morning star. In every canopy there is a table of precious stones and pearls, and sixty angels stand at the head of every just man, saying unto him: "Go and eat with joy of the honey, for thou hast worked assiduously in the Law," of which it is said: "And it is sweeter than honey," and drink of the wine preserved from the six days of Creation, for thou hast worked in the Law which is compared with the wine," as it is said: "I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine" (Song viii. 2). The least fair of them is beautiful as Joseph and Johanan and the grains of the pomegranate upon which fall the rays of the sun. There is no night, as it is said: "And the light of the righteous is as the shining light" (Prov. iv. 18).

3. And they undergo three transformations passing through three wards. In the first ward the just is changed into a child, and he enters the compartment of children and tastes the joys of childhood. In the second ward he is changed into a youth, there he enjoys the delights of youth. In the third ward he is changed into an old man, he enters the compartment of the old and enjoys the pleasures of mature age.[1]

4. In Paradise there are eighty myriads of trees in every corner; the meanest among them choicer than a garden of spices. In every corner there are sixty myriads of angels singing with sweet voices, and the tree of life stands in the middle and over-shadoweth the whole Paradise; and

[1] Paul, ch. 22, 23, 45; Peter, ch. 5 (H. 19-20).

it has 500 tastes, each different from the others, and the perfumes thereof vary likewise.[1] Over it hang seven clouds of glory, and the winds blow from all the four corners and waft its many odours from one end of the world to the other. Underneath sit the scholars and explain the Law. These have each two canopies, one of stars and the other of sun and moon, and clouds of glory separate one from the other.

5. Within this is the Eden containing 310 worlds, as it is said: "That I may cause those that love me to inherit Substance" (Prov. viii. 21) [the numerical value of the Hebrew word for *Substance* is equivalent to 310].[2]

6. Here are the seven compartments of the just. In the first are the martyrs, as, for instance, R. Akiba and his companions. In the second, those who were drowned. In the third, R. Johanan and his disciples. [In what consisted his great merit? He said: "If all the skies were skins and all men scribes and all the forests pens, these scribes would not be able to write down all that I have learned from my teachers, and still am I no more than a dog liking the sea."] The fourth group is of those who were covered by the cloud of glory. The fifth group is that of the penitents [for the place occupied by a penitent not even a perfectly just man can occupy]. The sixth group is that of children who have not yet tasted sin in their lives.[3] The seventh group is that of the poor, who, notwithstanding that, studied the Law and the Talmud, and had acquired moral life. Of these speaks the verse: "For all that put their trust in Thee rejoice, and they shout for ever for joy" (Ps. v. 11). And God Almighty sitteth in their midst, and expounds to them the Law, as it is said: "Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me" (Ps. xci. 6). And God hath not yet fully unveiled the glory which awaiteth them in the world to come, as it is said: "The eye hath not seen, O God, beside Thee, that which Thou workest for him that waiteth for Him" (Isaiah lxiv. 4). Amen.

[1] Peter, ch. 5 (H. 15–16).
[2] Cf. Yalkut Reubeni, f. 14a-b
[3] Cf. Paul, ch. 26.

V.

Hell.

(*Orhot Haytm*, Vol. II. Cod. 52, Montefiore College, Ramsgate, f. 279 *a–b* (=§§ 1–18). *Elia de Vidas*: Reshit Hochma, Constantinople, 1736, f. 40 *a–b* (= §§ 1–9, 19–21); cf. ibid. f. 40*b*, 41*a*. *Jellinek*, Beth-hammidrasch V. 50–51 (=§§ 10–18).)

1. R. Johanan began his homily with the verse "Passing through the valley of weeping they make it a valley of springs." This means to say that the sinner confesses, just as the leprous confesses, and he says: "I have committed such and such a transgression in that place, on that day, in the presence of so-and-so, in that society."

2. Hell has three gates: one at the sea, the other in the wilderness, and the third in the inhabited part of the world. That at the sea is alluded to in Jonah (ii. 3): "Out of the belly of Sheol cried I, and thou heardest my voice." That of the wilderness is alluded to (Numbers xvi. 33). "So they and all that appertained to them, went down alive unto Sheol." And that in the inhabited portion of the world (Isaiah xxxi. 9) "Saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion and his furnace in Jerusalem."

3. Nine different kind of fires are in Hell, one devours and absorbs, another absorbs and does not devour, while another again neither devours nor absorbs. There is further fire devouring fire. There are coals big as mountains and coals big as hills, and coals huge like unto the Dead Sea and coals like huge stones.

4. There are rivers of pitch and sulphur flowing and fuming and seething.

5. The punishment of the sinner is thus: The angels of destruction throw him to the flame of hell; this opens its mouth wide and swallows him [as it is said: "Therefore Sheol hath enlarged her desire and opened her

mouth without measure and their glory and their multitude and their pomp and he that rejoices among them descends into it" (Isaiah v. 14.)] This all happens to him who has not done one single pious act which would make the balance incline towards mercy; whilst that man who possesses many virtues and good actions and learning and who has suffered much he is saved from hell [as it is said: "Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff shall comfort me" (Ps. xxiii. 4). "Thy rod" means the suffering and "thy staff" means the law[1]].

6. R. Johanan began: "The eyes of the wicked shall fail and refuge is perished from them and their hope shall be the giving up of the ghost" (Job ii. 20). That means: a body which is never destroyed and whose soul enters a fire which is never extinguished; of these speaks the verse: "For their worm shall not die neither shall their fire be quenched" (Isaiah lxvi. 24).

7. R. Joshua, son of Levi, said: Once upon a time I was walking on my way when I met the prophet Elijah. He said to me: "Would you like to be brought to the gate of hell?" I answered: "Yes!" So he showed me men hanging by their hair; and he said to him, these were they that let their hair grow to adorn themselves for sin. Others were hanging by their eyes; these were they that followed their eyes to sin, and did not place God before their face. Others were hanging by their noses; these were they that perfumed themselves to sin. Others were hanging by their tongues; these were they that had slandered. Others were hanging by their hands; those were they that had stolen and robbed. Others were hanging by their sexual organs; these were they that had committed adultery. Others were hanging by their feet; these were they that had run to sin. He showed me women hanging by their breasts; these were they that uncovered their breasts before men,

[1] Cf. Test. Abraham, ch. 12–14.

to make them sin. He showed me further men that were fed on fiery coals; these were they that blasphemed. Others were forced to eat bitter gall; these were they that ate on fast-days. He showed me further men eating fine sand, they are forced to eat it and their teeth are broken; and the Almighty says to them: "O ye sinners! when you used to eat that which you stole and robbed it was sweet in your mouth now you are not able to eat even this." [As it is said: "Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked" (Ps iii. 8).] And he showed me men wallowing in the mire and worms were set upon them; these are they of whom it is said: "For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh" (Is. lxvi. 24). He showed me further men who are thrown from fire to snow and from snow to fire; these were they that abused the poor who came to them for assistance; therefore are they thus punished [as it is said: "Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water" (Ps. lxvi. 12)]. He showed me others who were driven from mountain to mountain, as a shepherd leads the flock from one mountain to another. [Of these speaks the verse: "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol. Death shall be their shepherd and the upright shall have the dominion over them in the morning, and their form shall be for Sheol to consume that there be no habitation for it" (Ps. xlix. 15).][1]

8. R. Johanan said: "For every sin there is an angel appointed to obtain the expiation thereof; one comes first and obtains his expiation, then follows another and so on until all the sins are expiated, as with a debtor who has many creditors and they come before the king and claim their debts, and the king delivers him to them and says: "Take him and divide him between yourself." So also is the soul delivered in hell to cruel angels, and they divide it among themselves.

[1] I. 34-49.

9. Three descend to hell for ever and do not ascend any more—the man who commits adultery, who blames his neighbour in public, and who is guilty of perjury. Others say: "Those who honour themselves by slandering their neighbours, those who make intrigues between man and wife in order to create disputes among them."

10. Seven descend to Hell: the judge, the butcher, the scribe, the physician, the barber and the teacher of very young children. These, if they have fulfilled their mission conscientiously for the sake of heaven, ascend afterwards again. Three, however, descend never to ascend: the man who blames his neighbour in public, the man who slanders his neighbour, and the man who commits adultery.

11. Hell has seven names: Sheol, Abadon, Beer Shaon, Beer Shahat, Hatzar Maveth, Beer Tahtiyah, and Tit Hayaven.[1] The length of Sheol is a three years' journey, and so are its width and height. Similarly are the others also. Hell is thus a 2100 years' journey. If a man deserves punishment he is handed over to the angels of destruction. These seize him and lead him to the court of death, darkness and gloom, [as it is said: "Let their way be dark and slippery" (Ps. xxxv. 6)]. But this is not all, for they thrust him into Hell, [as it is said: "And the angel of the Lord pursuing them" (Ps. xxxv. 6)].

12. When a man dies and is carried along upon his bier ministering angels walk before him and people walk behind the bier following him. If they say: "Happy the man, for he was good and praiseworthy in his lifetime;" the angels say unto him: "Write it down," and he writes it down.[2] And this is not all, but two angels watch over the man at the moment of his death, and they know whether he has stolen or robbed during his lifetime; for even the stones and the beams of his house witness against him; [as it is said: "For the stones shall cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber shall answer it" (Habak. ii. 11)].[3]

[1] VII. 2.
[2] Cf. Macarius, 10–11.
[3] Macarius, 12–16.

13. When a man dies he is brought before Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They say unto him: "My son! what hast thou done in that world from which thou comest?" When he answereth: "I have bought fields and vineyards, and I have tilled them all my life." They answer: "O fool, that thou hast been! Hast thou not learned the words of King David, who said: 'The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof' (Ps. xxiv. 1)." Angels then take him away and bring another man before them, and they ask him in likewise. If he answereth: "I gathered gold and silver," they retort: "Fool that thou art!" Hast thou not read in the books of the prophets: "The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts" (Haggai ii. 8).

14. When scholars are brought before them, they say: "My son! What hast thou done in the world from which thou comest?" He answers: "I have devoted my life to the study of the law." And the patriarchs answer: "He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds, each one that walketh in his uprightness" (Is. lvii. 2). And the Almighty receives them with grace.

15. There are five kinds of punishment in Hell, and *Isaiah* saw them all. He entered the first compartment and saw there two men carrying pails full of water on their shoulders, and they pour that water into a pit which, however, never fills. Isaiah said to God: "O thou who unveilest all that is hidden, unveil to me the secret of this!" And the Spirit of the Lord answered: "These are the men who coveted the property of their neighbours, and thus is their punishment."[1]

16. He entered the second compartment and he saw two men hanging by their tongues, and he said: "O thou, who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of this!" He answered: "These are the men who slandered, therefore they are thus punished!"[2]

17. He entered the third compartment and he saw there

[1] Cf. I. 36.
[2] I. 38, 41.

men hanging by the sexual organs. He said: "O thou who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of this!" And He answered: "These are the men who neglected their own wives and committed adultery with the daughters of Israel!"[1]

18. He entered the fourth compartment and saw there women hanging by their breasts, and he said: "O thou who unveilest the hidden, reveal to me the secret of these!" And He answered: "These are the women who uncover their hair and rend their veil, and sit in the open market place to suckle their children in order to attract the gaze of men and to make them sin; therefore they are punished thus!"[2]

19. He entered the fifth compartment and found it full of smoke. There were all the princes, chiefs, and great men, and Pharaoh, the wicked, presides over them and watches at the gate of hell, and he saith unto them: "Why did you not learn from me when I was in Egypt?" So he sits there still and watches at the gates of hell.

20. On the eve of the Sabbath the sinners are led to two mountains of snow, where they are left until the end of the Sabbath, when they are taken back from there and brought again to their former places. An angel comes and thrusts them back to their former place in hell.[3] Some of them take, however, snow and hide it in their secret parts to cool them during the six days of the week, but the Almighty says unto them: "Woe unto you who steal even in hell!" [As it is said: "Draught and heat consume the snow waters, in Sheol they sin." That means to say: "They sin even in Sheol."]

21. Every twelvemonth the sinners are burned to ashes and the wind disperses them and carries those ashes under the feet of the just [as it is said: "And ye shall tread down the wicked, for they shall be ashes under the sole of your feet" (Malachi iii. 29)].

[1] I. 36.
[2] I. 38.
[3] I. 48.

22. Afterwards the soul is returned to them and they come out black as the blackness of a pot, and they acknowledge the justice of their punishment and say: "Thou hast rightly sentenced us and rightly judged us. With Thee is righteousness and with us shame, as it is with us to-day."[1]

23. The other nations, however, and the idolators are punished in the seven compartments of hell, in each compartment for a twelvemonth. And the river Dinor floweth from beneath the throne of glory and falleth over the heads of the sinners, and it floweth from one end of the world to the other.[2]

24. There are seven compartments in hell, and in each of them are 6000 rooms, in each room 6000 windows, in each window (recess) there are 6000 vessels filled with venom, all destined for slanderous writers and iniquitous judges. [It is to that, that Solomon alludes when he says: "And thou mourn at thy latter end when thy flesh and thy body are consumed" (Prov. v. 2).][3] None of these will be saved unless they acquire learning and pious deeds. But at the end the Almighty will have pity on *all* his creatures, as it is said: "For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth, for the spirit shall pass before Me and the souls which I have made" (Is. lvii. 16).

VI.

*Hell.**

(*Nachmanides*, Shaar ha-gemul, Ed. Warsaw, 1878, p. 10 (= §§ 2–7); cf. *Orhot Hayim*, II. f. 282b–283a; *Midrash Kônen, l.c.* f. 4a).

1. R. Joshua, son of Levi, says: "When I measured the first compartment of Hell, I found it to be 100 miles long and 50 miles wide. Therein are pits with lions; all fall into

[1] Paul, i. 8.
[2] Cf. II. 5. Test. of Isaac, *James* and *Barnes*, Test. of Abraham, p. 147.
[3] I. 42, VII. 4.

those pits and are devoured by the lions, and the bones are thrown into burning fire.[1] I entered the second compartment and found it of the same size as the first.[2]

2. In the second compartment, in the second division, there are ten nations, and their punishment is like unto that of the first compartment. Doeg presides over them and the angel who punishes them is *Lahatiel*; but Doeg is freed from chastisement because he is a descendant from those who said: "We will do and hearken" (Israel).

3. In the third compartment there are other ten nations, their punishment is the same. The angel who punishes them is *Shaftiel*. Korah who presides over them and his companions are free from punishment, for they also said: "We will do and hearken."

4. In the fourth compartment the punishment is the same. There are also ten nations and Jeroboam presides over them. The angel who punishes them is *Maktiel* (Matniel). Jeroboam, however, has immunity for he himself had studied the Law, and he cometh from those who had said: "We will do and hearken."

5. In the fifth compartment the punishment is the same. Ahab presides over them. The angel who punishes them is *Hutriel* (Oniel). Ahab has immunity because he is one of the children of Israel who said on Mount Sinai: "We will do and hearken."

6. In the sixth compartment the punishment is the same. Micha presides over them. The angel who punishes them is *Pusiel* (Hadriel). Micha is free from chastisement for he is from those who said on Mount Sinai: "We will do and hearken."

7. In the seventh compartment the punishment is the same. Elisha ben Abuya presides over them. The angel who punishes them is *Dalkiel* (Rugziel). Elisha, however, has immunity for he is a descendant from those who said on Mount Sinai: "We will do and hearken." This is the punishment of the tens of thousand who are in each

[1] Cf. Test. of Isaac; *James* and *Barnes*, Test of Abraham, p. 147.
[2] Here follows in the text of Orhot Hayim, III. 21.

compartment, and they do not see each other, for it is dark, and this darkness is that deep darkness which existed before the world was created.[1]

VII.

Hell.

(*Baraita de Massechet Gehinom*: in *Hesed le-Abraham* of Abr. Azulai in: Yalkut-ha-roim, Warsaw, 1858, f. 85, sqq. Cf. *Midrash Kônen*, *l.c.* f. 3^b–4^a. *Shebet Mussar*, ch. 26, f. 84^a.)

1. We read in the Baraita of the Creation: "Beneath the earth is the (abyss) *Tehom* under Tehom is *Bohu*, under Bohu is *Yam*, under Yam is *Mayim*, under Mayim is *Arka*, and there is, Sheol, Abadon, Beer Shahat, Tit-hayaven, Shaare Mavet, Shaare Tzalmavet, and Gehinom. Here are the sinners and the angels of destruction presiding over them. There is darkness thick as the wall of a city, and there the heavy and bitter punishments of the sinners are enacted, as it is said: 'The wicked shall be put to silence in darkness' (1 Sam. ii. 9)."

2. The uppermost compartment is *Sheol*. The height thereof is 300 years' journey; the width 300 years' journey; and its length 300 years' journey. The second compartment is *Beer Shahat*, of the same height, width, and length. The third is *Tit-Hayaven* of equal size. The fourth is *Shaare Mavet* of the same size. The fifth *Abadon* of the same size. The sixth *Shaare Tzalmavet* of the same size. The seventh *Gehinom* of the same size. That makes altogether the length of hell 6300 years' journey."[2] We read further: the fire of Gehinom is one-sixtieth of the fire of Shaare Tzalmavet, and so of every consecutive compartment till the fire of Sheol, and in Sheol is half fire and

[1] Peter, ch. 6 (H. 21); Macarius, 19; Virg. Mary.
[2] V. 11.

half hail (ice), and the sinners therein when they come out from the fire are tortured by the hail (ice), and when they come out from the hail (ice) the fire burns them, and the angels who preside over them keep their souls within their bodies [as it is said, "for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched" (Isaiah lxvi. 24)].

3. We read further, "God created seven hells, in each hell are seven compartments, in each compartment there are seven rivers of fire and seven of hail (ice), the width of each is 100 cubits, its depth 1000 cubits, and its length 300 cubits, and they flow one after the other, and all the sinners pass through them and are burned, but the 40,000 angels of destruction who preside over them revive them and raise them on their feet and announce to them their deeds which were evil, and their ways which were crooked," and they say to them, "Pass now through the rivers of fire and hail and snow; just as you passed over and transgressed the law and the commandments which were given unto you on Mount Sinai, for you feared not the fire of hell and the punishment of Abadon. Now render account of your deeds!"

4. There are besides in every compartment 7000 holes (crevices), in every hole there are 7000 scorpions. Every scorpion has 300 slits (cavities), in every slit 70,000 pouches of venom, from these flow six rivers of deadly poison. When a man touches it he immediately bursts, every limb is torn from him, his body is cleft asunder, and he falls dead upon his face. The angels of destruction collect his limbs and set them, and revive the man and place him upon his feet and take their revenge upon him anew.[1]

[1] I. 42, V. 24.

VIII.

Paradise.

(In *Massechet Atziluth*, ed. Warsaw, 1876, f. 54 *a-b*; Siddur *Amram*, Warsaw, 1865, I. f. 12b–13a).

R. Ismael tells: "Sagansagel addressed me and said to me: 'My beloved! sit in my bosom and I will tell thee what will happen to Israel.' So I sat in his bosom and he looked at me and wept; and tears flowed from his eyes and dropped on my face. And I said: 'Glorious heavenly light! Why dost thou weep?' And he answered: 'Come and I will show unto thee what is awaiting my holy people Israel.' He took me and brought me into the innermost place, to the treasure-house of treasures and he took down the books and showed me the decrees of many misfortunes written therein. I asked him: 'For whom are these destined?' And he answered: 'For Israel!' Again I asked: 'Will they be able to endure them?' And he answered: 'Come to-morrow and I will show thee more calamities still.' The next day he showed me still more calamities, for some it being decreed to die by the sword, for others to die of hunger, others again destined for slavery. And I said: 'O glorious heavenly light! have they indeed sinned so heavily?' * He anwered: 'Every day new calamities are decreed, but when Israel gathers in his prayer-house and repeats: "May His exalted name be praised" we retain those calamities and do not let them come out from these rooms.' When I left him I heard a voice speaking in Aramaic and saying: 'The holy temple is destined to be ruined and the temple to be a burning light, and the kingly palace delivered over to the owls and the young to slavery, and the princes to death and the pure altar to be profaned, and the table for the shewbread will be carried off by enemies, and Jerusalem will be a desert, and the land of Israel a desolation.' When I heard these

words I was terrified and trembled and I fell down. Then came the angel Hadarniel and breathed into me a new soul and lifted me upon my feet and said to me: 'My beloved! what hath happened unto thee?' And I answered: 'O glorious heavenly light! is there indeed no salvation for Israel?' And he answered and said: 'Come and I will show thee the treasures of comfort and help stored up for Israel.' He brought me up and I saw groups of angels weaving raiments of salvation and making crowns of life and fixing in them precious stones and pearls, and anointing them with all kinds of spices and delights.[1] I asked: 'For whom are these all destined?' He answered: 'For David, king of Israel.' And I said: 'Show me the glory of David.' And he said: 'Wait three hours until David will come hither in his glory.' So he took me and placed me in his bosom, and he asked me: 'What dost thou see?' I answered: 'I see seven lightnings running into one another.' He said: 'Shut thine eyes that thou mayest not be dazzled by the light which precedes King David.' At that moment the wheels and Ophanim and holy Creatures and the treasures of rain and snow, and the clouds of glory and the planets and the ministering angels moved and shook and said: 'The heavens declare the glory of God' (Ps. xix. 1). I heard then a loud voice proceeding from Eden crying: 'The Lord reigneth for ever and ever,' and lo! David was in front and all the kings of his house after him, each one with his crown upon his head; but the crown of David surpassed them all, its lustre shineth from one end of the world unto the other. And David went up to the heavenly Temple, where a throne of fire stood ready for him, whose height is of 40 parasangs, its length and its width double the same. When David took his seat upon the throne prepared for him, facing that of his Creator, all the kings of Judah ranged themselves before him, and the kings of Israel stood behind him. Then he

[1] IV. 1.

began to utter hymns and praises, such as no human ear has heard.[1] And when he said: 'The Lord will reign for ever and ever.' Metraton and his company responded: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts,' and the holy Creatured praised and said: 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord in its place.' The heavens say: 'The Lord will reign for ever and ever.' The earth says: 'The Lord hath reigned, does reign, and will reign for ever,' and all the kings respond and say: 'And the Lord will be king over the whole earth.'"

[1] Paul, ch. 29.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1.

Sir,—I have read with much interest Surgeon-Major Oldham's paper, in our January number, on the Saraswatī. The subject has been long one of interest to me; and I am glad to find my own conclusions on the subject borne out by his article. This, however, is not exhaustive. The contributions of various writers to our knowledge of such subjects are so scattered that scarce one man can know where to find them all. Very conclusive evidence on this subject was contributed to the "Imperial Gazetteer" by a writer whose name does not appear.

In ignorance of his work I published similar arguments and conclusions in the Bombay Natural History Society's Journal, some years later, and claimed them as my own (in private), until I came upon his article.

I have neither work in my camp to quote, but the pith of both arguments was as follows:

All bodies (including bodies of water) moving in the Northern Hemisphere at an angle to the Equator bear to the right, and conversely in the Southern Hemisphere to the left. Amongst others, rivers flowing through soil soft enough for erosion bear on their right banks.

This process would account for the Saraswatī working out of its own old eastern bed, and at last falling into that abandoned (for the same reason) by the Satlaj, as shown by Dr. Oldham.

But the zoology of the "five Rivers" furnishes a clinching proof. These now contain cetacean mammal, a highly aquatic reptile and a Cyprinoid fish, which belong to the Gangetic fauna, and not to that of any river that seeks the sea in the Peninsular Provinces of Bombay. They are the Gangetic porpoise (*Platahista*), the long-snouted fish-eating crocodile (*Gairalis*), and the Rohu fish (*Labeo Rohita*). And this fact, when added to Dr. Oldham's historical and geographical evidence, renders it almost impossible to doubt that the Saraswatī did really once communicate with the Gangetic system; and that it was the river's desertion of its old bed, and invasion of the Indus region, that brought into the waters of the latter three essentially Gangetic animals.

W. F. SINCLAIR, Bombay C.S.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER ANDHRABHṚITYAS.

By C. MABEL DUFF.

SIR,—In an article in the "Indian Antiquary," vol. xxi. p. 204, M. Senart has reconstructed the chronology of five of the later Andhra kings, on the strength of data drawn from the numismatic discoveries of Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî.

It is known from Rudradâman's inscription at Girnar that he was contemporary with one of the Śâtakarṇi, and M. Senart, following Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. xii. p. 272) and Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl (Antiquarian Remains at Sopârâ and Padaṇa), identifies this Śâtakarṇi with Chaturapana Vâsishṭîputra II., or his son Śrî Yajña Gautamîputra II., but the arguments for this identification rest on somewhat slender evidence.

One point brought forward in favour of it is the fact that an inscription at Kanheri of Vâsishṭîputra II. states that his wife was the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa, whose name apparently began with "Ru." The identification of this "Ru" with Rudradâman becomes the more plausible since an interpretation of the passage in the Girnar inscription referring to Śâtakarṇi represents Rudradâman as having spared the Andhra king on account of his relationship to himself. If these points could be established, they would certainly go far towards determining the chronological relations of the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas. Unfortunately all we can say of them at present is that they are probable; we have no proof of their certainty.

In the first place, as Dr. Bühler remarks (Ind. Ant. xii. 272 ff), the "Ru" referred to in the Kanheri inscriptions need not necessarily be Rudradâman, as there may have been other Kshatrapas of that name. The fact of his being a Mahâkshatrapa is perhaps a point in favour of the identification, but, on the other hand, there is no proof that the name *Kârddamakarâja*, also borne by the individual in the inscription, was one of Rudradâman's.

Further, the interpretation of the passage in the Girnar inscription, which gives so much likelihood to the inferences drawn from that at Kanheri, must be accepted with reservation. Professor Bhandarkar ("Early History of the Dekkan") puts an entirely different construction upon it, so that if we accept his translation the identification of the "Ru" of the Kanheri Cave with Rudradâman loses some of its plausibility.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for establishing the synchronism between Rudradâman and one or other of the above-named Andhrabhṛityas, is drawn from numismatic and palæographic sources, for the letters in the Girnar inscriptions are, as Dr. Bühler says, the exact Thierpart of those in Vâsishṭîputra's inscription at out of ri; while coins of Gautamîputra II. found at Sopârâ, abandosely resemble those of Rudradâman, as to suggest by Dr. Orence that they were copied from them. This

evidence, however, scarcely proves more than the close proximity of these kings in point of time; it does not preclude the possibility of one of their predecessors being the Śâtakarṇi alluded to by the Kshatrapa king.

Even if, with M. Senart, we consider the agreement of these data sufficiently strong to justify us in drawing chronological conclusions from them, there is a point he has lost sight of in the argument by which he proves Chaturapana to be the Śâtakarṇi of the Girnar inscription. His list of the Andhras, beginning with Gautamîputra I., the contemporary of Nahapâna, is as follows:

Gautamîputra I. reigned 24 years.	A.D. 113–137
Vâsishṭîputra I. Pulumâyi 24 years.	137–161
Mâḍharîputra 8 years	161–169
Chaturapana Vâsishṭîputra II. 13 years.	169–182
Yajña Śrî Gautamîputra II.	182

It is true that these dates would allow of our making Chaturapana and Rudradâman contemporaries if we were sure of three things: 1st, that Rudradâman reigned until A.D. 175; 2nd, that he conquered the Andhra king between A.D. 169 and 175; and 3rd, that he cut the inscription at Girnar at the very end of his reign. I think it can be shown, however, that we are very far from being able to prove these points satisfactorily.

The date formerly assigned to Rudradâman by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl was A.D. 148–178. As long as Rudrasiṁha was his only known successor, with the date A.D. 181, this as an approximate attempt at fixing the limits of his reign answered well enough. But the case is altered now that we know from the Paṇḍit's numismatic discoveries with regard to the Kshatrapas (J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 639), that two rulers intervened between him and Rudrasiṁha, the second having the known date A.D. 178. Even with the knowledge that both reigns were short, it is necessary, in order to make room for them, to cut down that of Rudradâman by at least three years, and it is more than

probable that its later limit was nearer A.D. 170 than A.D. 175.

Even if, for argument's sake, we accept the later date to prove our point, we must suppose that the Girnar inscription was cut about that year and just after Rudradâman's conquest of the Andhra king, yet there is no evidence in the inscription—our only source of information on the subject—to warrant such an assumption. On the other hand, if Rudradâman's reign ended, as seems probable, about A.D. 170, it is hardly possible that he could have twice conquered the Andhra king in the brief space of one year, which he must have done if M. Senart's dates (A.D. 169–182) for Chaturapana are accepted.

But there is another way in which the synchronism between Chaturapana and Rudradâman might be established without throwing too much weight on arguments founded on insufficient evidence. Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl's list of these Andhra kings, based on his own numismatic discoveries, helps us out of the difficulty involved by the acceptance of M. Senart's list. He places Chaturapaṇa after Pulumâyi, and he infers, from his bearing the name Vâsishṭîputra, that he was Pulumâyi's brother and successor. Next, he places Mâḍharîputra, and last Gautamîputra, II., the son of Chaturapana.

Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. xii. p. 272), commenting on this list, changes the order, and referring to a former paper of the Paṇḍit's (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S., vol. xiv. 303 ff.) on the subject, points out that Mâḍharîputra's position in the group was proved by numismatic evidence, as he is known to have re-struck coins of Pulumâyi's, while coins of his own were in turn re-struck by Gautamîputra II. But while these facts may well be used as an argument for placing him after Pulumâyi, it is difficult to see how they determine his position as regards Chaturapana. We know nothing of his relationship to the other Andhras. He may just as easily have succeeded Chaturapana as preceded him. In either case it would not interfere with the relationship of the latter to Śrî Yajña. In fact, for

all we know to the contrary, Mâḍharîputra may have been the son of Chaturapana by a different wife, and elder brother of Gautamîputra II.

Accepting the Paṇḍit's conclusions, the list of the Andhras stands accordingly :

Gautamîputra I. reigned 24 years at least	A.D.	113–137
Vâsishṭîputra I. Pulumâyi, 24 years		137–161
Chaturapana Vâsishṭîputra II., 13 years		161–174
Mâḍharîputra Sirisena ? 8 years		174–182
Gautamîputra II.		182

By this arrangement, which, considering the scanty nature of the evidence, is quite as reasonable as the other, either Pulumâyi or Chaturapana may have been the Śâtakarṇi defeated by the Kshatrapa king. On the one hand Pulumâyi, like the others, bore the name of Śâtakarṇi, and in identifying him with the Andhra king mentioned by Rudradâman, we are not forced to make any arbitrary assumption in support of our view, as to the date of the inscription at Girnar. On the other, there is the evidence of the Kanheri inscription, which, while it points pretty strongly to Vâsishṭîputra II. as the king in question, cannot, for the reasons stated above, be looked upon in the light of positive proof of the fact.

Dr. Bühler, in the above-named article (Ind. Ant. xii. 272), remarks that we have no evidence that these five kings directly succeeded each other, but I think, as the list now stands, it is more than likely that they did so. This assumption is strengthened by the testimony of the W. Kshatrapa dates, and by the fact, now proved beyond doubt, that they reckoned by the Śaka era. This was denied by Dr. Bühler when he wrote, and he was consequently unable to make use of the synchronism between Gautamîputra I. and Nahapâna, though, at the same time, he admitted that the relation between Rudradâman and Chaturapana or Śrî Yajña must be made the basis of any attempt to reconstruct the Andhra chronology. But a

reconstructed Andhra chronology, starting from the date supplied by Gautamîputra's conquest of Nahapâna, which, I suppose, Dr. Bühler would now accept, renders it impossible, as we have seen, by his list of the kings, to make even Chaturapana contemporary with Rudradâman. Matters would not, therefore, be much improved by the insertion of one or two other kings.

Reviewing the evidence on all sides, and accepting Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl's arrangement of the group, it seems reasonable, until we have authoritative proof to the contrary, to conclude that these five kings succeeded each other in the order given, and that the length of reign, which their inscriptions allot to each, is on the whole fairly correct.

I have ventured to raise this question in the hope that one or other of the distinguished scholars to whom I have referred may be able to settle the point, which is of considerable importance for Indian chronology. If the suggestions I have ventured to put forward should be accepted, then the following table compiled from the sources mentioned above would give the dates of the five Andhrabhṛityas and their Kshatrapa contemporaries.

Andhrabhṛityas.	A.D.	Western Kshatrapas.	A.D.
Gautamîputra I. Śâtakarṇi	*cir.* 113–137	Nahapâna	*cir.* 110–126*
Gautamîputra I. destroys Nahapâna	126		
Pulumâyi Vâsishṭîputra I.	„ 137–161	Chashṭaṇa, contemporary and apparently successor of Nahapâna in A.D. 126. Ptolemy mentions him under the name of Tiastenes as contemporary with Pulumâyi	„ 110–140
		Jayadâman succeeded his father Chashṭana	„ 140–145
		Rudradâman (son) succeeded Jayadâman	„ 145–170 (?)
Chaturapana Vâsishṭîputra II. Śâtakarṇi	„ 161–174	Dâmazada	„ 170–175
Mâḍharîputra Sirisena ?	„ 174–182	Jîvadâman	„ 175–180
Gautamîputra II. Śrî Yajña	„ 182–211	Rudrasiṁha	„ 186–196

3. Amṛitānanda, the Redactor of the Buddha-carita.

Sir,—A recent letter received from Surgeon-Major P. Weir, Medical Officer and Assistant British Resident in Nepal, shows that a conjecture made in conversation between myself and Professor Cowell some months ago is substantially correct. Bearing in mind the Indian practice of reproducing the second half of a compound name in members of the same family, it occurred to us that Amṛitānanda might be an ancestor of my friend Pandit Indrānanda, the present Residency Pandit, and son of Guṇānanda, who was the translator of the "History of Nepal," edited by Dr. D. Wright.

The genealogy is as follows:

Sarvānanda
|
Rāmānanda
|
Amṛitānanda
|
Viçvānanda
|
(Çrī-) Guṇānanda
|
Indrānanda (present Pandit)
|
Mitrānanda

I have elsewhere noted that Amṛitānanda was not only a poet but also wrote on metres in a work (Chando'mṛitalatā), of which a copy exists at Cambridge, and in our Society's own collection.

Cecil Bendall.

June 14th, 1893.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1893.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

11th April, 1893.—Sir Raymond West, V.P., in the Chair.

It was announced that

Mons. Louis Finot, of Paris,

had been elected a member of the Society.

A list of books received since last meeting was read.

Prof. Minas Tchéraz read, in French, a paper on Saïat-Nova, Armenian poet. The paper is published in full in this issue of the *Journal*.

Anniversary Meeting, Tuesday, 9th May, 1893.—The Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

It was announced that since the last meeting—

1. Mrs. James Gibson.
2. Mr. A F. D. Cunningham.
3. The Hon. W. Rattigan.
4. Mons. de la Vallée Poussin

had been elected members of the Society.

A list of presents to the Society was read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read the

Report of the Council for the Year 1892.

The Council regrets to have to report the loss by death, or retirement, of the following seventeen members. There have died—

1. Mr. S. Austin.
2. Sir George Campbell.

3. Mr M. L. Deventer.
4. Mr. T. Fergusson.
5. Mr. W. H. Freeland.
6. Lieut.-General Sir Lewis Pelly.
7. Mr. T. K. Lynch.
8. Sir James Redhouse.
9. Mons. Renan.
10. Lord Arthur Russell.

There have retired—

1. Mr. P. Aganoor.
2. Major-General Anderson.
3. Colonel Acton Havelock.
4. Sir Roper Lethbridge.
5. Mr. M. V. Portman.
6. Mr. W. H. Verner.
7. Chevalier Vitto.

On the other hand, the following twenty-nine new members have been elected during the year :—

Resident Members—

1. Mr. A. Constable.
2. Mr. A. Rogers.
3. Lord Reay.
4. Miss M. E. V. Cust.
5. Sir Raymond West.
6. Shrimant S. K. Gaikwad.
7. Major J. S. King.
8. Prof. Minas Tchéraz.
9. Miss C. M. Ridding.
10. Mr. C. Johnston.

Non-Resident Members—

1. Mr. Nurāllāh Shāh.
2. Mr. G. V. Devey.
3. Mr. A. A. Bevan.
4. Rev. B. M. Morton.
5. Dr. J. Diaz de Leon.

6. Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John.
7. Mr. Bernard Houghton.
8. Mr. Mohammed Sufther Husain.
9. Mr. G. Tosco Peppe.
10. Mr. H. A. Stuart.
11. Mr. Hugh Clifford.
12. Mr. Percy Newberry.
13. Mr. Victor Constant.
14. Prof. H. C. Tolman.
15. Mr. J. C. W. Pereira.
16. Surgeon-Major Waddell.
17. Mr. S. E. Gopalacharlu.
18. Mr. W. H. Driver.
19. Mr. P. Sankaranarayana.

The membership of the following gentlemen, who are in arrears with their subscriptions, and who have not paid, though several notices have been sent them, has lapsed under Rule 46:—

Mr. Chitgupi.
Dr. Frankfurter.
Mr. P. V. N. Inderji.
Mr. Johnston, of Messrs. Allen and Co.
Mr. Lullobhoy.
Mr. Mirza Mehdi Khan.
Mr. Mukhopadhyaya.
Mr. Naidu.
Mr. Raghunatji.
Mr. Sadder Uddin Khan.
Dr. Torrence.

The Council regrets to say that they have lost the services of two of the distinguished scholars whose names appear in its list of Honorary Members. Fuller obituaries of these two scholars have appeared in our columns. But the Society may be reminded here that Sir James Redhouse, one of the greatest Turkish scholars of our day, was for some years Secretary of this Society; and that Mons. Renan was one

of the very greatest, if not indeed the greatest, living example of the union of profound scholarship and accurate knowledge with power of popular exposition and lucidity and brilliancy of style. The Council recommend that the vacancies thus created should be filled up by the election of Prof. Goldziher, of Buda Pest, and Mons. Henri Cordier, of Paris.

The comparative statement of the membership of the Society for the last five years stood, therefore, on the 1st of January, as follows:—

	Compounders.		Subscribers.				
Date.	Rest.	Non-Rest.	Rest.	Non-Rest.	Libraries.	Hon. Members.	Total.
1889 (Oct.) .	50	62	115	168	7	30	432
1890 (Oct.) .	48	62	112	179	11	30	442
1891 (Jan.) .	48	62	110	185	16	30	451
1892 (Jan.) .	48	61	110	187	23	30	459
1893 (Jan.) .	49	59	105	200	33	30	476

Since the appearance of the list in January last the following changes have taken place:—

<table>
<tr><td>Deaths and retirements .</td><td>1</td><td>—</td><td>3</td><td>5</td><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Elected . . .</td><td>48</td><td>59</td><td>102</td><td>195</td><td>33</td><td>30</td><td>467</td></tr>
<tr><td>—</td><td>—</td><td>2</td><td>6</td><td>4</td><td>—</td><td>12</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>48</td><td>59</td><td>104</td><td>201</td><td>37</td><td>30</td><td>479</td></tr>
</table>

It will be seen that the number of resident members has gone down from 115 to 104 in the course of the five years, but that on the other hand the number of non-resident members has risen from 165 to 201, and the number of

subscribing libraries has risen from 7 to 37. In both these latter cases the numbers are the highest as yet reached, and the increase in the number of subscribing libraries has not been gained at the expense of the sale of the Journal, as the figures for such sales are considerably larger this year than have ever been before.

The figures, as a whole show very clearly that the too prevalent notion that the Society is moribund has no foundation. The facts are quite the other way. The Society started in 1823 with 324 members. That number at first increased a little, but soon began to fall off, and gradually but steadily declined till in the year 1859 there were only 140 paying members. But then, when the Society really seemed as if it must shortly close its doors, it received a new life from the great interest excited by new discoveries, and especially those of Sir Henry Rawlinson in the field of Assyriology. In 1861 the number of 140 had been increased to 198, and remained within one or two of 200 for the following seven years. Then followed another long period of decline, till in the years 1875 and 1876 we had very nearly got back to the low water-mark of 140. From that time there was a slow but steadily uniform improvement during the whole of the eight years, during which Mr. Vaux was Secretary; and when he died in 1885 the number stood at 285. There was then again a short falling off. In 1886 the number went down to 262, and in 1887 was 267. But in 1888 it was again 281; and in every succeeding year this improvement has been maintained, till the Council finds from the figures now put before you that we have 305 paying members on our lists (besides the 107 compounders, and the 37 subscribing libraries, which bring up the grand total of membership to-day to 479, the largest total yet reached). The details for each year on which the foregoing summary is based will be found in the table suspended in the library; and where that table ends in the summaries of membership now published yearly with each report, and printed also at the end of the list of members in our January numbers.

The result is perhaps as satisfactory as could be reasonably expected, in spite of the slow but constant falling off in the numbers of our resident members who pay three guineas a year. We lose every year two or three more resident members than we elect, so that, though the number of resident compounders remains nearly stationary, that of the resident members who have not compounded has gone down in the last five years from 115 to 104—showing an annual decrease of nearly two. But the continual growth of our non-resident membership has so much more than counterbalanced this loss that the total annual receipts from subscriptions are now larger than they ever were. In the Journal for 1888, p. 414, a table was published showing the receipts from this source since the foundation of the Society. They were £505 on the average of the first ten years after the Society was started, then gradually sank to £368 in 1876, and have since risen nearly every year till the one under report, in which the accounts show £576 under this head.

It will be noticed that the total receipts show the same result as this one principal item. The table at p. 697 of our Journal for 1888 give the total income of the Society for each year since 1831. It was then a little over £1000, and after many fluctuations (falling one year, in 1859, as low as £570), it has in late years reached and passed the original £1000, until this year we show receipts above £1225, being the largest total since the year 1836—that is for more than half a century.

The actual amount shown is £1525 7*s.*, but this includes a balance of £84 8*s.* 7*d.*, and a sum received on capital account of £218 8*s.* 9*d.* A sum of £302 17*s.* 4*d.* ought therefore, for purposes of comparison, to be subtracted.

The Council venture to congratulate the Society on this improved state of the finances, which there is every reason to believe will continue. The proceeds of the sale of the Society's Journal, the whole of which went for so many years to the publishers, now fall entirely to the Society. And they show a continual and steady increase, being this

year £217, a much larger sum than they have shown in any previous year, as appears from the annexed table.

Receipts from Sale of Journal—

<table>
<tr><td>1864</td><td>£129</td><td>1879</td><td>£5</td></tr>
<tr><td>1865</td><td>16</td><td>1880</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>1866</td><td rowspan="6">nothing.</td><td>1881</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>1867</td><td>1882</td><td>1</td></tr>
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<tr><td>1876</td><td>1</td><td>1891</td><td>128</td></tr>
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So long also as the Journal continues to appear regularly and to contain important and interesting articles, so long is the number of non-resident members likely, slowly perhaps, but surely, to increase.

On the other hand, there is not at present much chance of any increase, except a small one from year to year, and the Council are very sensible that the Society cannot hope therefore, except in a very slight degree, to overtake the work which has fallen so far into arrear in the lean years now happily finally passed away.

In the first place, our large and important Library is almost entirely kept up by the generosity of chance donors. For half a century the amount spent on it, either in the way of supplying the many gaps in its shelves, or in providing proper catalogues and other necessary means to its proper enjoyment by our members, has been ludicrously small, and out of all proportion to the requirements of the case. A large number of the books presented are unbound. But the expenditure for binding has, in the years of the

Society's temporary poverty, been necessarily neglected for want of the funds required. From 1865 to 1878, a period of 14 years, there only appears in the accounts a total expenditure on the library of £64, or less than £5 a year. This year's accounts show an expenditure of £68 11*s.* (more than the sum expended in the whole of the fourteen years just referred to). Of this sum £42 has gone to binding, leaving, however, a great deal of urgent work in this department still undone. The Council hope to be able now to prevent the accumulation of any further arrears in binding; and have, therefore, made a special vote (beyond the sum required for current needs), for the binding of the newly presented Schrumpf collection of Armenian books. The Council have to congratulate the Society on this important and valuable gift, of which a full catalogue, most kindly drawn up by Professor Minas Tchéraz (who did so much to obtain the books for the Society, and who has himself added to their number), will appear in our October number. In this connection also especial mention should be made of two other valuable gifts. The first was the receipt of a box full of important works, chiefly on Siam, which the Society owes to the generosity of Mr. Satow, the distinguished representative of England in the capital of Monte Video. The promise of this gift was announced already in the last report. The second was the gift of a most beautiful set of Oriental carpets for the Library, which we owe to the generosity of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bhaunagar, a gift which has been very highly appreciated by all our members.

Apart from the arrears of binding another crying evil has been the want of a catalogue of our books and MSS. It has been the greatest pity that the Society has never yet been able to afford to meet this pressing necessity. As you are aware the Council have ventured, in the improved state of the Society's finances, to meet this want, and a sum of £12 4*s.* 3*d.* appears in the accounts under this head. The actual catalogue is now printed, and paid for out of current receipts, at a cost, at present, of about £130. The

catalogue of pamphlets, and an elaborate subject index, is now passing through the press, and the whole will very soon be in the hands of members. The Council are glad to take this opportunity of pointing out to the Society the great debt it owes to its Honorary Librarian, Dr. Codrington, who has taken the greatest interest in this undertaking, and has assisted it throughout both by valuable advice and by liberal, though unostentatious, labour.

The Council regrets that want of funds has prevented them from supplying other wants almost as pressing as that of a catalogue of our own books. But these wants are not lost sight of, and will, it is hoped, be at least partially met when the catalogue is off its hands.

The first of these is the quality of the Journal. As the members are aware the Council, in deciding on what articles shall appear, has to choose from such as may happen to be sent in. The Council are glad to say that the number and the scholarly qualities of the articles submitted to it has markedly improved of late. And they have now sufficient articles of the best quality for the whole of this year's issue. It was formerly necessary, from time to time, in order to fill up the Journal for each quarterly issue, to admit articles of secondary importance. Such necessity could be always avoided, and the departments of Notes and News, and of Book Notices, could be kept much better filled and more up to date if the Council could escape the necessity of depending on such papers as happen to be offered to it by going itself to distinguished scholars and asking for papers on special subjects, or for reviews of books. In this case, it is perhaps needless to point out, the Council would have to offer payment. For what the Society more especially wants—that is to say, either articles on historical subjects, or reviews, or interesting notes—are acceptable also elsewhere; and many scholars of established reputation naturally prefer to devote the little leisure they can spare from writing important books to work which will be paid for in the numerous periodicals and reviews that have now been started.

The second point is the proposed series of popular lectures.

An unhappy prejudice prevails, certainly to a large extent, that the Society is a kind of branch of the Philological Society, and that its principal care is to investigate remote languages and discuss points of grammar. This belief is as groundless as the other belief that the Society is moribund. As a matter of fact, our Rules state the Society exists "for the purpose of investigating the Arts, the History, and the Literature of Asia; and of facilitating intercourse with Eastern peoples by an accurate interpretation of their Customs, their Feelings, and their Beliefs." It is no doubt impossible to do this, and to do it accurately, without a knowledge of the language of the particular country and time with which a paper may deal. But the philology is with us, not the end, but the means to an end. That end is either, on the one hand, the solution of historical questions of the deepest human interest, or on the other, the practical aim of rightly understanding the existing ideas and beliefs of Eastern peoples. Neither of these aims can be reached without serious and trained scholarship; and many of the articles in our Journal must necessarily appeal to a limited circle. But the best scholarship is not all incompatible with a more popular statement of larger issues. And the Council hope to continue, when funds are available, the series of lectures which has already been so excellently started by the lectures of Professor Max Müller and of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff.

The third point, and the one on which the Council would lay most stress, is the publication of translations of Oriental books, not only as specimens of literature, not only or chiefly as exercises in philology, but as contributions to the materials on which alone an accurate history of the evolution of human institutions and of human ideas can properly be based. The generosity of one of our members, Mr. Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, has enabled a start to be made with this undertaking, to which the Council has devoted so much care and attention, only to find its intended action frustrated by want of funds. Mr. Arbuthnot has brought out two additional volumes this year, and it is hoped that the Society will

appreciate as fully as does the Council itself the value of the services which he has thus rendered to Oriental and historical research. The Society will also not forget that our President has been kind enough to offer the very substantial contribution of £100 towards the publication of a book of reference on an interesting period of Indian history, now being prepared by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas in Cambridge.

The Council will not be satisfied until these three points of the *Library, the Journal, and the Oriental Translation Fund* have been settled in a way that will satisfy the aspirations of scholars. But they feel that the best has been done that could be done with the limited means at its disposal, that those means are slowly increasing, and that there is a reasonable prospect of the Society becoming, not less, but more powerful and useful as the years go on.

The Council annex the annual abstract of accounts, and recommend the following officers for election for the ensuing year:—

1. By the rules of the Society, Major-Gen. Sir Alex. Cunningham, Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, and Major-Gen. Sir F. J. Goldsmid, retire from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend the election, as Vice-Presidents, of—

1. Prof. Cowell.
2. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.
3. Major-Gen. Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I.

2. By the rules of the Society the following five members, of whom two only are re-eligible, retire this year from the Council:—

1. Mr. Gibb.
2. Mr. Browne.
3. General Maclagan.
4. Mr. Kay.
5. Dr. Thornton.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1892.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers, January 1, 1892	82	17	8	84	8	7
do. Petty Cash	1	10	11			
Subscriptions—						
101 Resident Members at £3 3s.	318	3	0	596	2	0
3 „ „ (arrears)	9	9	0			
4 „ „ (in advance) ...	12	12	0			
91 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.	136	10	0			
10 „ „ (arrears)	15	0	0			
4 „ „ (in advance)... ...	6	0	0			
54 Members at £1 1s.	56	14	0			
4 „ (arrears)	4	4	0			
1 „ (in advance)	1	1	0			
3 Compounders' extra subscription at £1 13s.	4	19	0			
2 Compositions at £15 15s.	31	10	0			
Donation from the India Office	210	0	0	215	0	0
„ Lecture Fund (E. D. Morgan, Esq.) ...	5	0	0			
Dividends on N.S.W. 4 per cent. Stock	...		...	39	2	0
Journal—						
Subscriptions	137	12	3	217	17	1
Sale	62	3	3			
Sale of Index	1	1	6			
Advertisements	17	0	1			
Rents—						
Hellenic Society	45	0	0	152	11	0
Numismatic Society	42	10	0			
Aristotelian Society	13	13	0			
Mathematical	19	9	0			
Oriental Translation Fund	20	0	0			
Folk Lore Society	8	8	0			
Oriental Congress	2	10	0			
Small Meetings	1	1	0			
Fee for use of Library	...		...	1	10	0
Sale of Stock, less 11s. 6d. expenses	...		...	218	8	0
Miscellaneous Petty Receipts...	...		...		9	1
				£1525	7	9

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House—Rent	350	0	0	596	17	7
Insurance	4	0	0			
Water	9	10	0			
Gas	12	10	4			
Coals	2	10	0			
Income Tax	3	5	0			
Repairs	215	2	3			
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary ...	...		...	225	0	0
Journal—Printing	318	17	3	353	16	11
Illustrations	30	0	0			
Inventory	4	19	8			
Library—Books Purchased	14	0	6	68	11	3
Bookbinding	42	6	6			
Preparing Catalogue	12	4	3			
Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.	...		...	60	0	0
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing	...		...	15	9	8
Postage and Miscellaneous Expenses	...		...	69	16	10
Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1892	...		...	132	9	11
do. Petty Cash	...		...	3	5	7
				£1525	7	9

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct.
April 21, 1893.

H. C. KAY.
L. ASHBURNER.
J. KENNEDY.

In their place the Council propose for election—

1. General Pearse, C.B.
2. Dr. Gaster.
3. Dr. Thornton.
4. Mr. Ashburner, C.I.E.
5. General Maclagan, LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Lord Amherst: Lord Northbrook, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have just heard the Report of our Society for the year that is now past. Death has indeed been busy amongst our members, and, no doubt, like myself, many of those present have lost, by the hand of death, particular friends. I think the special allusion that has been made to Sir James Redhouse and Mr. Ernest Renan is well deserved in every way.

As regards our Society, we have, I believe, been in existence somewhere about 70 years, and although we have gone through the usual fluctuations which, I suppose, societies must expect, I think it is very satisfactory that we should now be able to say that we have more members than we have had for many years past—indeed at any time—and also that, if we are not extremely affluent, at any rate, as a body, as regards our finances we are sound and solvent. Science no doubt has fluctuations as well as societies, and we look forward to a great increase in our members when there are any special discoveries, such as those which the beginning of this century heralded, and those afterwards in Assyria, made by one who has contributed so much to this Society's Journal—Sir Henry Rawlinson—but I cannot help thinking that there is much in store for us still. We have lately had those startling discoveries of records found after being buried for 3000 years in the sands of Egypt at Tel-el-Amarna, which certainly have thrown a new light upon many points in the history of nations that were more or less obscure. And if we can devote some of our papers to bringing these subjects more before the public, I am sure the publication of the Journals of this Society will be sought for by those who are

outside this Society now, but who will become members in order to obtain them. There is also a very important discovery of a later age about which we are looking forward to the pleasure of hearing this afternoon. As far as regards the publications, no doubt they are of the utmost importance to us. I believe on the publication of the Journal of the Society depends, in a great measure, the success of the Society. Because, as is shown by the Report of the Secretary, the resident members who contribute more per annum to the funds are rather falling off, and they, of course, have the advantage of our Library, which is a most valuable one. But, on the other hand, the non-resident members, who would mainly interest themselves by reading the publications of the Society, are on the increase, and, although they pay a less sum, the revenue has been increased by them, notwithstanding the falling off of the resident members. I hope, therefore, that in order to be able to bring more members into the Society, we shall have such literary contributions, that our publications will be more widely read even than they have already been, and that not only will great Oriental schools continue to rise and take the place of those that have gone before them, but that also our Society may flourish and be the means of bringing other studies before the public in general by the transactions and Journal and translations of Oriental works, or whatever the Society may be able to afford.

I have much pleasure, therefore, in proposing that the Report of the Secretary be adopted. (Cheers.)

Sir William Hunter: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The pleasant duty has been assigned to me of seconding this Resolution, and I think I only express the opinion of the members present, I say "Members" as distinguished from the Council, that it has never yet been our privilege to listen to a more satisfactory Report. Not only have our members increased—not only is our financial position sounder—but there is a real life going on in the Society which, as a member of many years' standing, I do not remember

to have observed before. From my point of view, I am speaking rather as a man of letters and an historian than as a philologer—amongst the most interesting points that have been brought forward by the Secretary to-day are the increase in the circulation of the Journal, and its punctual production. I remember when I had the honour of serving on the Council the heart searchings with which that body very reluctantly made up its mind to take upon itself the heavy responsibility of the direct production of the Journal. Some of us thought that we were running a great risk, but having examined (as an ordinary member of the Society, because under the rules I went out of the Council some years ago) the Journals as they have issued since then, I should say if I had any objection to our Secretary's Report it is the modesty with which he spoke of the articles which now go to make up that Journal. We cannot expect that every Journal shall contain several monographs of a high scholarly type. New discoveries cannot always be forthcoming, but we can secure, and recent experience shows that the Journal does secure, a steady supply of interesting articles which appeal to a larger circle of readers than the articles of the old Journal used to do, and that our Journal is at this moment effecting much to disseminate a sound knowledge of Indian and Asiatic affairs.

In connection with this question of the Journal I think I may be permittted to say that the Society owes a very great debt to the close and persevering attention which the Secretary has given to the subject. (Hear, hear.) Without that close and persevering attention from the Secretary I do not think that the experiment of the Society in the direct publication of the Journal would have succeeded; and I feel sure that the words of hope with which the Report concludes will be realised. (Cheers.)

There is only one point to which I should like to ask the Secretary's attention, and that is for further information as to the exact function which this handsome gift of £100 is to perform in the production of the Cambridge History. The names of Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas are a sufficient

guarantee that the work will be of the highest class, and I think it would be interesting if, with the permission of the President, the Secretary could give us a little fuller information on that point.

I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution. (Cheers.)

The Secretary (Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids): The actual name of the work, with which I did not trouble the meeting, is the Srī Harsha Charita, which is a well-known Sanskrit work. It is the history of King Srī Harsha Charita; a history which, in the opinion of leading scholars, is one of the most important works we can publish. It is owing to the good services of the President that we have had the work put in hand, and that these gentlemen are engaged in translating it in Cambridge. They have not done it yet, but I hope shortly to see it published.

Sir William Hunter: Is it the text?

The Secretary: Only the translation.

The President: Does any other member of the Society present wish to make any observation on the subject of the Report? If not, it is moved that this Report be received.

[The motion was put to the meeting and carried.]

Sir Thomas Wade: Lord Northbrook, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have had entrusted to me the discharge of a duty which is generally, at all events in part, a very agreeable duty. I have to move a vote of thanks to our President, Lord Northbrook. (Cheers.) I said in part it was an agreeable duty, because on most occasions, so on this, the tender of a vote of thanks is equivalent to the announcement that the relations which attach the Society to its President are about to cease, so far as his occupation of that position is concerned.

Allusion has been made, both in our Report, and I think in the speeches of Sir William Hunter, to what may be considered the exclusivism that is likely to be thought to attach to a Society of this kind. There may exist the belief that its sole business is this or that branch of hard

study. I think there is a belief prevalent to that extent, and that it is also assumed that the President of a Society like this should invariably be a hard, and perhaps somewhat dry, scholar. When the time for the last election of a President approached, it was, I think, unanimously announced by the Council that while it would be to the advantage of the Society, if it were in its power, to lay its hand on one of those eminent Orientalists who have so distinguished its ranks—it would be to its advantage to secure as President a gentleman, not only of the highest social position, but one who would also bring with him the prestige of distinguished service as a politician. When Lord Northbrook was approached, he made the very natural answer that he was not an Orientalist, and that he did not feel he could be of utility in the position that was offered him. I think he admitted the force of the argument to which I have just referred—that it would be to the advantage of the Society that a man so distinguished as himself should preside over its destinies for a period at any rate usually assigned to a President's tenure, but I am bound to say the argument that appeared to have most weight with his Lordship was the conviction that he could be useful. (Hear, hear.) I can put it without doubt to those who have served, like myself, more or less on the Council under distinguished Presidents, to support me in affirming that his Lordship, as we expected, brought into our very limited arena those qualities that have distinguished him in various great Departments of the State, and as Viceroy of the Empire of India. (Cheers). We had a right to expect great assiduity, and assiduous attention to business, and that tact which is so essential in the conduct of the discussions in which all Councils of necessity engage, and it would be the least that I could say that the Council has certainly not been disappointed. From the first we have had as large a measure of attention to our affairs as could possibly be expected from a public man, occupying, whether in or out of office, an important public position. We have had, as was just noticed in our Report, evidence of his

sympathy with our proceedings—sympathy with the interests which it is the object of this Society to promote. I am sure that we must feel (at least I can certainly vouch for myself) that it is impossible not to feel a certain regret that the time has come when his Lordship has decided upon quitting us. But in departing he has yet rendered us one more service. I believe it is entirely owing to his interposition that he is about to be replaced by a nobleman in many respects as qualified as Lord Northbrook himself has been, by liberal education, by culture, by familiarity with the objects which this Society is formed to promote, by the tenure of high office in India, and who I cannot doubt will most satisfactorily replace his Lordship.

I beg to move a vote of thanks to our retiring President. (Cheers.)

Sir Raymond West: I have the honour to second that motion, and I am sure no motion has ever been brought before the members of the Society which would be more readily and cordially accepted than that which has just been made before you by Sir Thomas Wade.

For my own part, I have little to add in the way of substance to what Sir Thomas Wade has so well said to you, but perhaps I may be pardoned for uttering a few words of appreciation of my own in reference to the President. I happened to be present at Bombay at the landing of Lord Northbrook, and I remember very well, on that occasion, the thought came over me how strange it was that men living in the highest circle of British politics and statecraft, with wealth at command, and all the advantages which society could afford them, should throw themselves on the shores of India to devote a very appreciable part of their lives to laborious pursuits in an ungenial climate, and should expose themselves to risk of health and life. I felt that some of the old Roman spirit was still amongst men who were willing to undertake risks and discomforts of that kind, and from that moment forward I noticed the career of Lord Northbrook, even more perhaps than our countrymen at home did,

with particular interest, having at that time made his personal acquaintance, to my very great advantage. We all know now that he discharged his duties in India with a remarkable degree of ability, and he carried that country through a period of recuperation, but still a trying one, with great success to India itself, and to the nation. Now it is a great advantage, I think, to a Society such as ours, to be presided over by a nobleman who has so distinguished himself in the Government of India, and who, in other ways also, has won for himself a place in the history of his country. It is to the advantage of an institution like ours that its name should be connected in this way with the wider interests that affect the whole world, and which bring us into common sympathy, not only with our own country, but with the learned, and the makers of interesting discoveries in every part of the globe. I trust that his connection with a Society of this kind—comparatively humble as the sphere may appear, lowly as the duty that is cast on him may be—yet has been one not altogether disagreeable to a man so distinguished as our President. In fact, I may say I think that he has shown it is not so, seeing that he has presided over us with the same tact and high qualities of management and devotion to duty, that he has displayed in the discharge of duties on a greater scale. He has shown an interest in our affairs from which we have largely gained—I refer more particularly to the position he has taken up, and the services he rendered to us—(for it was more especially to us than any others) in the Oriental Congress held last year. (Hear, hear.) We all derived from his services on that occasion great advantage. We felt that our national honour was sustained amongst those who favoured us with their company and the presence of the great scholars of Europe. Thus the cause of scholarship and research in all parts of the world, and that this Society in particular, with which the Oriental Congress was so intimately connected, derived from Lord Northbrook's services distinct advantage, and from which we hope to derive marked benefit in time to come.

I beg you, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, to accept, most cordially the vote of thanks that has been proposed to Lord Northbrook.

Sir Thomas Wade: I beg to put the resolution that our thanks be presented to the President. [The motion was carried with acclamation.]

The President: I feel that the manner in which Sir Thomas Wade was kind enough to speak of me in connection with my relations with this Society is far above anything I could have expected. Sir Thomas Wade has very truly said that when he was so kind as to suggest that I should fill the high and important office of President of this Society, I hesitated very greatly to do so, and I confess that even now I think the office is one far more suited to a distinguished scholar, such as Sir Thomas Wade himself and other Orientalists who have preceded me in this Chair, than to one who has no pretensions whatever to being an Oriental scholar. The work of administration in English politics gives little time to those who discharge it to devote to the acquisition of accurate scholarship. At the same time, my connection with India, though it is some long time ago, and the interest therefore which I take in the East—more especially in India—makes it almost a duty for me to assist in any way I can, if it were thought my assistance were of any value, in the work of this Society. I feel that the very little service I may have rendered has been more than repaid by the pleasure which it has been to me to meet so many able men connected with Oriental learning at the monthly meetings of this Society—I may say, more especially, to be thrown in contact again with many distinguished men whom I have known in India, such as Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and others, and to see how many of the Indian Civil and Military servants continue to take an interest in the East, and are qualified by their studies and acquirements to fill the important office of member of Council of this Society. I trust that now, in India, though perhaps they are fewer than in the old

days, there are still many men in the Indian Service to take up the studies of the ancient languages of the East, and who may come to the work of this Society of learned men and other similar societies.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I may, perhaps, as this is the last time that I shall address this Society as President, say a very few words as to the position of the Society and the work of the last three years.

I will mention, in the first instance, one particular matter. At the meeting of the Council to-day I received a letter from our venerable and distinguished director, Sir H. Rawlinson, saying that it was with great regret that the state of his health was such that he could not attend the meeting, and also that it was such as to afford him very little opportunity to attend to the affairs of the Society, and he desired, therefore, to place his resignation in the hands of the Council. I am sure there is no one present who does not agree with the unanimous conclusion that the Council arrived at: To beg Sir Henry Rawlinson to allow his name to remain as a Director of this Society, which he expressed his willingness to do, if we wished him. It would have been a very great loss to the Society if one of our most distinguished Orientalists, and one who was the means of raising this Society to its present condition, had ceased to have his name connected with the Royal Asiatic Society. (Hear, hear.) I must say, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the office of President to this Society is not a very onerous one. I never came across better men of business than the great scholars who are Members of Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, or a better man of business than our Secretary. (Hear, hear.) I have found the work all well in hand, and the duty of President is really one that is very slight. We have had, since I have been President, Mrs. Sinclair as our Assistant Secretary and Librarian, and she resigned for a most excellent cause, namely, on her marriage. We have been fortunate enough to obtain the services of Miss Hughes to succeed her, a lady of very high qualifications, who is now undertaking an

edition for our Journal of an unedited Sanskrit manuscript of much interest and importance. This reminds me, Ladies and Gentlemen, that our atmosphere has been very serene since I have been President. No jealousy has been shown in the Royal Asiatic Society as to the presence of ladies, or as to their admission as fellows of the Society, such as was shown in one of our sister societies the other day. So far from that being the case, we have had most distinguished lady members of the Society who take a very prominent part in its proceedings. We had Mrs. Bode, who read a paper lately on the Sisters of the Buddhist order. That paper will appear in the next Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and I am told will be found to contain new information of remarkable interest. And to-day, I need hardly remind you, we have Mrs. Lewis, who is about to read us a paper on her most important discovery of an ancient MS. of the Syriac Gospels, which may be of great importance for the critical study of the New Testament.

A good deal is said in the Report about the Oriental Translation Fund, and I quite concur in what was said of Mr. Arbuthnot in this connection. It has long been the desire of the Society to re-establish the publications which distinguished the earlier years of this Society. Anyone who has read Dr. Max Müller's interesting article in the last "Nineteenth Century" on the subject of Esoteric Buddhism must have noticed what he—and no one can be a higher authority—says in respect of the great want of translations of the many MSS. which exist in the possession of this Society, the India Office, and the British Museum. It is to be hoped that others may follow Mr. Arbuthnot's example. There may be most valuable additions made to the History of India and the East generally if our translation should be further prosecuted.

to tal dare say many of you were present at the two studiesres given under the auspices of this Society. Pro- membe Max Müller gave us one of the most interesting India, vs ever delivered on the Antiquity of Oriental

History, while Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff — whom, I am sure, we are glad to have elected to-day as one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society—gave us a most interesting account of part of the Presidency of Ma'ras. The Society is very anxious to continue this course of popular lectures in connection with the Royal Asiatic Society. In fact, we had almost arranged with a very distinguished officer, Sir George Chesney, to deliver a lecture of the greatest interest on the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, and we still entertain the hope that Sir George Chesney may be able to deliver that lecture. The time has long gone by, and circumstances have so changed since the time of Alexander, that perhaps we can persuade Lord Roberts, who has just come back from India, to attend that lecture and assist us by giving some of his own remarks on the subject that might be very interesting, without exciting the jealousy of any foreign powers. We trust that Sir George Chesney's parliamentary duties will not prevent him from delivering the lecture which he has nearly promised to give us.

It has been mentioned in the Report, and also mentioned by Sir William Hunter, with great truth, that the main work of this Society is the work of the Journal. It is at once a record of the work that has been done, and of what is put before Oriental scholars, and it shows the use of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I could, myself, of course, take no part in such a matter, because I have not the knowledge to enable me to do so, but I think it goes very greatly to the credit of our Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, that so excellent a selection of articles should be given to the world as have appeared in our Journal the last few years. First, the late Sir James Redhouse published his last Essay in one of of our Journals in the year 1890. There were then most important articles published containing Mr. Woodville Rockhill's description of Tibet, with maps and plans giving a complete itinerary compiled from Chinese sources, and

checked, as far as possible, by his own travels. That is one of the most important articles of the year. All those, I think, who are interested in the Royal Asiatic Society, must be glad that the papers on Assyriology have been renewed. It is many years since a paper on that subject was published in the Society's Journal. As you all know, it was through this Society's Journal that Sir Henry Rawlinson's work was first brought to the notice of the public, and the Society have been very glad to open its columns to young and promising scholars, such as Mr. Pinches and Mr. Strong, who have published most useful articles on that interesting study. I might also mention, in connection with these, two articles by Major Conder, the Palestine explorer, who has endeavoured to decipher some ancient Hittite and other documents of remote antiquity. His papers, no doubt, will give rise to an interesting discussion as to the correct interpretation of these documents.

During the period I am dealing with a very important and ancient document has been discovered—I mean the Bower MS.—and this has been discussed in our columns in letters by Dr. Morris and Professor Bühler. The mention of Dr. Morris's name makes it necessary for me to add that by a most unfortunate accident his sight has been greatly affected, to the great sorrow of his friends and fellow-workers.

The next important and interesting article I may mention is one by Mr. Granville Browne, of Cambridge, on the curious Bábí books giving, I think, the only full and correct description of that most curious and interesting sect in Persia.

I must not omit to mention two articles by Professor Rhys Davids on the history of Buddhist thought in India. They are most valuable, and give an account of the ethical views of the leading minds of India in those remote times, the effects of which remain, I believe, even to the present day in the different schools of philosophy that now exist in India.

Lastly, to show what our work has been in the last three

years, I should allude to the catalogue of the MSS. (Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Tibetan) in our Library. Though it is very short, it enables scholars to know what books we possess, and I think all will agree that in this a good work has been done.

During this time we have assisted at the Oriental Congress of last year, which was very satisfactory. It was attended by most distinguished scholars from all parts of Europe, and it may be interesting to you to know that the proceedings of that Congress are now in process of being printed, and are very nearly ready for publication. We had at the Congress a great honour done to those assembled, by Mr. Gladstone having written a paper for the Congress. He intended to read it himself, but there happened to be reasons connected with the change of Government which caused him to be occupied in other matters. It is an Essay on the relation of the Greeks to the East. We may, I think, claim the Prime Minister as sympathetic with the objects and purposes of this Society, and that is a matter of some consequence, for though Lord Amherst was kind enough to say we were solvent, our balance sheet shows we pay our way; and Sir William Hunter also congratulated us on the condition of our finances, yet I think it would be to the great advantage of the Society if we could have some little accession to our funds to enable translations to be undertaken, and catalogues and other matters to be carried on a little more quickly. I trust my successor, who replaces me in this office, will be able, with authority, to place it before the Government that this is nearly the only one of the learned societies which does not receive a moderate subvention from the State. I endeavoured to persuade the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the late Government to take the view that I put before them, that although it was true that the Secretary of State, from the revenues of India, gives us some contribution, yet the Imperial Government, notwithstanding the enormous interest this country holds in the East, has not thought it desirable to give to this Society that moderate contribution which other societies receive.

We had, I think, a donation at one time, but no annual contribution is given to this Society. Therefore, I trust, that my successor may be enabled to make, what I was unable to do, a successful application to Her Majesty's present Government in this matter.

I feel, Ladies and Gentlemen, a regret that this Society has not been in some way incorporated with, or affiliated to, the Imperial Institute, the opening of which is to take place to-morrow. But some negotiations took place before I was President, and I believe there was no indisposition on our part, if proper terms were offered us, to have connected ourselves with that Institution.

I think what I have said comprises a slight sketch of the work that has been done during the last three years. I can only say for my own part that although my connection with it has been exceedingly slight, I have felt the greatest interest in the whole work of the Society.

Now the task I have left to me is a very easy one. I have been told, and I believe that it is the custom with the President of this Society who holds office for three years, to propose to the Society the name of someone to take his place. You have already been told by one of the previous speakers that a Nobleman, whom I asked, has kindly consented to be my successor—namely, Lord Reay, who was recently Governor of the Presidency of Bombay. Always supposing that the Council are still infatuated enough to think that someone who is not learned as an Orientalist should preside over one of the most learned bodies in London, I think that they could not make a better selection than Lord Reay. I have known him for many years, and from his general culture and the addresses he has made from time to time, when Governor of Bombay, on educational subjects, which Sir Raymond West may recollect—and other work he has done in that respect, he has shown the keen interest that he takes in science of all kinds. Probably there is no one who has recently returned from governing an Indian Presidency who has shown, during the whole of

his career, a greater interest in the people of India and a keener sense of the real sympathy that a man in that position should feel with everything connected with those masses of people, who for a time have been placed under his rule. I am sure in Lord Reay this Society will have a President in many respects far more suitable to fill that office than I can pretend to be, and a keen and active supporter of their best interests.

I have, therefore, to propose for your acceptance, the election of Lord Reay as President of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Cheers.)

Dr. Thornton: Sir Henry Rawlinson was to have been here to second the proposal, but is unfortunately prevented from attending. In these circumstances the duty of seconding the motion has devolved upon a very unworthy substitute. But I feel that I am expressing the feeling of all present when I say that we deeply regret losing the services of Lord Northbrook; but if we must lose his services there is no one we should welcome more heartily than Lord Reay.

The President: I have to propose that Lord Reay be elected as President of the Royal Asiatic Society for three years. (Cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

I understand Lord Reay was to have been here to take the Chair now in my place, but we have received a telegram that he is detained upon a Royal Commission, so he is unable to be present; but I have a communication from him, and he expresses the same kind of feeling that I myself had when I accepted office. He desired me to say that he would be very proud to accept the office of President.

I will now ask Mrs. Lewis to read her paper.

Mrs. Lewis then gave a short account of the palimpsest MS. of the old Syriac Gospels, lately discovered at Mount Sinai. The writing that overlaid the Gospels was a martyrology of women saints of 777 A.D. The underlying Gospels are written in two columns. The photographs which she

had taken on her first visit were not sufficiently clear, and it was some time before they could be deciphered, and then it was shown that a new codex of the Gospels had been discovered. The four Gospels were there with the exception of about eight pages of St. John. The Gospel of St. Mark concluded with the eighth verse of the sixteenth chapter. Besides the upper writing and the Gospel the book was made up of three or four other MSS., which they had not time to examine thoroughly, one of which was Greek and the others Syriac. They had also made a catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic books in the convent, and examined all the other books except a few Hebrew ones. The Greek books were kept in a most lamentable state, packed in chests, and some in a dark cupboard, in which also the palimpsest had been found.

The Secretary: I think, my Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen, that we are much indebted to Mrs. Lewis for her paper, and the explanations which she has been kind enough to give us. She has brought exceedingly valuable photographs from Cambridge purposely to show us, of a most interesting kind (hear, hear); and the Society should be much obliged to her for the trouble she has taken in the matter.

It is particularly interesting to find English ladies who are scholars going to an old monastery and hunting up these MSS. I am afraid our friends, the Geographical Society, will be rather shocked; but, as the President has pointed out, we are very glad to take notice of such a fact. It is also very encouraging to know that in spite of the way in which the Libraries of the world have been studied and ransacked for so many years by so many scholars, yet important things of all sorts are constantly turning up. In my own line, which I know best, I take the discovery of the Bower MSS. to be a most happy augury. Lieut. Bower was riding across the deserted site of an ancient and forgotten city, and going into a hut he put his hand into a niche and pulled out a book which was found to be of the greatest import-

ance. I am sorry to say that our Indian discoveries are not treated in this glorious and gorgeous fashion in which Mrs. Lewis has been able to exhibit her discovery—we do not get them up with photographs of so elaborate and complete a kind. But as we now learn that her important discovery has been made in a place which had been thoroughly searched through before, let us hope, therefore, that the days of further historical discoveries of similar importance are not far off. We may still hope to have new finds as interesting as this that has been made by Mrs. Lewis and explained to us by her to-day.

The President: We desire to express, on behalf of the Society, our great thanks to Mrs. Lewis for reading her paper and for the trouble that she has taken in bringing all these interesting photographs for us to see.

The proceedings then terminated.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xxvii. Heft 1.

Brockelmann (C.). Die Griechischen Fremdwörter im Armenischen.

Goldziher (Ign.). Der Diwān des Ǵarwal b. Aus. Al-Ḥuṭej'a.

Pischel (R.). *Αἴξ τὴν μάχαιραν.*

Bühler (G.). Ueber das Alter der Rasikasaṃjīvinī des Königs Arjunavarman.

Nöldeke (Th.). Bemerkungen zu den Aramäischen Inschriften von Sendschirli.

De Goeje (M. J.). Einiges über den Imām aš Šāfi'ī.

Lewy (H.). Griechisches und Römisches im Talmud.

Weber (A.). Ueber die Kāvyamālā.

Kégl (A. von). Zur Geschichte der Persischen Litteratur des 19 Jahrhunderts.

Bhandarkar (R. G.). History of Child Marriage.

Nestle (E.). Zum Namen der syrischen Bibelübersetzung Peschitta.

Neisser (W.). Entgegnung.

2. Journal Asiatique. N.S. Tome 1er. No. 1.

Sauvaire (H.) et J. de Rey-Pailhade. Sur une *Mère*d'astrolabe arabe du xiiie. siècle portant un calendrier perpétuel avec correspondance musulmane et chretiènne.

Basset (René). Les Inscriptions de l'Île de Dahlak.

Féer (L.). L'énfer indien.

De Harlez (M. C.). Le Yi-King au viie. siècle avant J.C.

III. Obituary Notices.

The following obituary is taken from the *Academy*, May 27th:—

Frederic Salmon Growse.—We regret to record the death of Mr. F. S. Growse, one of those Anglo-Indians who, both by learning and by sympathy, have left a name that will be remembered in the East. He died on Friday, May 19, at Haslemere, where he had taken up his abode only a year or two ago, on his retirement from active service.

Frederic Salmon Growse was born in 1837 at Bildestone, a village in south-west Suffolk, being the third son of Mr. Robert Growse, a gentleman of good position. He was educated at Oxford, matriculating at Oriel in 1855, and gaining a scholarship at Queen's in the following year. He was placed in the first class in Moderations, and in the second class in the Final Classical School. Among his contemporaries were the present head-master of Rugby (at his own college), and Sir Charles Crosthwaite (now member of the Governor-General's Council). In 1859 he passed the competitive examination for the

Indian Civil Service, and was posted to the North-Western Provinces.

Mr. Growse at once devoted himself to studying the language and literature of the people, as a means to render himself a more sympathetic administrator. The two districts where he served longest were Mathura and Bulandshahr—the one an ancient seat of Hinduism, the other a centre of Muhammadan nobles. Mr. Growse's interests were decidedly with the former. He first became known as an ardent defender of the purity of the vernacular Hindi, as opposed to the official Hindustani. This led to a controversy with Mr. J. Beames, in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which was continued for some years. Now, owing to the labours of Dr. Hoernlé and Mr. Grierson, there is no fear that the several vernaculars of Northern India will fail to receive due attention.

Mr. Growse wrote two important books, both of which were published by the Government Press at Allahabad, and abundantly illustrated with photographs reproduced by the Autotype Company. *Mathura*: a District Memoir (1880) is an enlarged edition of a local manual which first appeared six years earlier. Partly through the special attractiveness of its subject, and partly by reason of the enthusiasm of the author, this stands out as the most permanently valuable monograph that has been written on an Indian district. The archæology begins with Buddhist or possibly Greek remains; the architecture ends with a Roman Catholic chapel, built by Mr. Growse himself on oriental models. There are also interesting chapters on Hindu sects, and on the etymology of place-names. The second book is an English translation of the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das (1883), which also had previously appeared in parts. This poem is a sixteenth century adaptation of the great Sanskrit epic, and occupies the place almost of a Bible among the people of the North-Western Provinces. Finally, Mr. Growse published *Bulandshahr*; or, Sketches of an Indian District,

Social, Historical, and Architectural (Benares, 1884). This is chiefly interesting as showing how he was able to transfer his sympathies from a Hindu to a Musulman population, when the requirements of a bureaucratic régime compelled his removal. Though never a *persona grata* to his official superiors, Mr. Growse was gazetted C.I.E. on New Year's Day, 1879.

Dr. H. Wenzel.—We very deeply regret to have to announce the sad news of the sudden death on Friday, the 16th of June, by blood poisoning, of Dr. Wenzel, well-known as an Oriental scholar of unusually wide attainments. He was most generous in placing his gifts, and especially his unique knowledge of Tibetan, at the service of others, and his sad loss will be a great blow to many. We hope, in our next issue, to pay a fuller tribute to a fellow-worker of so much promise.

IV. Notes and News.

The Jātaka Mālā.—Dr. Otto Franke, of Berlin, calls my attention to the fact that the considerations on the age of the Jātakamālā, given on p. 334 (end), had already been made by Prof. Zachariae, in the Götting. Gelehrte Anz. for 1888, No. 12, p. 850.—H.W.

Chinese.—The Academie des Inscriptions, at its meeting on May 26th, awarded the Stanislas-Julien prize of 1500 fr. for the best work relating to China, to Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie, for his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins* (early period).

"*Indian Wisdom.*"—The well-known work so-called, in which Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams has given a very interesting sketch of the part of Indian Wisdom contained in Sanskrit books, has just been re-published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., in a fourth and revised edition. Though it omits the very important contributions to Indian Wisdom, which we owe to the greatest of all Indian thinkers and writers, it is a carefully compiled and most useful book.

Aramaic at Cambridge.—The Board of Studies at this University has recommended the appointment of a separate University Lecturer in Aramaic at a stipend of £200. Hitherto the teaching of Aramaic was entrusted to the late Professor Bensly. It is encouraging to notice that a teaching body which has no professor either of Ancient History, or of the History of Religious Beliefs, or of Pali and Buddhist History, or of Assyriology, or of Ægyptology should, nevertheless, have appointed a teacher of Aramaic. Perhaps the larger subjects will receive recognition in time.

Arabic at Cambridge.—Mr. A. A. Bevan, M.A., M.R.A.S., has been appointed Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic at Cambridge, in succession to Professor Bensly.

Sir Richard Burton.—Lady Burton's biography of her husband will fill two large volumes, with maps and portraits and copious extracts from his diaries. It is nearly ready.

Haridās Ṣāstri.—By the death of Paṇḍit Haridās Ṣāstri, the Director of Public Instruction in Jeypore, India has lost a Sanskrit scholar of great promise and a highly talented educationist, says a contemporary. The Pandit, who died on the 15th January last, was only thirty-three years of age, but the work of educational reform which he had inaugurated in Jeypore had already attracted attention throughout India. He had made a valuable collection of Jain and Buddhist manuscripts, and intended to issue a series of publications bearing on the Jain religion. Mr. Ṣāstri had received many titular honours from the learned societies of Europe, and has left a valuable library, which it is hoped will be carefully preserved in the interests of Eastern scholarship (Journal of the Maha-Bokhi Society).

Assyriology at Cambridge.—Mr. S. Arthur Strong will deliver two courses of lectures this term on Assyriology. The subjects are "The East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar" and "Selected Bilingual Texts."

Borneo.—We would give our hearty welcome to an important volume on "Borneo, its Geology and Mineral Resources" (London: Stanford), which we owe to Dr. Theodor Posewitz, of Buda Pest, and which has been

translated from the German by Dr. Hatch, of the Geological Survey. After a short account of the discovery and present political divisions of the island, the work gives a full summary of previous work on the same lines, and then discusses in great detail its geography (180 pages) and minerals (220 pages). The whole is preceded by a very careful bibliography of the island, and is accompanied by three large maps and several plates.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LE ZEND-AVESTA; Traduction nouvelle avec Commentaire historique et philologique. Vol. I. la Liturgie (Yasna et Vispéred). Vol. II. la Loi (Vendîdâd), l'Épopée (Yashts), le Livre de Prière (Khorda Avesta). Vol. III. Origines de la Littérature et de la Religion Zoroastriennes, Appendice à la Traduction de l'Avesta (Fragments des Nasks perdus et Index). Par JAMES DARMESTETER. (Paris: Leroux, 1892–93.)

These three quarto volumes (xxi. xxii. and xxiv. of the Annales du Musée Guimet) embody the results of many years' preparatory studies, during which Prof. Darmesteter has fully exhausted all available sources of information regarding the religious books of the Parsis. And the work is a monument of erudition, in which the painstaking and methodical habits of the scholar are enlivened by the vivid imagination and brilliant eloquence of the writer. If ever the dry bones of religious formulas are to be made lively, it must be in some such mode as we find adopted in these volumes.

Throughout the work, the translations are accompanied by a running commentary, contained in a nearly equal bulk of short footnotes, which can be generally neglected by the general reader, but will be of much value to the Avesta scholar; while further useful information is given in special introductions and appendices to particular sections

of the work, which even the general reader ought to find interesting.

In the Liturgy more materials for amending the text have been discovered, during the last twenty years, than for any other part of the Avesta. These materials have been fully utilised by Prof. Darmesteter, and, by translating the rubrics, he has made the ritual much more intelligible. This first volume has also a general introduction, descriptive of the history of Avesta studies, the interpretation of the Avesta, the priesthood, the ritual, and the materials for translating the texts.

For translating the Law, the Epics, and the Avesta Prayers the author has had very little more material available than he had for his English translations in the "Sacred Books of the East," vols. iv. and xxiii.; but ten years' further study has enabled him to adopt many improvements. The introduction to this second volume is short, and refers only to the texts to which it is prefixed.

The third volume contains both text and translation of all the undoubtedly genuine Avesta Fragments that the author has been able to collect; nearly two-thirds of which have not hitherto been edited. To these are added translations of a Patit, an Âfrîn, and a Prayer to Ormazd, as specimens of Pâzand prayers. And the volume commences with an important and highly interesting Essay upon the origin of Zoroastrianism and the formation of the Avesta, in which the author states the conclusions to which his exhaustive studies have gradually led him.

To these volumes most readers, who are not Avesta scholars, will undoubtedly owe their first clear ideas of the contents of the whole Avesta; and they seem likely to remain, for a long time to come, the standard work on the subject. But, if it be the intention of the author to publish a more popular edition, omitting the purely scientific notes, it would be well for him to wait until his work has been fully and minutely criticised. It will take years for scholars to fully digest the mass of materials and facts that he has collected, and, during the progress

of criticism, several doubtful points may require reconsideration.

In his use of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, and of the assistance to be derived from Pahlavi and Persian literature, Prof. Darmesteter is nearly always judicious. But one cannot help feeling that he is too much disposed to treat all such assistance as of nearly equal value. All Avesta scholars of the "Vedic school," who have really studied Pahlavi, are now disposed to attach much importance to the Pahlavi version; but, like myself, they find difficulties in its ambiguous words and phrases, which limit its utility. The Sanskrit version is, of course, practically a translation of the Pahlavi, as understood or sometimes misunderstood by Nêryôsang, at a time when Pahlavi was much neglected by the Parsi priesthood in India. And general Pahlavi literature has been affected, more or less, by foreign influences varying in effect on each work, so that its testimony has to be received with great caution. Whether any translator in difficulties can always afford to be sufficiently cautious is a matter which every reader of translations has to bear in mind.

But it is with regard to his opinions about the origin and development of the Avesta that Prof. Darmesteter must expect the most searching criticism. Admitting, as he does in vol. iii. p. ii., that on more than one important point he has had to content himself with mere hypotheses, it would have been far safer to wind up the brilliant summary of his opinions, in pp. xcvi–c., by reminding his readers of these hypotheses, than to leave them to infer that he had thoroughly convinced himself that his conclusions were all founded upon indisputable facts.

It is evidently impossible to subject an essay of 100 quarto pages, overflowing with facts and hypotheses, to any real criticism within the limits of this article. I must therefore confine myself to a brief and dry summary of the opinions expressed, and then merely point out a few of the matters that do not appear to have been fully considered.

Prof. Darmesteter's conclusions, arranged in chronological order, seem to be as follows:—Before the Achaemenian period a religion arose among the Magian priests of Media, in which faith Ahura Mazda, Mithra, the divinities of the four elements and of lightning, the storm-serpent, and Haoma-worship were of Aryan origin; while dualism, with its contest and the final triumph of Ahura, the four trimilleniums of time, the resurrection, the idea of extreme purity, and the disposal of the dead were merely Iranian (pp. lxxiii. xcvi. xcvii.). Whether this religion possessed books and whether it was propagated by Zarathushtra are uncertain, but both are probable (pp. lxxxii. xci.). If any religious books existed they were lost during Alexander's invasion of Persia (B.C. 336) and the subsequent period of Greek rule. The Ashkânian king Valkhash (Vologeses I. A D. 54–78) began the restoration of religious writings, and, in his time, the Gâthas were probably composed in a language already dead—perhaps that of Arachosia (p. xc.)—because the Avesta names on the Indo-Scythian coins are already in Pahlavi, and *Shaorêoar* on coins of Huvishka (A.D. 110–130) = Pahl. *Shahrêvar*, is the equivalent of the Gâthic phrase *Khshathra vairya* which must, therefore, have existed before that date (pp. lxxxvi–lxxxviii.); but if the idea of *Vohu Manô* comes from the school of Philo, the Gâthas could not have existed before the Christian era, but may have been composed in the first century after, which was the date of Valkhash (p. lxxxviii.) Afterwards, Ardashîr Pâpakân (A.D. 226–240) employed the high-priest Tansar to reconstruct the religious books. This priest's name is converted into Bishar (by mere alteration of the diacritical points) in the existing MSS. of Mas'ûdî's "Meadows of Gold," where he calls him a Platonist. A Persian translation (A.D. 1210) of an Arabic version (before A.D. 762) of a Pahlavi letter (about A.D. 230) from this Tansar is preserved in a History of Tabaristân, and shows that neither Tansar or Ardashîr would have had any scruples about altering old texts to suit their modern views. Further books on scientific matters were collected and

incorporated with the Avesta in the reign of Shâpur I. (A.D. 240–271); and Shâpur II. (A.D. 309–379) had the orthodox doctrines settled.

The chief difference, between this theory and the traditional statements contained in Pahlavi literature, is that the Dînkard describes the successive restorations of religious writings as collections and arrangements of all fragments of the old texts that were still extant, either in writing or in the memory of the priesthood; whereas the theory describes some of the restorations as almost completely new inventions. This difference, between re-editing and forgery, may perhaps be assumed as one merely of extent, because any arrangement of old fragments into a consistent whole presupposes some insertions of connecting passages. But the wilful forgery of the central documents of a religion, which must have been committed under the observation of a watchful and conservative priesthood, is a totally different affair, not only as to morality, but also as to possibility. All that can be admitted at present, without further proof, is that a good case has been made out for consideration, inquiry, and criticism, with the possible result of obtaining clearer ideas of the origin of the Avesta than we at present possess.

The mainspring of the revolutionary hypothesis as to the forgery of the Gâthas, in the first century A.D., is the resemblance of some of the ideas they contain to a few of those held by Neo-Platonic philosophers, such as Philo. How far this resemblance may be accidental, or how far it may be due to borrowing, is quite a matter of opinion. But, before we allow such resemblances to interfere with the reputed age of the Gâthas, it is surely necessary to show the absolute impossibility of these ideas having been borrowed from the Persians by the Greeks, during three centuries of uninterrupted intercourse. Will any Greek scholar undertake to prove this negative to the satisfaction of Orientalists? Always remembering that the Dînkard asserts that one copy of the original scripture, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, was translated into their language (p. xxi.).

It should also be noticed that the character of Tansar, even if he were a Platonist, as stated 700 years after his time, does not affect the question; because the Gâthic *Khshathra vairya*, one of the ideas apparently common to the Gâthas and to Philo, is found on Indo-Scythian coins, in its Graeco-Pahlavi form *Shaorêoar*, more than a century before Tansar was employed by Ardashîr Pâpakân.

It is for this reason that it has been necessary to put back the composition of the Gâthas to the time of Valkhash (A.D. 54–78), when, after 400 years of adversity, the Zoroastrian religion still retained sufficient vitality and influence to induce that sovereign to take measures for the discovery and preservation of its sacred writings, the official copies of which were said to have been lost during Alexander's invasion. The continuance of the religion implies the continuance of an active and powerful priesthood during the four centuries of adversity, as well as a continuance of the religious rites which would secure the preservation of the liturgy in the memory of the priests, even if it had not been committed to writing.

What we are asked to believe is that a committee of such priests, called together for the purpose of restoring their sacred books, deliberately ignored the liturgy that must have been constantly on their lips, and proceeded with the difficult task of forging a new liturgy and compelling the whole of the priesthood to adopt it. A single determined opponent would manifestly have occasioned a schism; and it is difficult to conceive any sufficient reason for such a forgery. As both the old and the new liturgies must have been in a dead language, practically unknown to the people, the change could have no effect on their faith. Again, as the national language appears to have been Pahlavi, it is reasonable to suppose that the ideas, intended for the forged Gâthas, would be first conceived in Pahlavi and then translated into the dead language adopted for the Avesta; so that the Pahlavi version, despite all appearances to the contrary, ought to be considered as the original text, slightly modified at each

subsequent revision. It is also singular that the forgers of the Gâthas appear not to have been satisfied with going back to the time of Darius Hystaspes for the name Aûramazdâ, which he uses in his inscriptions; but they have adopted the older separate titles Ahura and Mazda, and use them most commonly in the reverse order Mazda Ahura (see J.R.A.S. for 1890, p. 508).

With regard to the Keresâni episode in the Hôm Yasht (Yas. ix. 24), if there were any absolute certainty that Keresâni represented Alexander, the obvious explanation would not be that the whole Yasht was written after the time of Alexander, but that § 24 had been interpolated at the time of one of the restorations of the texts, as it has no real connection with the context, either before or after it. That such interpolations have sometimes been made by revisers of the Avesta, as well as by those of other sacred books, either for the purpose of connecting detached fragments, or for other reasons, is very probable; and it is the business of the critic to detect them, but not to condemn the whole text on their account.

The reputation of Prof. Darmesteter, as a careful and accurate scholar, is so deservedly high, that his opinions may be widely adopted without due consideration. I have therefore thought it desirable to suggest a few of the more general difficulties which beset his hypothesis; leaving all the more technical objections to be brought forward by more competent Avesta scholars. But the problem of the origin of the Avesta, like that of the age in which Zarathushtra lived, is probably indeterminable in the present state of our knowledge.

It is hardly necessary to say that the hypothetical character of some of the author's opinions, regarding the origin of the Avesta, does not lessen the value of his translations in the slightest degree, because he has not allowed those opinions to have any perceptible influence upon either translations or commentary.

May, 1893. E. W. West.

ETUDE SUR LA ZENATIA DU MZAB, DE OUARGLA ET DE L'OUED-RIR. Par RENÉ BASSET, Professeur à l'Ecole supérieure des Lettres d'Alger. 8vo. Pp. xv. et 275. Paris: Emile Leroux, 1893.

This is a scientific and practical work on some Berber dialects spoken in South-Eastern Algeria, to which are added, for the sake of comparison, many words of the purer dialect spoken in the Jebel Nefusa, Tripoli; this latter, by the way, being practically the same as the Jebeli or Dyebayli, of which I give in the present number of the Journal an unpublished vocabulary. The Mzabi and Wargla dialects have been already more or less fully investigated, and the reader will find here an extensive and useful bibliographical list: the Wadreagh dialect is illustrated here, for the first time, as having once been the dialect of Tuggurt, now spoken only in three or four small places; the Nefusi dialect is known only by some texts supplied by M. de Calassanti-Motylinski.

With further reference to his handbook of the Kabayl language, which, as I have already pointed out, is in itself a comparative grammar of the Berber dialects, the author has deemed it sufficient to note here the few discrepancies exhibited by the above-named dialects: this is a very expedient process, as it saves any tedious repetition. Then follows a very extensive French-Berber vocabulary of the illustrated dialects, with numerous and useful references, chiefly to Prof. Masqueray's comparative vocabulary of the Mzabi dialect. The texts show a great variety of tales and songs, and are very interesting, not only from the linguistic point of view, but also to the folk-lorists, with numerous and elaborate references to the general folk-lore, with which the author is so well acquainted. The Berber-French vocabulary is likewise highly interesting, and, moreover, Prof. René Basset has completed his work by reprinting some previous notices of those dialects, by Shaler, Samuda, Hodgson and Duveyrier, which are since long out of print and scarcely

available to the general reader. To conclude, this new volume is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the Berber dialects.

TH. G. DE G.

DIE SOMALI-SPRACHE. Von A. W. SCHLEICHER. Erster Theil. Texte, Lautlehre, Formenlehre und Syntax. 8vo. Pp. xvi. und 160. Berlin: Th. Fröhlich, 1892.

The author has deemed it convenient to inform the reader that his grammar is based on scientific principles, and not at all intended for practical purposes, as any practical handbook in German had become superfluous "since this unlucky treaty with England had closed the North of East-Africa to Germany." I am, indeed, at a loss to understand why a scientific grammar could not be as practical as any other, or why a practical grammar could not be as well scientific; but never mind.

The texts consist of fables, proverbs, stories and songs, with interlinear and free translations, the whole being completed, fortunately enough, by a good deal of usual phrases, which seem to have had a narrow escape from the disaster that has befallen the intended practical handbook: so much the better for the reader. In spite of its scientific turn, the grammar seems to be elaborate and accurate, and also clear enough, though it is doubtful whether the author's many criticisms on Capt. F. M. Hunter's *Grammar and Vocabularies of the Somali Language* are fully supported by the facts.

In a previous work, the author has asserted, as a matter of fact, the close relationship between the Pul and Somali languages, and of this I want to say a few words, based on his Somali grammar and on my own knowledge of the Pul language. The Somali roots consist of two consonants, with a vowel inserted between them: so are also the Pul roots. But, if we take the meaning into

account, we will have to record only a few instances of more or less doubtful identity, as:

Somali.	Pul.
war (man), *ʿori* (woman).	*gor-qo* (man), root *ʿor-*.
gel (camel).	*geloba* for *gel-o-mba* (camel).
had (to steal).	*ʿuj-* (to steal).
qad-ad (bitter).	*had-* (to be bitter), plur. *gad-*.
ʿar (to run).	*ʿar-* (to come).
toban (ten).	*tyapan-* (ten).

Perhaps the vocabulary will bring some more instances, though I have not been able to find more than four or five in Hunter's, as:

guri (village, hamlet).	*ʿuro* (village), plur. *gure*.
qulli (heat).	*ʿul-* (to be warm), plur. *gul-*.
gajo (hunger).	*hoj-* (to be hungry), plur. *qoj-*.
gaḍ (to arrive).	*ʿaḍ-* (to bring), plur. *gaḍ-*.

As it will be seen, all these instances of identity are of a very doubtful character: nevertheless, they may become interesting, were they to increase both in number and quality. With regard to the grammatical features, as far as I can judge by myself, there is not the least relationship between the two languages, and there is no ground at all for any comparison between them. But I must note here a rather curious fact: the Somali demonstrative-affixes consist, as in the Wolof language, of a variable consonant, to which is added a different vowel, according to the distance of the object referred to, as (in order of distance):

Somali.	Wolof.
dibi-ga, dibi-gi, dibi-go (the ox).	*nag-vi, nag-vu, nag-va* (the ox).
ʿori-da, ʿori-di, ʿori-do (the woman).	*jigen-ji, jigen-ju, jigen-ja* (the woman).

I will not draw any inference from this fact, at least for the present, as it would require more consideration than I can afford here.

Th. G. de G.

DIE BEDAWYE-SPRACHE IN NORDOST-AFRIKA. Von LEO REINISCH. I. (Texte). 8vo. Pp. 74. Wien: F. Tempsky, 1893.

In his preface, the author explains why he has at last resolved to publish his own materials on the Bedawye language, despite the existence of a previous work by Prof. H. Almkvist: first, as I have myself already pointed out, there are no texts at all to illustrate the grammatical theories of the Scandinavian compiler, and I have always wondered at his being able to write such an extensive grammar without any texts; in fact, I had nearly doubted the accuracy of his work. But, then, and this is far more serious, it appears now that Prof. H. Almkvist had only dealt with a peculiar dialect of this interesting language; and Prof. Leo Reinisch tells us plainly that he would have done better to publish his work under the title: "The Bishari Dialect of the Bedawye Language:" in the light thrown upon the subject by the present publication of texts in various dialects, there can be no doubt that Prof. H. Almkvist's work is no more to be relied upon as "ein ausgezeichnetes Werk," however accurate it may be with reference to the peculiar dialect dealt with.

The texts just published by Prof. Leo Reinisch are very interesting, consisting of numerous stories and colloquial phrases in three dialects. We look forward to the publication of his grammar as one likely to prove less extensive, less tiresome, and more comprehensive than Prof. H. Almkvist's.

TH. G. DE G.

HOW THE CODEX WAS FOUND: A Narrative of Two Journeys to Sinai. By MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON (Cambridge: Macmillans). Small 8vo. pp. 141, with two plates. 5s.

This interesting little work gives an account, much fuller, of course, than appears above in our present issue of

the discovery of the palimpsest MS., of which Mrs. Lewis exhibited the photographs at our May meeting. There is a full description of the ancient monastery itself, and of its curious and valuable library, with extracts from the accounts of earlier travellers, and a detailed narrative of the two journeys undertaken by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, first in search of the MS., and afterwards with the object of taking the necessary steps towards the preparation of a critical edition of the ancient text so happily recovered. The whole is a very charming narrative of an important literary discovery, which is of especial interest, as being due to the self-sacrificing zeal of two lady scholars.

ANCIENT INDIA. By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E. With two Maps. 12mo. pp. 188. (London: Longmans. Price, 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This volume is the first of a series of small handbooks on Indian History being edited by the principal of Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. The attempt to deal with so long a period (B.C. 2000–A.D. 800, as the title page has it) in a tiny volume of this sort is bold. But the author has literary skill of a high order, and has succeeded in producing a very readable and, on the whole, reliable summary of early Indian History. The little work does not appeal to scholars; and the complete absence of any reference to the best sources, to which readers might go for more detailed accounts, will much impair the usefulness of this manual, even to readers who do not lay claim to exact scholarship. It is put together, however, with so much knowledge and sense of proportion that we can recommend it very cordially to those who want a brief and trustworthy outline of Indian life and thought before the Muhammadan conquest. Subsequent volumes are to deal with the Muhammadans, the Mahrattas, the Dravidians, and, lastly, with the British power in India.

A HISTORY OF CURRENCY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES. By ROBERT CHALMERS. 8vo. pp. 500 (The Stationery Office).

This carefully compiled volume gives a summary of the history of the currency in each of thirty-eight colonial dependencies of England. The last six chapters deal with Cyprus, India, Ceylon, Mauritius, Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements. The materials, drawn almost exclusively from official sources, but supplemented by contemporary tracts and colonial histories, give an exact statement of the very complicated variations of the currency in each colony. And the introductory chapter draws attention to the conclusions that may be drawn from the very various experiments in currency that have been tried from time to time (and usually without any knowledge of what had been done elsewhere) in our widely separated dependencies.

The chapters on our Eastern possessions are of course the ones to which our readers will naturally turn. They do not attempt to deal with the coins, or the coinage previous to European settlements. But nowhere else will be found either so clear or so complete an account of the currency of India, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements since that date. The history of the rupee, and of the discussions as to establishing a gold currency in India, are particularly interesting, and every statement made is carefully vouched for by quoted chapter and verse. The whole is full of references of the greatest value to anyone interested in the currency question in India, and will no doubt become a standard authority used by all writers on the subject.

There is an appendix containing a reprint of important official documents, and of legislative acts, and also summaries of allied currency questions in Europe and America. Especially noteworthy in this respect for our Indian readers is the explanation of the silver question in the United States.

VI. Additions to the Library.

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Lamairesse (E.). L'Inde avant le Bouddha. 8vo. *Paris*, 1892.
„ La Vie du Bouddha suivie du Bouddhisme dans l'Indo-Chine.
Gray, (J.). Buddhagosupatti. 8vo. *London*, 1892.
Huxley (Professor). Evolution and Ethics. *London*, 1893.
Neumann (K. E.). Der Wahrheitpfad. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1893.

From the Authors.

Floyer (E. A.). Ètude sur le Nord Etbai. 4to. *Caire*, 1893.
Ussèle (L.). À travers le Japon. 8vo. *Paris*, 1891.
Schlegel (G.). Desultory Notes on Japanese Lexicography. 8vo. *Leyden*, 1893.
Cordier (H.). Bibliotheca Sinica. Tome 1. Fasc. 1, 2. Tome 2. Fasc. 4, and Supplement. Fasc. 1.
Lacouperie (T. de). Prèmiere Introduction de la Civilization Occidentale en Chine (vers 2282 av. n. e.) d'après les legendes et les traditions. Pamph. 8vo. 1892.
On the Corean, Aino and Fusang Writers. 8vo. *London*, 1892.
Posewitz (Dr. Th.). Borneo; its Geology and Mineral Resources. Trans. from the German by F. H. Hatch. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

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Gibson (Mrs. J. Y.). How the Codex was Found. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1893.
Seidel (A.). Hindustani Grammar. Post 8vo. *Wien*.
Dutt (R. C.). Ancient India, 2000 B.C. to 800 A.D. Post 8vo. *London*, 1893.

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Broughton (T. D.). Letters from a Mahratta Camp.
8vo. *London*, 1892.

Voelcker (J. A.). Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture. 8vo. *London*, 1893.

Danvers (F. C.). Portuguese Records.
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Chalmers (R.). History of Currency in the British Colonies. Imp. 8vo. *London*, 1893.

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Lacouperie (T. de). Catalogue of Chinese Coins from Seventh Century B.C. to 621 A.D.
Imp. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

From the Royal Library, Berlin.

Ahlwardt (W.). Verzeichness der Arabischen Handschriften im K. Bibl. zu Berlin. 4[er] Band.
4to. *Berlin*, 1892.

From the St. Petersburg Academy.

Wiener (S.). Catalogus librorum impressorum Hebraeorum in Musee Asiatico Imperialis Academiae Petropolitanae asservatorum. Opera et Studie. Fasc. 1.
4to. *Petrop.* 1893.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVI.—*Dyebayli Vocabulary, from an unpublished MS. A.D.* 1831. Edited by TH. G. DE GUIRAUDON, M.R.A.S.

Introduction.

ABOUT the middle of the year 1887, having bought from Dr. R. N. Cust a lot of books and papers relating to the African languages, I found amongst them a Gebilee and Bornoo manuscript Vocabulary, very carefully written on three double sheets of rough paper: on examining it, the Gebilee proved at once to be a Berber dialect, spoken in the mountainous region lying about 50 miles S. of Tripoli, and extending 150 miles in a direction from W.SW. to E.NE. However, inasmuch as I was then engaged in another part of Africa, I had not at first attached much importance to this document; but, later on, having sent it for inspection to Prof. René Basset, of Algiers, this eminent scholar urged on me the necessity of publishing my manuscript, the peculiar dialect to which it refers having not yet been illustrated; at the same time, he sent me some valuable Notes, which have greatly helped me to extricate myself amongst many inaccuracies.

The word *Gebilee*, as written by the compiler, or *Dyebayli*, as I prefer to write it, is the name given to the inhabitants of the mountainous region I have alluded to: it is obviously the Ar. جبايلي (mountaineer), from جبل (mountain). I would suggest here that, by a not unlikely change of initial consonant, this word has become قبايلي *Qebayli*, now applied to the inhabitants of another mountainous region further West, known as Kabylia; in fact, I consider *Dyebayli* and *Qebayli* as being practically one and the same word. The explanation of this latter word, as given by Baron de Slane, who derives it from the Ar. قبيلة (tribe), appears to me to be quite worthless. Why should the Kabayls have been especially called "tribes," which has no meaning at all, instead of being naturally called "mountaineers," like their kindred in the East? And why should not the other Berbers have been also called "tribes"? In a later stage of linguistics, when the etymological science shall no more rest upon mere resemblances of words, my suggestion will perhaps prove to be right: at least I think so.

The Dyebali dialect is closely akin to the dialect spoken in the Dyebel-Nefusa, which is only a part of the same mountainous region: in fact, these two dialects, till yet almost unknown, are practically the same, as will be seen from the comparisons in the Vocabulary.

Who was the compiler of my manuscript? Probably some reverend gentleman, whose name, written in pencil on the first leaf, has been erased so as to render it quite illegible. It was compiled about the year 1830, as shown by a Note written on the back of the third leaf and dated "Dec. 30, 1831."

The Dyebayli words are transliterated in three different ways, first in Arabic characters, then in Roman characters with the Italian spelling, and finally in Roman characters with the English spelling, so that little doubt can remain

how the compiler had heard these words or how he thought to have heard them. I have preserved the Arabic transliteration quite unchanged, with its variations and inaccuracies, wherever it exists in the manuscript; but, without altering the words as given by the compiler, I have melted the two Roman transliterations into one, the vowels to be pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as in English. To this column I have added only a few explanations between brackets.

My Corrections, Notes and Comparisons are given in a separate column, and I have placed at the end some further grammatical Notes, which, I hope, will be found useful. The good in all these notes is due to Prof. René Basset, and I am only responsible for the general disposition and for the mistakes I may have made. The words marked kab. are borrowed from P. Olivier's Dictionnaire français-kabyle; the others are borrowed from Prof. René Basset's various publications: those placed first, without any mark of origin, are my own corrections of the manuscript. Whether I have been right, throughout, remains to be seen. I have done my best.

As this little Vocabulary is likely to be used by French scholars, I have thought it convenient to give the French words in the last column.

London, February, 1893.

P.S.—In the Roman transliteration, I have made no difference between ت and ط, as the reader may refer to the Arabic transliteration. Moreover, *gh* stands sometimes for *g*, as *oghur* instead of *ugur*.

Dyebayli Vocabulary.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Afterward	بَعْدَس *baadas* (after-it)	*baad*; ar. بعد	Après.
Against	دودونِس *dudunis*(against-him?)		Contre.
Angry	كالا لنعوبا (?)		Colère, adj.
Another	واياط *wayat*[8]	kab. *wayedh*; Dy. Nef. وايط, *wayit*	Un autre.
Bad	يِشْيِين *yishyin*		Mauvais.
Barley	تمزين *tamzin*	kab. *thimzin*; Dy. Nef. طمزين *tamzin*	Orge.
Beans	آوُّون *awwun* (*pl.*)	Siwah, *ewawen*; Wargla, *aw* (sg.); kab. *ibawen*.	Haricots.
Belly (full)	كُمْبْلا *chumbla*	Bornu word erroneously entered here	Ventre (plein).

Between	اغوراسن *aghorasn* (between-these?)	اغارسن *aghar-asen*; kab. *gar*; Dy. Nef. اكَار *agar*	Entre.
Body	بَدْنِنَس *bednines*(body-of-him)	*bedn-in-es*; ar. بدن	Corps.
Boy	بوشيل *bushil*	ber. *abushil*; Dy. Nef. ابوشيل *abushil* (enfant)	Garçon.
Bread	غْرُوَم *ghruwam*	kab. *aghrum*	Pain.
Brother	رُمُّو *rummu*	Dy. Nef. رومو *rummu* (*ru* fils, *ummu* mère)	Frère.
Butter	دِنِلِي *dinili*		Beurre.
Buttermilk	اِغِي *ighi*	kab. and Mzab, *aghi** (lait aigre)	Petit-lait.
Cheese	تاماسَرْد *tamasord*	vulg. ar. مسرد (couler)?	Fromage.
City	لْمدِينْت *lmedint*	ar المدينة; kab. *thamdint*	Ville.
Cold	كاكوا *kakwa*	(Bornu word?)	Froid.
Colt	ابودى *abudi*	Mzab, *abadyu* (bête)	Poulain.
Dates	تينى *tini*	Wargla, *tini*	Dattes.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Day	اس *as*	Dy. Nef. اس *ass*	Jour.
Dog	يودى *yudi*	kab *aydhi*	Chien.
Earth	اَدُنَت *eddunet*	ar. الدّنيا	Terre.
Eye	طِيط *tit*	Dy. Nef. طيط *tit*	Œil.
Face	وُدم *udum*	kab. and Mzab, *udem*	Face.
Father	*baba*		Père.
Fever (very sick)	زْغَل *zghol* (heat ?)	kab. *azghal* (chaleur)	Fièvre.
Flesh	ايسان *isan*	Dy. Nef. يسان *isan*	Viande.
Fool (Be)	تبليد *tablid* (2 p. sg. aor. ?)	*taḥblid* (tu es fou), from *aḥbel*; kab. *habel*; ar هبل	Fou (Etre).
Foot	تار *tar*	طار *tar*; kab. *adhar*; Wargla, دار *dar*	Pied.
Formerly	سِلانا *sillana*	cf. Mzab, *silla* (puisque)	Autrefois.
Fountain	تِيَاتْنا *tiyetna* (pl. ?)	طِيط *tit*; kab. *thanith*; Dy. Nef. تيط *tit*	Fontaine.

Girl	تْبُوشِلْد *tbushild, tbushilt*		Fille.
Gold	دهب	ar. ذهب	Or.
Good	فالح * يزعم *falih ; yizaam*	*malih* ; ar. مليح	Bon.
Grapes	*zorin*	kab. *thizurin*	Raisins.
Great	مَكّر *mekker*	*meqqar* ; Dy. Nef. امقران *amoqran*	Grand.
Hand	*ufos, ufs*	*afus, afes* ; Dy. Nef. افوس *afus* (and *afes*)	Main.
Head	يِغُف *yighuf*	*ighef* ; Dy. Nef. يغف *ighf*	Tête.
Here	داه *dah*	*da* ; kab. *da*	Ici.
Honey	*tamimt*	kab. *thamemth*; Mzab, *tamemt*	Miel.
Horse, Gelding	أَغْمَار *aghmar*	Awjila, *aghmar*	Cheval (entier).
House	غاجى *ghaji* ; *taddert*	Mzab, *taddart* et *tiddar*	Maison.
Hungry (Be)	لَزَغ *lozogh* (1 p. sg.)	*loz* ; Dy. Nef. لاز *laz*	Faim (Avoir).
In	ديس *dis* (in-him)	*di* ; kab. *di* ; Dy. Nef. دي *di*	Dans.
Iron	زال * زيل ; *zel, zil*	ber. *uzal* ; Mzab, *uzzel*	Fer.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Little	مشكن *meshkin*	*meshek*; Dy. Nef. مشك *meshek*; cf. kab. *amezyan*; zenaga, *mayzug* (être petit).	Petit.
Man	آتّرس *atras*	B. Menacer, *atherras*	Homme.
Mare	تَغمَارت *taghmart*	kab. *thagmarth*	Jument.
Market	*suk*	*suq*; kab. *suq*; ar. سوق	Marché.
Milk	حَلبب	ar. حلب (lait doux)	Lait.
Moon	زيرى *ziri*	Mzab, *tiziri*	Lune.
Morrow	جتّشَاه *jitshah*	*yitsha*; B. Menacer, *aytsha*; Dy. Nef. زجا	Lendemain.
Mountain	درَار *drar*	ber. *adrar*; Dy. Nef. درار *drar*	Montagne.
Mouth	إيمى *imi*	kab. *imi*; Dy. Nef. يم *im*.	Bouche.
Night	دياط *dayat* (here-night ?)	ياط *yat*; *da-yat* (ici-nuit); Dy. Nef. يط *yet*	Nuit.

Nose	تنرال *tinral*	*tinzar*; Mzab, *tinzert*.	Nez.
Now	تبرو *tiru*	kab. *thura*; Dy. Nef. ترو *tiru*	Maintenant.
Olives	زمور *zmur*	*zemmur*; kab. *azemmur*	Olives.
Over	دونغاس *dunghas* (over-it)	*dennigh-as* (au-dessus de lui)	Sur.
People	يدان *yudan*	Dy. Nef. يودان *yudan*; Nuba, *nb*, *uddu*	Gens.
Sheep	لحاون *lhawan*	*hayvan*; ar. حيوان (animal)	Mouton.
Silver	فجرت	نقرت *noqort* (?)	Argent.
Sister	*wiltum*	kab. *ultema*; Mzab, *ultma*	Sœur.
Snow	تبروری *tebruri*	Dy. Nef. تبروری *tebruri*	Neige.
Star	ترى *tri*	kab. *ithri*; Mzab, *itri*	Etoile.
Stone	دغاغ *dghagh*	kab. *adghagh*	Pierre.
Sun	تفوت *tufut*	Dy. Nef. توفوت *tufut*	Soleil.
Table	*sofrat*	*sofra*; ar. سفرة (table à manger)	Table.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Tent	برغن *birghin*		Tente.
There	ديانا *diyana*	kab. *dinna*, *dihinna*	Là.
Thither	إندينا *indeyna*		Là-bas.
Thirsty (Be)	فدغ *fadogh* (1 p. sg.)	*fad*; kab. *fad*; Dy. Nef. فد *fed*	Soif (Avoir).
To-day	اسو *asu* (day-this)	*as-u* (jour-ce); kab. *assa*	Aujourdhui.
To-morrow	يتشاه *yitshah*	*yitsha*; B. Menacer, *aytsha*	Demain.
Tooth	سين *sin*	Dy. Nef. *ismen* (dents canines)	Dent.
Tooth (Molar)	تغمس *tighmes*	kab. *thughmesth*; Mzab, *tighmest* (incisive)	Molaire.
Water	امن *amen*	kab. *aman*; Dy. Nef. امن *amen*	Eau.
Wheat	*yirdan*	*irdan*; kab. and Mzab, *irden*	Blé.
Where	ماني *mani*	Dy. Nef. ماني *mani*	Où.

Woman	تماطوط *tmattut*	kab. *thamettuth*; Dy. Nef. *tmettut*	**Femme.**
Year	سوغيس *sughis*	kab. *asegwas*; Dy. Nef. سوگاس *suggas*	**Année.**
Yesterday	يدّنات *ydunnat* (night-other)	يط اناط *yet ennat* (nuit autre); kab. *idh ennodh*; cf. Mzab, *as ennadh* (jour autre)	**Hier.**

Verbs.

Be	*illa* (3 p. sg. aor.)	*ili*, aor. *illa*	**Etre.**
Be able		*zemr*; kab. *zemer*	**Pouvoir**
Come	*yusud* (3 p. sg. aor.)	*as id*; kab. *as ed*; Dy. Nef. اس د *as d*	**Venir.**
Drink	أدسُواغ *adsuwagh* (1 p.sg.fut.)	*suwu*; kab. *suwu*; Dy. Nef. سو *su*	**Boire.**

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Eat		*itsh*; kab. *etsh*	Manger.
Fear	يتّاغد *yittaghid*	*itagid*, fr. *agid*; kab. *itagad*; Dy. Nef. تگد *tagged*	Craindre.
Give	أكفكغ *akifkagh* (I give thee)	*ifk*; kab. *efk*.	Donner.
Go	سداوغورغ *sadoghorugh* (1 p. sg. pr.)	*oghor* and *oghur*; ber. *egur*; Dy. Nef. اكر *agur*, *ugur*	Aller.
Mount	*akifkogh* (I give thee)	*uli*	Monter.
Must		*ilzim*; kab. *ilzem*	Devoir(être obligé)
Remain		*qim*, aor. *iqim*; kab. and Dy. Nef. *qim*.	Rester.
Return		*tas id*	Revenir.
Rise	إكّر *ikkir*	*ekker*; kab. and Dy. Nef. *ekker*	se Lever.
Say, Tell	*	*emal*; Dy. Nef. *emal*	Dire.

See	زريغت * شِبْحَغ *zrighit* ; *shibhagh*	*zir* ; kab. and Dy. Nef. *zer* ; *zerighit* (je l'aivu); ar. شبهة (ressembler)	Voir.
Sit down	قِيم *qim*	*qim*, aor. *iqim* ; kab. *qim*	s'Asseoir.
Sleep	اِيسغ *itsogh* (1 p sg. aor.)	*its* ; kab. and Dy. Nef. اطس *ettes*	Dormir.
Speak	حكيغ *hakigh* (1 p. sg. aor.)	*akka*. ar. حكى (conter); *utlay*	Parler.
Stand	اكّرغ *akkarogh* (1 p.sg.aor.)	*akkar*, rather *ekker*	se Tenir debout.
Strike	أُوَوْط *urut*	*orut* and *urut* ; kab. *uth* ; Nuba, *ush*, *wush*	Battre, Frapper.
Take	*agh*	*agh* ; kab. and Dy. Nef. *agh*	Prendre.
Take away	أَوِدْ * أخ *awid* ; *akh*	Mzab, *awi*.	Emporter.
Wish		*asug* ; Zenaga, *esug*.	Désirer, Vouloir.

Gender of Substantives.[1]

English.	Dyébayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Man	إتّراس *iterras*		Homme.
Woman	نماطّوط *tmattut*		Femme.
Horse	اغمار *aghmar*		Cheval.
Mare	تَغْمَارْة *taghmart*		Jument.
Brother	رُمُّو *rummu*		Frère.
Sister	ولْتمُو *wiltmu*		Sœur.
Dog (He-)	يودى *yudi*		Chien.
Dog (She-)	تودية *tudit*		Chienne.
Boy	بوشبل *bushil*		Garçon.
Girl	تبوشلة *tbushilt*		Fille.
Good, masc.	يِزعم *yizaam*		Bon, m.
Good, fem.	تِزعَم *tizaam*		Bon, f.

Great, masc.	مَقَّر *moqqer*		Grand, m.
Great, fem.	مقربة *moqqrit*		Grand, f.
Little, masc.	مشكن *mushkan*	*meshek*	Petit, m.
Little, fem.	مشكنية *mushkanit*	*meshekit*	Petit, f.

Number of Substantives.[1]

Boy	بوشيل * يبوشيلين *bushil, ibushilin*		Garçon.
City	لمدينة * لمدين *lmdint, lmdeyin*		Ville.
Eye	طيط * طيطوين *tit, tittweyn*	*tit, titawin*	Œil.
Face	أدم * أدموين *udm, udmawen*		Face.
Foot	طار * بطارن *tar, itarn*		Pied.
Girl	تبوشلة * تبوشيلين *tbushilt, tbushilin*		Fille.
Hand	أفس * يفسّن *afos, ifossen*	Dy. Nef. *afus, ifassen*	Main.
Head	يغف * يغفوان *yghuf, yghfuwan*	Dy. Nef. *ighf, ighfawun*	Tête.
House	غاجي * غاجيون *ghaji, ghajiwan*		Maison.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Man	اترس * يترشن *ateras, itrasn*		Homme.
Mare	تغمرة * تغلين *taghmart, tighallin*[2]	Dy. Nef. *teghallith, teghallin*	Jument.
Mountain	درار * يدورار *drar, idurar*	Dy. Nef. *drar, idurar* and *draren*	Montagne.
Star	ترى * يترا ن *tri, ytran*		Etoile.
Stone	دغاغ * يدغاغن *dghagh, yidghaghn*		Pierre.
Tent	برغن * يبرغان *birghn, ybirghan*		Tente.
Tooth	سن * يسنين *sin, ysinin*		Dent.
Tooth (Molar)	تغمس * تغماس *tighmes, tighmas*		Dent molaire.
Woman	تمطوت * تسدنان *tmettut, tsednan*[2]		Femme.
Year	سوغس * سوغاسن *sughis, sughasn*	*sugas, isugasen*	Année.
Dog	يودى * يطان *yudi, ytan*	Dy. Nef. pl. يطان *yitan*	Chien.

Pronouns.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
I	*nitsh*		Je.
Thou, masc.	*shik*		Tu, m.
Thou, fem.		*shem*	Tu, f.
He	*nit*		Il.
She	*nïit*	*nitet*	Elle.
We	*nitshin*		Nous.
Ye, masc.	*shakwan*		Vous, m.
Ye, fem.		*shakwant*	Vous, f.
They, masc.	*nitan*	*niten*	Ils.
They, fem.		*nitent*	Elles.
Mine	*winnu*[3] (= *win-inu*)		Mien.
Thine, masc.	*winnik*		Tien.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Thine, fem.		*winnem*	Tien (en s'adressant à une femme)
His, Hers	*winnis*		Sien, Sienne.
Ours	*winnagh*		Nôtre.
Yours, masc.	*winnwan*		Vôtre, m.
Yours, fem.		*winnwant*	Vôtre, f.
Theirs	*winnsin*	*winnsen*	Leur.
Beat me	*wutid*	*wuti* [4]	Bats-moi.
I beat thee	*nitsh eskotugh*	*nitsh es* (?)*-ak wutugh* [5]	Je te bats.
Beat him, her	*wutit* (= *wut-i d*)	*wutet*	Bats-le, -la.
Beat us	*wutanagh*	*wutagh*	Bats-nous.
I beat you		*nitsh es-awen wutugh* [5]	Je vous bats.
Beat them	*wutten*		Bats-les.
My hand	*ufs innu*	*afus-inu* [6]	Ma main.

Thy hand	*ufs innik*	*afus-inik*	Ta main.
His, Her hand	*ufs innis*	*afus inis*	Sa main.
Our hands	*ufs ininnugh*	*ifassen-inagh*	Nos mains.
Your hands	*ufs ininwin*	*ifassen-inwen*, fem. *-inwent*	Vos mains.
Their hands	*ufis ninsin*	*ifassen-insen*, fem. *-insent*	Leurs mains.
Thy brother	*rummik*	*rummik*[7]	Ton frère.
His brother	*rummis*	*rummis*[7]	Son frère.
Thy sister	*wiltumik*	*wiltumik*[7]	Ta sœur.
Thy father	*baba innik*	*baba-inik*	Ton père.
Who?	*mamur*	*mamu*	Qui?
Who will go?	*mamur sayughur*	*mamu sad-yughur*	Qui ira?
Each, Every, all	كل	arabic	Chaque, Tout.
This	*sah*		Ce.
That man	*atrasi*	*aterras-ih*; ber. *atras-u*	Cet homme.
Some	*elbaat*	ar. البعض	Quelque.
Other	*wayet*[8]	وايط *wayet*	Autre.
Another man	*atras wayet*	*aterras wayet*	Un autre homme.

Cases of Nouns.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
The dog comes	*yudi yusid*		Le chien vient.
The head of the dog	*yighuf nyudi*	*yighuf n yudi*	La tête du chien.
Give it to the dog	*ifkas nyudi*	*ifkas n yudi* [9]	Donne-le au chien.
Strike the dog	*uwut yudi*		Bats le chien.
Take it from the dog	*aghut syudi*	*aghas* [10] *s yudi*	Ôte-le au chien.
O man!	*ya iterras! ya asid!*		Ô homme!

Comparison.

Better than he	*kheyr in nis* خيران بس	*kheyr inis* [11]	Meilleur que lui.
Better than all	*kheyr in sin* خيران سن	*kheyr insin* [11]	Meilleur qu'eux.

Prepositions.

For me	*ninnifsinnu*	*nin ufs-inu* (?) [12]	Pour moi.
Above me	*dinghit*	*dennigh-i*	Au-dessus de moi.
From me	*sisid*	*sis-i*	De moi.
In the house	*diteddert*	*di-teddert*	Dans la maison.
To the market	*n suk*	*in suq*	Au marché.
After me	*baadit*	*baad-i*, ar. بعد	Après moi.
On the table	*fis sofrat*	*f essofra* (ar. الشُّفرة)	Sur la table.
Against the table	*am issofrat*	*am essofra*	Contre la table.
With me	*didi*	*did-i*	Avec moi.
With him	*didis*	*did-is*	Avec lui.
I and Thou	*nitsh ed didik*		Moi et toi.
Man and Woman	*eterras et tmuttut*		L'homme et la femme.

Adverbs.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Always	*dima*	ar. دايما	Toujours.
By and by	*amatu amatu*		Tout-à-l'heure.
Enough	*ymut*	*imul*	Assez.
Far	*ybaad*	ar. بعيد	Loin.
Come hither	*i du goi indeh*	*eddu gher inda* (?); cf. kab. *eddu* (aller)	Viens ici.
Thither	*indeina*		Là.
Much	*ymut*	*imul*	Beaucoup.
Yes, No	(like Arabic)		Oui, Non.
Not		*n- -sh*[13]	Ne . . . pas.
Never	*ibda, bda*	*bda*[14]	Jamais.

Cardinal Numbers.

½	*zogni*	*zegni*; kab. *azgen*	½
1	*ojun*	*ujun*, fem. *ujut*; kab. *iyun*; Dy. Nef. *ujun*	1
2	*sin*	*sin*, fem. *snet*; ber. *sin* (masc.)	2
3	*sharet*	Dy. Nef. *shared*, fem. *sharet*	3
4	*erbaa*, etc. (the rest Arabic)	ar. اربعة	4
5		*afus* (main)	5
7		*afus did sin* (main avec deux)	7
10		*sin n ifassen* (deux de mains)	10
15		*sharet n ifassen* (trois de mains)	15
30		*uyer* (mois)	30
100		تميطي *temiṭi*	100

Tenses of Verbs.[15]

English	Dyebayli MS	Corrections, etc.	Français.
I go	*nitsh sed o ghorugh*	*nitsh sad oghorugh(-ugurugh)*	Je vais.
Thou goest	*shik set o ghoiet*	*shil satoghorid (sad-toghorid* or *-tugurid)*	Tu vas.
He goes	*nit a yughur*	*nit sad yughur (-yugur)*	Il va.
She goes	*nut a yughur*	*nitet satughur (sad tughur)*	Elle va.
We go	*nitshin san o ghur*	*nitshnin sannoghur (sad-noghur* or *-nugur)*	Nous allons.
Ye go	*shiknan o ghorut*	*shaknan satoghorum (sad-toghorum)*	Vous allez.
They go	*nitin sad o ghurun*	*nitan sad-oghurun (-ugurun)*	Ils vont.
I went	*nitsh o gho rogh*	*nitsh oghorugh(uguregh, etc.)*	Je suis allé.
Thou went, masc.	*shik to gho rit*	*shik toghurid*	Tu es allé.
Thou went, fem.	*shem toghorit*	*shem toghurit*	Tu es allée.

He went	*nit yughur*	*nit yughur*	Il est allé.
She went	*niit tughur*	*nitet tughur*	Elle est allée.
We went	*nitshin nughur*	*nitshnin nughur*	Nous sommes allés.
Ye went	*shikwan tughurun*	*shakwan tughurum*	Vous êtes allés.
They went	*nitin ughurun*	*niten ughurun*	Ils sont allés.
		nitent ughurunt	Elles sont allées.
I shall go	*nitsh sadughurugh*	*nitsh ad-oghorugh*	J'irai.
Thou shallst go	*shik ughur*	*shik atughurid (ad-tughurid)*	Tu iras.
He shall go	*nit a yughur*	*nit ad-yughur*	Il ira.
She shall go	*ni:t a tughur*	*nitet atughur (ad-tughur)*	Elle ira.
We shall go	*nitshin sa nughur*	*nitshnin annughur (ad-nughur)*	Nous irons.
You shall go	*shikwan sa tughurun*	*shakwan atughurum (ad-tughurum)*	Vous irez.
They shall go	*nitin sad ughurun*	*niten ad-ughurun*	Ils iront.
		nitent ad-ughurunt	Elles iront

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
I wish to go	*nitsh saä oghorugh, azmugh*	*nitsh ad-oghorugh, azmugh*; ar. عزم (avoir dessein de), m. à m. j'irai, je veux.	Je veux aller.
I am able to go	*nitsh zumrugh adoghorugh*	*nitsh zumrugh ad-oghorugh*	Je peux aller.
You are able to go	*shik zumrid atvghurit*	*shik tezemrid atughurid*	Tu peux aller.
I must go	*yilzimiid sadoghorugh*	*nitsh ilzem yi adoghorugh*; m. à m. je il faut à moi qu ej'aille.	Je dois aller.
I must not go	*wilzim mrughsh*	*nitsh wilzem yi adoghorugh-sh*	Je ne dois pas aller.
Thou must not go	*shik wilzim ridsh*	*shek wilzem atoghurid sh*	Tu ne dois pas aller.
He must not go	*nit willizummursh*	*nit wilzem ad-yughur-sh*	Il ne doit pas aller.
I wish not to go	*nitsh wilgussughsh adoghorugh*	*nitsh wul-ekhsigh adoghorughsh*	Je ne veux pas aller.

If I go, I will not return	*kan ughurugh, nuttasugdish*	*kan oghorugh, nu-tasugh-d-ish*[16]	Si je vais, je ne reviens pas.
If I could go, I would go to-day	*lo kan zumrugh adoghorugh aghorugh assu*	*kan zumregh adoghorugh, oghorugh asu*	Si je pouvais aller, j'irais aujourdhui.
I speak	*hakigh*	*ahkigh*	Je parle.
Thou speak	*ahka* (speak thou !)	*tahkid*	Tu parles.
He speaks	*iahka*	*yahka*	Il parle.
She speaks	*iahka*	*tahka*	Elle parle.
We speak	*nahka*	*nahka*	Nous parlons.
You speak	*tahakkum*	*tahkum*	Vous parlez.
They speak	{ *hakan, hakna*	*ahkun*	Ils parlent.
		ahkunt	Elles parlent
I spoke	*hakigh*	*ahkigh ; utlayigh*	J'ai parlé.
Thou spokest	*tutlaid*	*tahkid , tutlayid*	Tu as parlé.
He spoke	*yutlay*	*yahka ; yutlay*	Il a parlé.
We spoke	*nahka*	*nahka ; nutlay*	Nous avons parlé.

English.	Dyebayli MS.	Corrections, etc.	Français.
Ye spoke	*tahkam, tutlaium*	*tahkum* ; *tutlayum*	Vous avez parlé.
They spoke	*ahakan, utlayun*	*ahkun* ; *utlayun*	Ils ont parlé.
Speak thou !	*ahka, utlai*	*ahka* ; *utlay*	Parle !
Tell me !	*umlid*	*mel-yi d* ; Dy. Nef. *mel*, aor. *imelu*[17]	Dis-moi !
Speak ye !	*ahka tshakwan*	*ahkat* ; *utlayit*	Parlez !
Eat thou !	*itsh*		Mange !
Eat ye !	*itshut*		Mangez !
Drink thou !	*isu*	*isuwu*	Bois !
Drink ye !	*isud shakwan*	*isuwut*	Buvez !
Rise thou !	*ikkir*	*ekker*	Lève-toi.
Rise ye !	*ikkirt*	*ekkert*	Levez-vous !

Sentences.

A good man fears nothing	*atirras elfalih* or *atirras yizam witagidsh*	*aterras elmelih* or *aterras yizaam witagid-sh*	Un homme bon. ne craint pas.
A bad man is afraid	*atirras illi mush*, f. *yittagid*	*atirras yishyin yitugid*	Un homme méchant a peur.
Where is it?	*mani-illa*		Où est-ce?
Give me that?	*ifkid tih*	*efk-yi d ti*	Donne-moi cela.
I give it	*sakifkigh*	*sad-efkigh ti*	Je le donne.
Give me to eat, for I am hungry?	*if'kid utsugh, liheis innu lozogh* [18]	*efk-yi d etshigh,*	Donne-moi à manger, car j'ai faim.
Give me water to drink, for I am thirsty?	*ifkid adsuagh, liheis innu fodogh* [18]	*efk-yi d aman ad-suwagh,*	Donne-moi de l'eau à boire, car j'ai soif.
I am not thirsty	*nitsh ulli fodoghsh*	*nitsh wul-fodogh-sh*	Je n'ai pas soif.
How many years have you been here?	*kemani sogasin tokkimid dah*	*kem en isugasen toqimid da*	Combien d'années es-tu resté ici?

Grammatical Notes.

[1] For the formation of the feminine and of the plural generally, I must refer the reader to the Kabayl Grammars (Hanoteau, René Basset).

[2] These are obviously irregular plurals.

[3] This and the following isolate possessive pronouns are formed with the demonstrative pronoun *win* (this), the preposition *n* (of), and one of the affix-pronouns *-u* (me), *-ik* (thee, m.), *-em* (thee, f.), *-is* (him, her), *-agh* (us), *-wan* (you, m.), *-want* (you, f.), *-sin* (them).

[4] The affix-pronouns of the verbs are: *-i* (me), *-k* (thee), *-t* (him, her), *-agh* (us), *-wen* (you), *-ten* (them), fem. *tent*; as a rule they are placed after the verb.

[5] But, when the verb is conjugated with some particle meaning the present or the future tense, as *-es* in these two instances, the pronoun is affixed to this particle, instead of being affixed to the verb itself.

[6] This and the following possessive affix-pronouns are formed with the preposition *-in* (of), and one of the affix-pronouns already quoted in Note 3.

[7] However, the preposition is sometimes dropped, as in these instances.

[8] *wa-yet* (this-unlike).

[9] Here, the proper preposition should be *y*; but, before a word beginning with an *i*-sound, it changes into *n*; *ifkas* must be read *ifk-as* (give-it).

[10] To be read *agh-as* (take-it).

[11] To be read *kheyr* (better, ar.) *in-is* (of-him); *kheyr in-sin* (better of-them).

[12] For hand-of-me (?).

[13] From the instances given below, it appears that, in this peculiar dialect, the negative form of the verb is obtained by prefixing *w-*, once *wul-*, and affixing *-sh* (cf. ما—شي *ma—sh* in vulgar Arabic of Algeria): when the verb begins with a radical consonant, a vowel is inserted between the prefix and this consonant; but, if the verbal form begins with a desinential consonant, the prefix *w-* takes the place of this consonant. Ex.: *itaghidigh* (I am afraid), *w-itaghidigh-sh* (I am not afraid); *yitaghid* (he is afraid), *witaghid-sh* (he is not afraid). When two verbs follow each other, *w-* is put before the first one, and *-sh* after the second one.

[14] It is better to read *bda*, from Arabic ابدا (jamais), than *ibda*, from Arabic بدا (il a commencé).

[15] There is but one tense in the indicative mood, viz. the aorist: the present and future tenses are indicated by means of varions prefixed particles, as it will be seen in the following instances; in the course of this process, there are contractions and assimilations, which will be seen.

[16] I suggest that this is the negative form of the aorist of the verb *tas id* (return), the personal desinence being inserted between the verb and the particle.

[17] In this and the following sentences, the suffix *-yi* is formed with *y* (to) and *i* (me); *d* is the "particule de retour."

[18] This would mean: for of-me I-am-hungry, and for of-me I-am-thirsty: it should be better, perhaps, to read: *liheis inu loz* (for of-me hunger), or: *liheis lozogh* (for I-am-hungry), and so on. The word *liheis* is quite unknown.

Art. XVII.—*The Schrumpf Collection of Armenian Books.*

As will be in our readers' memory, the Society had this year to deplore the loss of Dr. Schrumpf. His sudden and premature decease, cutting short so promising a career, was a serious blow to Oriental studies. His relative, Mons. Schnæbelé, of Nancy, has gracefully and generously determined to present to this Society the Armenian books of our deceased friend as a memorial of the life and labours of an earnest co-worker with us in the field of Oriental research. Professor Minas Tchéraz has very kindly drawn up the following list of the books in the Schrumpf Collection, which he has also increased by some donations from himself, and the list is published here in order that it may be of service in the furtherance of those studies which Dr. Schrumpf loved so well.

A. of Nareg. Profession of Faith. *Valarsabad,* 1892. (No. 69.)

Aboryantz (*G.*). Armenian History. *Tiflis,* 1884. (No. 16.)

Acts of the Apostles, The. *Jerusalem,* 1877. (No. 90.)

Agathangelus. Armenian History. *Venice,* 1862. (No. 120.)

—— Armenian History. *Tiflis,* 1883. (No. 86.)

Aghabalyan (*M.*). Object Lessons. *Constantinople,* 1881. (No. 93.)

—— Object Lessons. *Constantinople,* 1881. (No. 167.)

Aghanyantz (*G.*). Calendar of the Armenian Church. *Valarsabad,* 1890. (No. 143.)

—— The Emigration to Russia of the Armenians of Erzeroum in 1829. *Tiflis,* 1891. (No. 70.)

Aghayantz (*G.*). Armenian Reader, Vol. I. *Tiflis,* 1891. Vol. II. *Tiflis,* 1889. Vol. III. *Tiflis,* 1890. (No. 182.)

—— Dork-Ankegh (an old tale). *Tiflis,* 1888. (No. 39.)

Agayantz (*G.*). A Page of our Modern History. *Moscow*, 1891. (No. 148.)

—— The Pronunciation of Armenian. *Tiflis*, 1874. (No. 31.)

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ART. XVIII.—*Notes on Hindu Astronomy and the History of our Knowledge of it.* By JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S., etc.

1. THE following notes are perhaps somewhat miscellaneous, but they may help to re-direct attention to an interesting subject, recalling the history of European studies of it with some of the results obtained. And since the scheme arranged by Mr. Whitley Stokes for cataloguing the Sanskrit works in Indian libraries, private and other, and for obtaining copies of the rarer ones has yielded such excellent results in all departments, it will perhaps be possible for Orientalists now to publish and translate some of the more important *Siddhântas* and *Karaṇas* hitherto inaccessible, and which would be most useful in tracing the origins and history of this Indian science.

2. We cannot trace the study of the heavens by the Hindus to any very early date. Strabo says[1] the Pramnai (which is, perhaps, only another form of Σαρμαναι), "ridicule the Brachmanes as boasters and fools for occupying themselves with physiology and astronomy." This statement may, of course, refer to the time of Alexander's invasion, or it may be based on later reports which Strabo (*cir.* A.D. 1) had collected. In Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra* (II. iv. 8, 11) it is stated that astronomy is one of the six *aṅgas* of the *Veda*. But of the character of this early Hindu astronomy we learn, what we do know, chiefly from the *Jyotisha*

[1] Strabo, *Geograph.* lib. xv. cap. i. § 70 (Casaub. p. 719); conf. Lassen, *Rhein. Mus. für Phil.* Bd. I. S. 183, and *Ind. Alterthumsk.* (2nd ed.), Bd. I. S. 1002 n.; Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 28.

Vedaṅga of the *Yajur* and *Rigveda*, from which it seems to have been mainly concerned with the lunar motions,[1] connected as they were with the proper times for sacrificial acts, and otherwise to have been of a very elementary and chiefly astrological nature.[2]

3. It is now generally conceded that Hindu astronomy, as we know it, has been originally based on that of the Alexandrian Greeks, who had brought the study with them from the Ionian lands, where it had been early cultivated by Thales (*cir.* B.C. 636–570) its founder; by Anaximander (610–547), who declared the earth moved round its axis, that the moon reflects the sun's light, invented the gnomon, observed the solstices and equinoxes, measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, noted the morning setting of the Pleiades on the twenty-ninth day before the equinox, and made the first geographical charts; by Pythagoras (*cir.* 570–490 B.C.); by Anaximenes (*cir.* 550–470), who taught gnomonics; and by Anaxagoras (499–427), who ascribed the cosmical adjustments to intelligent design. Eudoxos of Knidos (*cir.* 370 B.C.) introduced the sphere, described the two colures, observed and recorded the places of fixed stars, and determined the tropical year at 365¼ days. Phaenos, Euktemon, and Meton (B.C. 432) observed the solstices, laid down the places of the four tropical circles, and introduced the cycle

[1] See Prof. Weber's paper *Über den Veda Kalendar, Namens Jyotisham*, (*in Abhandlung. d. Königl. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1862) and an important paper by Dr. Thibaut in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xlvi. (1877), pt. i. pp. 411–437, cited below, § 34.

[2] Dr. Rhys Davids has called my attention to the following passage in the *Tevijja Sutta*, Mahâ-Sîlaṁ, 4: "Or, whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—'There will be an eclipse of the moon.' 'There will be an eclipse of the sun.' 'There will be an eclipse of a planet.' 'The sun and the moon will be in conjunction.' 'The sun and the moon will be in opposition.' 'The planets will be in conjunction.' 'The planets will be in opposition.' 'There will be falling meteors, and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere,' etc. . . . He [the recluse] on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices."—See the whole passage in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi. pp. 197–8). The work is supposed to be an early one in Buddhist literature and the reference it contains, condemnatory of the practices of astrology, is of interest. It reminds us of "the dividers of the heavens, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators" of ancient Chaldea (*Isaiah*, xlvii. 13).

of 19 years and 235 lunations. Plato proposed the representation of celestial motions by circles, which has been so prolific of scientific results. Aristotle wrote a work on astronomy, now lost. Kallippos (B.C. 330), who helped Aristotle in his investigations, proposed the Kallippic period of 76 years, consisting of 27,759 days and 940 lunar months, and wrote on the heliacal risings of the planets. Autolykos wrote two works—the earliest that have come down to us—on the motion of the sphere, and the risings and settings of the fixed stars; they had been translated into Arabic, but are as yet unpublished in Greek. Eudemos, a disciple of Aristotle's, wrote on the history of astronomy, but we know only that he stated in it that the axes of the ecliptic and equator are 24° distant. Aristarkhos, of Samos (*cir.* 275 B.C.), seems to have held that the earth revolves round the sun—a hypothesis which has also been ascribed to Philolaos (*cir.* 430). Pytheas of Massilia, and Artemidoros of Ephesos, contributed to the study; and Euclid, in his *Phainomena*, gives twenty-five propositions on the doctrine of the sphere. Aratos (*cir.* 270) wrote a poem—the *Phainomena*, based on the earlier prose works of Eudoxos, and supplying a popular introduction to a knowledge of the stars, and of the circles of the sphere, with rules for the risings and settings of the constellations, etc. Eratosthenes (B.C. 276–196) measured the obliquity of the ecliptic at 23° 51⅓′, and made the first scientific attempt to determine the magnitude of the earth and the distance of the sun.[1] Hipparkhos, of Bithynia (*cir.* B.C. 160–120), "the lover of truth and labour," made his observations at Rhodes, but except his commentary on the poem of Aratos, all his works have perished, and it is to Ptolemy, his great admirer, that we owe our information as to the extent and importance of his researches: to him

[1] He seems to have considered the measurements made for the earth's circumference as only approximate, and put it at 250,000 or 252,000 stadia. The distance of the sun he made 804,000,000 stadia; but what stadium did he use? If 8⅗ stadia be taken as equal to an English mile, then the first would be 29,200 miles, and the sun's distance 93,800,000 miles: not very far from the truth.

is due the reconciliation of observation and theory, the precession of the equinoxes—which he estimated at 48″ per annum—and the distinction between the sidereal and tropical motions. After him, Geminos, Kleomedes, Theodosios, Menelaos, Hypsikles, Strabo, Cicero, Hyginos, and Pliny all bear testimony to the continuity of astronomical research down to the time of Klaudios Ptolemy (*cir.* 100–160 A.D.), whose *Syntaxis*, with the commentary on it by Theon, was so long the standard text-book on the subject. This position it probably owed in a large measure to its comprehensive character and the great mathematical merits of his methods. Later astronomical writers we know there were: indeed it would be absurd to suppose that the science should have suddenly stopped short on the publication of a great work, which suggested so many matters for investigation, especially by further observations; and we know that even as late as the fifth century, Ammonios was taking observations of the places of the stars. Smaller works, containing important corrections of the elements, would have little chance of long surviving in competition with so masterly and complete a work as Ptolemy's, even although his constants were known to be somewhat inaccurate. Whatever works of the kind may have been published, however, have been lost—destroyed, probably, in the fourth and seventh centuries, when the Alexandrian libraries perished. They would naturally be small handbooks for popular use, containing constants and rules, similar to the Hindu *Karaṇas*, and it is not altogether impossible that the original *Paulíśa Siddhánta* may have been a translation of one of them.

How far, however, during the first five or six centuries of our era, such works of the later Greek astronomers reached India, we shall never probably know for certain. We do know this, that the terms and methods of the Hindu *Siddhántas* are so evidently borrowed from Greek sources, that, apart from the admissions in some of these works respecting the teaching of the Yavanas, there could be no doubt as to their source.

4. The Greek astronomers sought for a period in which different planetary revolutions were completed. The use of this *exeligmos* or period of evolution[1] is a marked feature in the Hindu astronomy also. Their later and usual *exeligmos*, however, is a much longer one than any we know of the Greeks having used:[2] it is the *Mahâyuga*, *Chaturyuga*, or simply *Yuga* of 4,320,000 sidereal years; still later works employ also the *Mahâkalpa* of 1000 *Chaturyugas*. In terms of one or other of these periods nearly all astronomical elements or revolutions are expressed in whole numbers—the number of days, revolutions of the moon and planets, of their nodes and apsides, etc. These constants supply the place of tables for each *Siddhânta*; they are not too numerous for a person frequently using them to retain in his memory, and nearly all computations can be performed by means of them and a short table of sines. This exactly suited the convenience of the Brâhmaṇ Jyotishas. The different *Siddhântas*, too, are readily recognized by the various values given to these elements: thus, the number of days divided by the years in the

[1] The astronomical use of the word ἐξελιγμὸς is not given in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*. Ptolem. *M. Syntaxis*, lib. iv. cap. 2; Geminos, *Eisag. eis ta Phainom.*

[2] Censorinus (A.D. 238) has the following passage (*de Die Natali*, cap. xviii. ed. Nisard, p. 377), to which my attention has been called by Prof. H. Jacobi, of Bonn: "Est præterea annus, quem Aristoteles maximum potius, quam magnum, adpellat: quem solis, lunæ, vagarumque quinque stellarum orbes conficiunt, cum ad idem signum, ubi quondam simul fuerunt, una referuntur, cuius anni hiems summa est κατακλυσμὸς, quam nostri diluvionem vocant; æstas autem ἐκπύρωσις, quod est mundi incendium. Nam his alternis temporibus mundus tum exignescere, tum exaquascere videtur. Hunc Aristarchus putavit esse annorum vertentium duum millium CCCCLXXXIV: Aretes Dyrrachinus quinque millium DLII; Heraclitus et Linus decem millium CC∞ (10,800); Dion X.M.CC∞XXCIV (10,884); Orpheus CMXX (120,000); Cassandrus trecies sexies centum millium (360,000). Alii vero infinitum esse, nec unquam in se reverti existimarunt."

Here we have a fair counterpart of the Hindu theory of *Yugas*; and, as Prof. Jacobi also points out, so far, at least, as Aristotle is concerned, Usener has shown (*Rheinische Museum*, Bd. xxviii. Ss. 392 f.) that the statement of Censorinus is correct. The *annus maximus* of Aristotle is mentioned by Tacitus (*Dial.* 16, in ed. Nisard, p. 481): "Ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus, quo idem positio cœli siderumque, quæ quum maxime est, rursum existet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum XII M.DCCCCLIV (12,954), complectitur." In this period a precession of 50″·023 annually would carry the equinoctial points round just 180°.

exeligmos gives the length of the sidereal year for each authority. Thus:

	Days in a *Yuga*.		Year. d.	h.	m.	s.
Romaka Siddhânta	1,577,865,600	or	365	5	55	12.
Laghu Ârya Siddhânta	1,577,916,450	„	365	6	12	30.
Parâśara Siddhânta	1,577,917,570	„	365	6	12	31·50.
Pauliśa Siddhânta	1,577,917,800	„	365	6	12	36.
Sûrya Siddhânta	1,577,917,828	„	365	6	12	36·56.
Second *Ârya Siddhânta*	1,577,917,542	„	365	6	12	36·84.
Brahma Siddhânta	1,577,816,450	„	365	6	12	9.
Siddhânta Śiromaṇi	1,577,916,450	„	365	6	12	9.
Modern Science	1,577,907,465	„	365	6	9	9·3.

By comparison with the last it will be seen that all the Hindu values are too large, except that given by the *Romaka Siddhânta*, which coincides exactly with Ptolemy's value for the tropical year, and is too small for the sidereal one; Ptolemy's sidereal year was of 365*d.* 6*h.* 9*m.* 48·59*s.* The *Yuga*, or divisor, it will be noted, being the product of the factors—60, 60, 60, and 20, is an exceedingly convenient one in a system where the sexagesimal subdivision is applied throughout to every element.

5. Curiously enough the first definite information respecting the Hindu system of astronomy, came to Europe from Siam, where, in the early centuries of our era, there was a flourishing Hindu state. In 1687 Louis XIV. sent M. de la Loubére on an embassy to Siam, and he brought back with him a portion of a manuscript containing rules for computing the places of the sun and moon. This was submitted to the celebrated John Dominic Cassini, the Italian astronomer, whom Louis had brought to Paris to take charge of his observatory. In his hands the calculations described, without indication of the meaning of the constants employed, were lucidly explained. His memoir was published in 1691, in De la Loubére's *Relation de Siam* (tome ii.), and afterwards reprinted with other papers by Cassini, in the eighth volume of

the *Mémoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, for 1666 to 1699 (pp. 279–362).

6. Cassini's principal deductions from the Siamese manuscript were—(1) That the sidereal year employed was of 365*d.* 6*h.* 12*m.* 36*s.*, being the 800th part of 292,207 days; (2) That the epoch of the constants was Saturday, 21st March, 638 A.D. at new moon (the mean conjunction occurring at Siam about 3*h.* 15*m.* A.M.) and when there was a considerable eclipse of the sun at 5*h.* 19*m.* P.M.,[1] which eclipse, however, could not have been visible to the east of Orissa; (3) That since a correction to that effect is applied to the results, the rules and data were originally arranged for a place about 18¼° to the west of Siam: this he conjectures to have been "Narsinga,"[2] which Bailly places "in Orissa" in lat. 17° 22′ N., that is, about Piṭṭapuram in the Godâvarî district; but Bailly suggests Benares as a more probable place, and "having about the same longitude";[3] (4) That at the epoch the sun's apogee was at 20° of Cancer, and the moon's at 21° of Capricorn; (5) That to the revolution of the moon's apsis a period of 3232 days was allowed; (6) That the greatest equation of the centre for the sun was 2° 12′, though he gives a short table from the manuscript on the same page, which states it at 2° 14′, while Bailly, professing to quote Cassini's figures, says[4] he found it to be 2° 10′ 32″—which is the value assigned in the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, and which Bailly himself had obtained from another Indian work.[5] The moon's greatest equation of the centre Cassini found to be 4° 56′; (7) That the civil year began with the month of Kârttika; (8) And that the constants employed made the artificial day or *tithi*

[1] I have revised the times from modern tables, assuming the longitude of Siam at 6*h.* 42*m.* E. from Greenwich; Cassini (*Mém. de l'Acad.* tome viii. p. 31.) adopted 6*h.* 34*m.* E. from Paris, which is only 1½*m.* in excess of this.

[2] *Mém. de l'Acad.* 1666–1699, tome viii. p. 309.

[3] *Astron. Indienne et Orientale*, p. 12.

[4] *Astron. Indienne*, pp. viii. 7, 44.

[5] *Mém. de l'Acad.* tome viii. p. 304.

bear to the civil or natural day the ratio of 692:703; hence 703 lunar months are equal to 20,760 days, and the synodical month was 29*d.* 12*h.* 44*m.* 2·39*s.*; and as 228 solar months were made equal to 235 lunar ones, he concluded that in 13,357 years there are 165,205 lunar months and 487,860 days, whence he deduced a tropical year of 365*d.* 5*h.* 55*m.* 13·77*s.*, or almost exactly the same as Ptolemy's value.

7. With respect to these results, it may be noted—(1) That the sidereal year of 365*d.* 6*h.* 12*m.* 36*s.* is exactly that of the now missing *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*, and, from Al-Berûnî's account of it, we learn that it used the same numbers as the Siamese to determine the year, viz. 292,207 days as the measure of 800 years.[1] (2) The ratio of the *tithi* to the natural day is a usual approximation in Hindu astronomy, giving 1 *kshaya tithi* in $64-\frac{1}{11}$ or $63\frac{10}{11}$ days.[2] (3) But the ratio of 228 solar months (6939·9165 days) as equal to 235 lunar months (6939·6871 days), is introduced in the computations only where so close an approximation could produce no sensible error in the results; and Cassini has, perhaps, been misled here by the natural supposition that a tropical year must be as material an element in Hindu as it is in European astronomy. (4) From Al-Berûnî, again, we learn that Puliśa assigned 488,219 revolutions of the moon's apsis to a *Chaturyuga*,[3] or almost exactly 3232 days to a revolution. We might infer, then, that the other elements used were also taken from the *Pauliśa-Siddhânta*—that the lunar month, for example, was of 29*d.* 12*h.* 44*m.* 2·75*s.*—but that they had been engrossed in a *Karaṇa* for the calculation of horoscopes and almanacs. This points, however, to Siam and the Eastern Peninsula as a promising field of search for the

[1] Al-Berûnî's *India*, Sachau's transl. vol. ii. p. 58; see below § 38.

[2] Wilkinson's *Siddhânta S'iromani*, *Golâdhyâya*, iv. 12, where it is misprinted $64\frac{1}{11}$ for $64-\frac{1}{11}$; conf. also Al-Berûnî's *India*, Sachau's tr. vol. ii. pp. 37, 47, 52, and 54.

[3] Al-Berûnî's *India*, vol. ii. p. 18: the exact value with this element is 3231·98752 days, the difference between this and 3232 days amounts only to one day in 80·2 revolutions, or 686 years.

Pauliśa[1] and possibly others of the *Siddhântas* that have been lost in India.

8. The next contribution to our knowledge of this subject is to be found in an appendix to the *Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani* of T. S. Bayer (1694-1738), and is titled "Christophori Theodosii Waltheri *Doctrina Temporum Indica ex libris Indicis et Brahmanum institutione, A.C. cIↃIↃccxxxiii Trangambarae digesta, simul cum Paralipomenis recentioribus.*"[2] The author remarks that Ptolemy alone divided the day into sixty parts, as the Hindus do, and these again sexagesimally. He cites the Hindu divisions of time from Amarasiṁha; gives the names of the nine *graha* in Sanskrit and Tamil; of the days of the week; of the months; the signs of the zodiac; the *nakshatras, yogas, karaṇas*; of the *tithis* in Sanskrit, Persian, and Dekhani; and an account of the *yugas*, and of the *Panchâṅga* or kalendar. To this curious tract is added a long note by Leonard Euler on the Hindu year of 365*d.* 6*h.* 12*m.* 30*s.*

9. Beschi had also given some account of the Indian almanac in his Tamil Grammar, published in 1738;[3] but no contribution of real importance to Hindu astronomy was made for about eighty years after Cassini's paper. M. Le Gentil had gone to Pondicheri, however, to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, and he remained there for twenty-three months busying himself in acquiring some further knowledge of Indian astronomy, which he communicated to the Academy of Sciences in a *Mémoire* presented early in 1773.[4] It is amusing to read his prefatory remarks on the prejudices of the Brahmans, whose conduct he compares to that of the Egyptian priests, as described by Strabo.[5] He succeeded, however, in obtaining

[1] This portion of the paper was written before Thibaut's *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, of Varâha Mihira, reached this country. It contains an outline of the *Pauliśa Siddhânta*.

[2] Petropoli, 1738.

[3] Beschi (†1742) also published *Tiruchabei Kanidam*, a Tamil work on astronomy.

[4] *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1772, 2nde Partie,—*Mémoires*, pp. 169–189; suite, pp. 190–214, 221-266.

[5] *Ib.* pp. 169, 170; conf. Strabo, *Geog.* lib. xvi. c. i. § 20, ed. Casaub. p. 805.

a good deal of information from these contemned Brahmans. He gives a pretty full account of the principal elements and the methods of computation, with the tables used. These are based on the *Laghu Ârya-Siddhânta*, which is generally employed in the south of the Madras Presidency. In a continuation of this *Mémoire*,[1] he gives in full the computations of eclipses, both of the sun and moon, according to what is known as the Vâkyam process,[2] in use among the Tamil Jyotishas. The processes were adapted to the position of Trivalur (long. 79° 8′ E. lat. 10° 44′ N.). They had been derived from others, probably originally having the epoch of A.D. 499, but adapted to 1413. The constants, tables, and processes are exactly those employed by Warren in his account of the same operations.[3] The period of the revolution of the moon's node is 6792·36 days, the equation of the sun's centre (deduced by Bailly) was 5° 1′ or precisely that of Ptolemy and the Persian astronomers;[4] and the equation of the sun's centre was that of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*. Le Gentil also gives the lengths of the different solar months according to the *Laghu Ârya-Siddhânta*.

The arrangement of the planetary names of the week-days he considered singular, as Sukravâra was reckoned as 0, and passing to Sanivâra as 1,[5] not noticing that the names are arranged just as in the Roman kalendar, and the numerals attached are determined by the epoch of the Kaliyuga being Friday. He got the names of the 27 *Nakshatras*, and with the help of his paṇḍit, he gave a representation of twenty-four of them, with approximate identifications of the principal stars in the different groups[6] —being the first attempt of the kind. But sickness interrupted these studies. The numbers of stars, forming several of the groups which he gives, differ from the usual

[1] *Mém. de l'Acad.* pp. 221 ff.
[2] See Warren's *Kala Sankalita*, p. 118, etc. Probably this was the method of the *Pauliśa Siddhânta*.
[3] *Kala Sankalita*, pp. 118 ff. 340, and Tables xxvi. ff.
[4] *Astron. Indienne*, pp. 87, 245.
[5] *Mém. de l'Acad.* 1772, pt. ii. pp. 187, 188.
[6] *Mém.* ut sup. pp. 209 ff.

lists, many containing more stars than are generally assigned to them; but whether this is entirely due to his paṇḍit's teaching or not is uncertain. He mentions that at Benares and in Bengal a method called "sittandum" was in use;[1] this is probably connected with Beschi's "sittandij," and with a year of 365*d.* 6*h.* 12*m.* 36*s.*,—the same as is employed in the *Pauliśa Siddhânta.*[2]

10. Le Gentil's examples of the computations, with his explanations, made the methods clearly intelligible. They attracted the attention of the brilliant but unfortunate Jean Sylvain Bailly (1736-1793), and he was so carried away by the new study that he stretched his ingenuity to reconcile the data of Indian astronomy with the results of the most advanced knowledge of his day. He considered that it had been founded on accurate observations made thousands of years B.C.; and that it had been the source of the Greek science, only Ptolemy had altered its results for the worse.[3] In 1787 he published his *Traite de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*—a quarto, of over 600 pages, intended to form the second volume of his History of Ancient Astronomy. In this he discussed anew the

[1] *Mém. de l'Acad.* p. 221.

[2] The word (except *Sittandij*, as used by Beschi) seems to have been unknown to Warren; conf. *Kala Sankalita*, pp. 7, 51-56, 83, Le Gentil says it means 'ancient,' and *Vâkyam* means 'new'; but his meanings and derivations are not to be trusted—*Kaliyuga*, for example, he says is from *Kalu* an 'epoch,' and *ugam* 'misfortune'! *Sittandij* is probably a Dravidian derivative of *Siddhânta*, i.e. following the Siddhânta rules; conf. Waltheri, *Doctr. temp. Indica*, in Bayeri, *Hist. Reg. Græc. Bactriani*, pp. 184, 198.

[3] Bailly, *Astron. Ind.* p. 296:—"L'antiquité des Chaldéens n'auroit pas suffi aux 2500 ans. La plus ancienne date des Chaldéens en Astronomie est de l'an 2234 avant notre ère, 2100 ans. environ avant Hypparque. D'ailleurs j'ai remarqué plus haut que les observations d'éclipses, du moins les observations exactes, ne paroissent pas remonter à Babylone au-delà de Nabonassar; il faut donc que ces observations aient été faites ailleurs, et on ne peut guères se refuser à croire qu'elles ont été faites dans l'Inde où les Chaldéens semblent avoir emprunté les premiers éléments de leur Astronomie." And, p. 300,—"Il semble que ce n'est point sur une suite d'observations d'éclipses qu' Hypparque à établi la période de 126,007j. 1h., mais sur les Tables indiennes. Il en résulte par consequent que les Astronômes d'Alexandrie tiennent des Indiens les connoissances primitives et fondamentales de la théorie de la lune." See also pp. 303, 306, etc.

M. Bailly's attempt in behalf of the originality of the Hindu astronomy has found almost a parallel in the *Uranographie Chinoise* of M. Gustave Schlegel (La Haye, 1875), in which the author attempts to prove that the early astronomy is originally Chinese, and has been imported by Chaldeans, Greeks, Indians, etc., from China.

information published by Cassini and Le Gentil, together with two other manuscripts that had been received from India by the astronomer, M. Joseph de Lisle (1688–1768). The first of these had been sent from India in 1750 by the Père Patouillet, and was headed "Panchânga Śiromaṇi,"[1] the other had also been obtained in 1750 by Père Xavier du Champ, S.J., and sent from Pondicheri to Père Gaubil, in China, and by him transmitted to M. de Lisle in 1760. The latter were said to come from Kṛishṇâpuram, a place located by D'Anville in long. 75° 10′ or 75° 15′ E.[2] from Paris, lat. 14° 30′ N. But from the length of the shadow of the gnomon, Bailly derived a latitude of 16° 16′, which[3] would place it near the Kṛishṇâ; he suggests Masulipatnam or Narsâpur. The epoch he derived was 10th March, 1491, but the constants had been derived from others whose epoch was A.D. 499; the equations of the sun and moon were those of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta;* and tables[4] were added identical with those afterwards published by Davis and Warren. Calculations of the lunar eclipse of 29th July, 1730, the places of Jupiter and Mercury for the same date, and of the solar eclipse of 4th July, 1731, were given in full.

The tables procured by M. Patouillet were called by Bailly those of "the Brahmans of Narsâpur,"[5] though he

[1] *Astron Ind.* pp. iii. xi. 49 and 391.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 31, 32 ff 317 ff. 319 n. There is a small village of the name in long. 77° 40′ E. lat. 14° 30′ N. about twelve miles south of Anantapur; but there are several other Kṛishṇapurams, one in N. Arkaḍ, long. 78° 28½′ E., lat. 12° 53′ N.; another on the Kṛishṇâ, long. 79° 16′ E., lat. 16° 21′ N.; a fourth in Trichinapalli, long. 78° 51′ E., lat. 11° 23′ N.; a fifth on the Kâverî, long. 77° 1′ E., lat. 12° 13′ N.; a sixth in Tinnevelli, long. 77° 51′ E., lat. 8° 41′ N.; a seventh in Travankoḍ, long. 76° 35′ E., lat. 9° 9′ N. It is very unlikely that the tables of P. DuChamp came from the first, as Bailly assumes, simply because it is the only Kṛishṇapuram on D'Anville's map.

[3] *Ib.* p. 32.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 336, 337.

[5] Here, again, we have no definite locality, for there are several towns of the name of Narsâpur, and others named Narsipur. Narsâpur in long. 73° 28′ E., lat. 18° 59′ N.; another in long. 78° 19′ E., lat. 19° 2′ N.; a third in long. 83° 41′ E., lat. 18° 35′ N.; and a fourth in long. 81° 44′ E., lat. 16° 26′ N.; and a fifth in long. 79° 1′ E., lat. 15° 4′ N., which is perhaps meant by Bailly. Narsipur in long. 76° 18′ E., lat. 12° 47′, a pretty large town on the Hemâvatî in Maisur; another in long. 78° 4′ E., lat. 13° 8½′ N.; a third on the Kâverî in long. 76° 58′ E., lat. 12° 12′ N.; a fourth in long. 81° 50′ E., lat. 16° 21′ N., etc.

suggested that they might come from Narasiṁhapur "under the same meridian as Benares,"[1] and further concludes that the original of these, and also of the Siamese ones, must have come from Benares. Their epoch he computed to be 1569 A.D., but of some elements 1656,[2] and that they were based on the Kṛishṇâpuram data. The year was of 365*d.* 6*h.* 12*m.* 30*s.*; the greatest equation of the sun's centre was 2° 10′ 34″, and of the moon's 5° 2′ 26″, and tables of their values for every degree of anomaly were given. Bailly also added an account of a diagram that had been sent by M. d'Hancarville, who had obtained it through Mr. Broughton-Rouse, giving the Hindu scheme of the solar system, with the diameter of the earth put down as 1600 *yojans*, and the circumferences of the orbits of the moon, sun, and planets, as they are given in the astronomical works. In this scheme the circumferences, that is, the distances, are made proportional to the times of revolution of each planet,[3] the distance of the moon being approximately determined, as it had been by the Greeks,[4] and the planets arranged on the supposition that they all have the same velocity.

Bailly's work at once attracted the attention of European astronomers and mathematicians. Even Laplace

[1] The longitude of Benares is 83° E. from Greenwich: which Narasiṁhapuram he means is uncertain.

[2] *Astron. Indienne*, pp. 49, 55, 60. The *Graha Lâghava*, according to Warren (*Kala Sankalita*, p. 365), was written about 1556 A.D., but Whitney says it was the composition of Ganeśa, and dated Śake 1442 (A.D. 1520). The *Siddhânta Sundara* of Jñânarâja also belongs to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The *Siddhânta Rahasya* was written in Ś. 1513 (A.D. 1591); Ranganâtha completed his commentary on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* in Ś. 1525 (A.D., 1603); and his son Muniśvara wrote the *Siddhânta-Sârvabhauma* and a commentary on the *Siddhânta-Śiromaṇi* of Bhâskara-Âchârya. The *Graha Taraṅgini* was written in 1618, the *Siddhânta Manjari* in 1619, and Kamalâkara wrote the *Siddhânta Tattva-Viveka* about 1620 (*Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 422). It thus appears that during the century 1520–1620, after intercourse with Europe had been established, there was considerable activity in the compilation of new astronomical text-books.

[3] *Astron. Ind.* pp. 204 f.; Burgess' *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, xii. 80–90: Al-Berûnî's *India* (Sachau's tr.), vol. ii. pp. 67–73; Gladwin's *Âyin-Akbari* (8vo. ed.), vol. ii. p. 306; also Bâpu Deva Śâstri in *Trans. Benares Institute*, 1865, pp. 18–27.

[4] Ptol. *Syntaxis*, lib. v. cap. xv. and *Arkhai* (ed. Halma, *Hypoth*, etc.), p. 61.

was at first carried off by the ingenious exposition; and, having discovered the long inequality in the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, he wrote, in 1787:[1] "I find by my theory, that at the Indian epoch of 3101 years before Christ, the apparent and annual mean motion of Saturn was 12° 13′ 14″, and the Indian tables make it 12° 13′ 13″. In like manner, I find that the annual and apparent mean motion of Jupiter at that epoch was 30° 20′ 42,″ precisely as in the Indian astronomy." The scholarly Professor John Playfair, of Edinburgh University, wrote an eloquent paper in exposition of Bailly's views, which appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* in 1789.[2]

11. In the same year, Mr. Samuel Davis, having, through Sir Robert Chambers (1737-1803), obtained a copy of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, contributed an excellent analysis of that work, with extracts from a commentary on it, referring to the *Brahma Siddhânta* contained in the *Vishṇu-Dharmottara Purâṇa*, and mentioning the *Paulastya*, *Soma*, *Vasishtha*, *Ârya*, *Romaka*, *Parâśara*, and *Ârsha Siddhântas*, the *Graha Lâghava*, the *Sâkalya Saṁhita*, the *Siddhânta Rahasya*, the tables of Marakanda, and other astronomical works,—thus bringing to notice a considerable literature on the subject previously unheard of.[3] Mr. Davis seems, however, to have believed that the obliquity of the ecliptic must have been observed when it was actually 24°, which he reckoned had been the case about 2050 B.C.[4] Bailly had already applied LaGrange's latest formula to show that Aristarkhos (B.C. 280) was in error in making it so much in his time, but that about 4300 B.C. it was of this amount, and must have been so observed by the Brahmans at that date.[5] How the latter could observe to a second—while Aristarkhos, Eratosthenes, Hipparkhos, and Ptolemy confessed their instruments were not sufficiently delicate to

[1] *Esprit des Journeaux*, Nov. 1787, p. 80.
[2] *Trans. R. Soc. Edinb.* vol. ii. pp. 135-192.
[3] *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. pp. 225-287.
[4] *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 238.
[5] *Astron. Ind.* pp. xli. xlii. 165, 166.

observe to within less than 5′ or 6′—does not seem to have occurred to Messrs. Bailly and Playfair to explain. In remarking on the distance of 51,570 *yojans* ascribed to the moon, Mr. Davis deduces from it an absolute distance of 220,184 geographical miles, noting that this is nearly the truth,[1] but he overlooks the fact that this is 64¼ times the radius of the earth, whereas Ptolemy had determined her distance in apogee at 64 radii, while he made her mean distance 59 radii, or within $\frac{1}{60}$ of the truth. The fact, which Davis noted, that the precession of the equinoxes is treated as a libration in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*,[2] might have cautioned him against supposing the system could have originated before the present *pâda* of such a precession began. Mr. Davis's paper, however, was the first analysis of an original Hindu astronomical treatise, and was a model of what such an essay ought to be.

12. Davis's essay was immediately followed up by the versatile Sir William Jones, who, following Bailly, tried to defend the originality of the Hindu Zodiac[3]—a thesis that has since been more seriously debated. Soon afterwards he followed this by another paper, being a continuation of a previous one on Indian Chronology, and suggested by a passage from the *Varâha-saṁhita*, cited by Mr. Davis.[4] In it he concluded that as the equinoctial points were stated to have been at one time in Mesha and Tula, there must have been observations of this fact, and these could only have been made about 1181 B.C., and hence that Parâśara—whose authority was cited for this—must have flourished within twelve centuries before Christ. He further replies to Bailly's question why the Hindus counted the precession as beginning from A.D. 499, by admitting the erroneousness of the theory that this motion was a libration.[5]

[1] *As. Res.* vol. ii. p. 262. Pandit Bâpu Deva S'âstri gives the distance of 51566 yojanas as equal to 468,780 miles: *Trans. Benares Institute*, 1865, p. 21.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 266, 270; Burgess' *Sûrya Siddhânta*, iii. 9–12 and notes.
[3] *Ib.* vol. ii. pp. 289–306.
[4] *Ib.* pp. 389–403.
[5] The Hindu astronomers teach "that the vernal equinox oscillates from the third of Mina to the twenty-seventh of Mesha and back again in 7200 years;

13. In 1790, William Marsden (1754–1836) contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions*[1] a paper "On the Chronology of the Hindus." Written in London, without access to original sources, however, it was hardly to be expected that even so able an orientalist as its author was, should add materially to the information already published. He called in question Bailly's assumption that a conjunction of all the planets was actually observed at the epoch of the Kaliyuga, B.C. 3102,[2] pointing out how widely miscalculated the places of some of them had been for that epoch. In his account of the cycle of sixty years, Marsden's information being only from Southern India,[3] he was misled by it to suppose that the Bârhaspati saṁvatsara coincided with the common year;[4] and this mistake attracted the attention of Mr. Davis, who contributed his second paper, in 1791,[5] expounding this cycle of sixty years from the *Súrya-Siddhânta*, with references to Âryabhaṭa, Varâha Mihira, the *Jyotistattva*, and *Siddhânta Śiromaṇi*. In this paper, which showed like ability with the former, he gave the first account of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, as mentioned by Varâha Mihira.

14. Mr. Davis pointed out that the rule given in the *Jyotistattva* and by Varâha Mihira for determining the years of the Bṛihaspati-chakra is based on the constants of the *Arya Siddhânta*.[6] The years of this cycle are measured by the mean motion of Jupiter through one sign or 30°

which they divide into four *pâdas*, and consequently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pâdas*, from the first to the twenty-seventh of Mesha, and back again, in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptic in the first of Mesha, which coincides with the first of Aświnî, at the beginning of every such oscillatory period." *Ib.* p. 392, also pp. 394 and 398.

[1] *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxx. pt. ii. (1790), pp. 560–584.

[2] His principal authorities seem to have been Beschi's *Tamil Grammar* (1738); Abraham Roger's *Mœurs des Brames* (1670); and Bailly's *Astron. Indienne*, p. 326.

[3] *Astron. Ind.* pp. xxviii. 184, etc.

[4] *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxx. pt. ii. p. 583.

[5] *Asiat. Res.* vol iii. pp. 209–227.

[6] *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. pp. 215, 219; Varâha Mihira makes the fraction [illegible], the equivalent of 8° 42′·72 of Jupiter's motion, which takes place in 104·840987 days (*J.R.A.S.* N.S. Vol. V. p. 48). Varâha's is the only rule known by Al-Berûnî (A.D. 1030); *India*, (ed. Sachau), vol. ii. p. 123.

of mean heliocentric longitude, being a little over 361 days.[1] The rule is expressed by the formula—

Jupiter's mean place (in signs) for S elapsed (Śaka) sidereal

$$\text{years} = S + \frac{22S + 4291}{1875}.$$

Hence, for the commencement of the Śaka era, or when $S = 0$, we have for the mean place—

$$\frac{4291}{1875} = 2 + \frac{541}{1875} = 2^{\text{signs}}\ 8^\circ\ 39'\ 31''\cdot 6.$$

That is, 2 signs (or 2 years of the cycle) had elapsed and 8° 39′ 21″·6 of the third year, Śukla. Now the *Ârya Siddhânta* value for the cycle year is 361·022681 days for 30° of motion or 1° in 12·034089 days, so that 8° 39′ 21″·6 represents 104·16708[2] days by which the Śukla saṁvatsara had advanced when the Śaka era began.

If we adapt this formula to the Kaliyuga reckoning by putting $K - 3179 = S$, and then add 270 revolutions or 3240 signs, to get rid of the negative quantity, we have—

$$K - 3179 + \frac{22(K - 3179) + 4291}{1875} = K - 1 + \frac{22(K - 1)}{1875} + 27.$$

This gives exactly the same results as the other formula; but $K - 1$ might point to only 3178 years between the Kaliyuga

[1] Delambre says the Hindus knew nothing of heliocentric longitudes, *Hist. Astron. Anc.* tome i. p. 481. This is true scientifically, but the mean motion of a superior planet is its equivalent, conf. *As. Res.* vol. iii. p. 212.

[2] Warren, *Kalasankalita*, p. 203, has made a mistake in converting the fraction on the supposition that Jupiter moves through 30° only in 360 *saura* days. Both Mr. Davis and Col. Warren have rather complicated their operations by the introduction of *saura* time, which is quite unnecessary; the heliocentric longitudes saving confusion. The simple nature of the fractions will readily appear when we take the cycle year of the *Jyotistattva*, or *Ârya Siddhânta*, of 361·02268 days; $\frac{22}{1875}$ of this is 4·23600 days; and the sum of these numbers is 365·25868 days, or exactly the solar year. For the mean motion of Jupiter, also, we have 30° in one year of the cycle; $\frac{22}{1875}$ of 30° is 21′·12; and the sum 30° 21′·12 is the mean motion of the planet in one solar year.

and Śaka epochs, but really to the fact that the Hindu astronomers, when they referred the Bṛihaspâti cycle back to the Kaliyuga reckoning, found that it did not commence with the Kaliyuga era. To show this:—in the last formula,[1] if we put $K=3179$, $\frac{22(K-1)}{1875}$ becomes $37+\frac{541}{1875}$, and—

$K-1$ $=3178$ solar years 1160792·0868 days.
$(K-1)+37=3215$ cycle years 1160687·9197

$\frac{541}{1875}$ of 361·02268 days . . 104·1671,[2] as above.

In a *tikâ* to the *Sûrya Siddhânta* a rule is given, modelled on the preceding, and, in fact, identical with the second form, only by substituting K for $K-1$ in the fractional part, and altering the constants to suit those of the treatise, it brings the results into accord with the proper years. Ârybhaṭa's revolutions of Jupiter were 364224 in a Mahâyuga, and $\frac{364224\times12}{4320000}=1+\frac{22}{1875}$. The *Sûrya Siddhânta* text value of 364220 revolutions, requires $\frac{364220\times12}{4320000}=1+\frac{211}{18000}$; and with the *bîja* value of 364212,—$\frac{364212\times12}{4320000}=1+\frac{117}{10000}$, as the coefficient.

The formulæ are,—(1) with the text value—

$$K+26+\frac{211\,K}{18000},$$

and (2) for the value corrected by *bîja*,—

$$K+26+\frac{117\,K}{10000};$$

[1] To bring out the exact values of the fractions in this and the other rules, we must assume that the solar and *chakra* reckoning commence from the same point, and not at 2·14757 days apart, during which Jupiter's motion would be 10′ 42″·45. The rules immediately following, however, show that the Hindu writers were not particular about even larger discrepancies in the position of the planet.

[2] If we compute by the formula with $K=3179$ complete, instead of $K-1$, we get $3\frac{563}{1875}$ signs $=3^s\ 9^\circ\ 0'\ 28''\cdot8$, or 3 years of the cycle and 108·4031 days expired; or a whole cycle year and 4·236 days, that is exactly one solar year, too great.

in both of which the 26 is inserted to bring out the proper cycle year when dividing the integers of the values by 60. The actual revolutions are found by dividing $K+\frac{211K}{18000}$ by 12; for $K=3179$, we have—

$$\text{the place}=3179+37\frac{4769}{18000} \text{ or } 3216^{s}\ 7^{\circ}\ 56'\cdot9,$$

or 268 revolutions $0^{s}\ 7^{\circ}\ 56'\cdot9$. But to obtain the cycle year, reckoned from Prabhava, we add 26 to 3216, making 3242, and divide by 60, the remainder being 2 expired and Śukla current. That is, this reckoning begins with the Kaliyuga solar year, and with the 27th year of the cycle, or Vijaya.

These may be converted, to suit the Śaka reckoning, into—

$$(1)\ S+2+\frac{211S+4769}{18000};\ \text{and}\ (2)\ S+\frac{117S+21943}{10000}.$$

And, for the Vikrama saṁvat, reckoning by solar years from Mesha saṁkrânti—

$$(1)\ V+45+\frac{211V+12284}{18000};\ \text{and}\ (2)\ V+45+\frac{117V+6148}{10000}.$$ [1]

In all cases, the sum of the integers divided by 60, gives the cycles elapsed, and the *remainder* is the last elapsed saṁvatsara, or, with 1 added, it indicates the current cyclic year. The fraction is of the current sign (30°) of Jupiter's mean place.

The *Sûrya Siddhânta* values applied to $K=3179$ or $S=0$ give, as above, $2^{s}\ 7^{\circ}\ 56'\ 54''$, or 95·65202 days elapsed of Śukla saṁvatsara; and with the *bîja* formula—$2^{s}\ 5^{\circ}\ 49'\ 44''\cdot4$, which at the rate of 12·03149 days to 1° gives 70·14903 days previous to March 15·19*d.* A.D. 78.[2] That is, the Śukla

[1] These, for the *Jyotistattva* rule, would become $V+45+\frac{22V+1321}{1875}$.

[2] Conf. Warren's *Kalasankalita*, pp. 202–204; *Ind. Ant.* vol. xviii. pp. 198–201 and 380 f. The differences in the mean places of Jupiter for different dates

saṁvatsara began, according to the *Jyotistattva* rule, A.D. 77, Dec. 1·03*d.*; according to the *Sûrya Siddhânta* text, Dec. 9·54*d.*; and as corrected by the *bîja*, A.D. 78, Jan. 4·04*d.*

Further, the remainders in the three formulæ may be converted into civil days elapsed at the following Mesha-saṁkrânti, by multiplying the remainders by 361·0227, 361,0267, or 361·0347 respectively, and dividing by 1875, 18000, or 10000, according to the formula used.

The periods of recurrence of Kshaya saṁvatsaras is indicated by the reciprocals of the above fractions, viz. $\frac{1875}{22}=85\frac{5}{22}$, $\frac{18000}{211}=85{\cdot}308$, and $\frac{10000}{117}=85{\cdot}47$ years respectively, according to the different authorities. And the fractions themselves indicate a *kshaya* saṁvatsara whenever the remainder in $\frac{22S+4291}{1875}$ exceeds 1852. Thus for Śaka 60, the fraction becomes $2\frac{1861}{1875}$, and as 1861 exceeds 1852, this indicates that a cycle year (the fourth) begins and ends in Ś. 60, and Ś. 61 will begin in the fifth of the cycle; the

may be tabulated thus (the remainder on dividing the expired cycle year by 12, giving the sign completed):—

Years.		Cycle year expired.	Jupiter's place in the current sign.					
					Sûrya Siddhânta.			
Kaliyuga.	S'aka.		*Jyotistattva.*		Text.		With *bîja.*	
3100		42	10°	50'·88	10°	10'·0	8°	6'·00
3179	0	2	8	39·36	7	56·9	5	49·74
3200	21	23	16	2·88	15	20·0	13	12·00
3751	572	40	30	0·00	29	6·1	26	36·06
4000	821	52	27	38·88	26	40·0	21	0·00
4500	1321	18	26	38·88	22	30·0	19	30·00
5000	1821	44	19	38·88	18	20·0	15	0 00
Ann. increm.		1	30	21·12	30	21·10	30	21·06

The S'. year 573, by the *Jyotistattva*, thus began with the 42nd year of the cycle; the formula of Varâha Mihira would have given 5ˢ 0° 3'·36 elapsed, making the saṁvatsara begin 0·67*d.* before the Saṁkrânti.

fourth being *kshaya*.[1] With the other fractions, there will, according to the *Sûrya Siddhânta* text, be a *kshaya* saṁvatsara whenever the fraction $\frac{211K}{18000}$ reduced leaves a numerator greater than 17788; and with the *bîja*, when in $\frac{117K}{10000}$ the same term is greater than 9882.[2]

15. In 1792 Professor Playfair addressed to the Asiatic Society a series of six questions and remarks, on the original literature of the subject,[3] directing attention to the search for, and publication of, works on Hindu Geometry and Arithmetic; pressing the desirability of the complete translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* by Mr. Davis; suggesting the compilation of a Catalogue *raisonné*, containing an enumeration and a short account of the Sanskrit books on Indian astronomy; the value of an actual examination of the heavens in company with a Hindu astronomer to determine the stars and constellations mentioned in the Sanskrit works, reminding Sir Wm. Jones of a sort of promise he had made to attempt this; and, lastly, the importance of descriptions and drawings of the astronomical buildings[4] and instruments still to be found in India.

[1] The S'aka years, in which expunged years of the Bṛihaspati chakra occur, according to the Jyotistattva rule, are given by the formula—

$$60\tfrac{8}{22}+n\times85\tfrac{5}{22},$$

n being any suitable integer. Thus putting $n=12$, we have—

$$60\tfrac{8}{22}+12\times85\tfrac{5}{22}=60\tfrac{8}{22}+1022\tfrac{16}{22}=1083\tfrac{2}{22}:$$

an expunged year occurred in S'. 1083, by the *Jyotistattva* rule.

Similarly, for the rules applicable to the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, we obtain

$$(1)\ 3071\tfrac{18}{211}+n\times85\tfrac{65}{211};\ \text{and}\ (2)\ 3076\tfrac{88}{117}+n\times85\tfrac{55}{117},$$

for Kaliyuga dates when expunged cycle years occur, (1) according to the text, and (2) with the *bîja*.

[2] In Southern India the Saṁvatsara is made to coincide with the year beginning with Mesha-saṁkrânti, and is eleven in advance of the northern reckoning. Hence they must have coincided before the *Kshaya* saṁvatsara which occurred in S'aka 827, when, probably they began to diverge. The formula for the South Indian reckoning is $(K+12)\div60$, which gives the elapsed cycles and years.

[3] *Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. pp. 159–163.

[4] Sir Robt. Barker had given an account of the observatory at Benares in *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxvii. pp. 598 ff.: see also Bernoulli's ed. of Tieffenthaler's *Desc. de l'Inde*, tome i. pp. 316 f. and 347 f. for those at Jaypur and Ujjain; conf. also *As. Res.* vol. v. pp. 190–211. But little has been done since to describe oriental instruments: see *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. viii. pp. 831–838;

These questions were doubtless influential in directing the researches of Colebrooke and others immediately afterwards. In his remarks on them Sir Wm. Jones stated that he had recently received a Sanskrit work from Benares containing the names, figures, and positions of all the asterisms known to ancient or modern Hindus, not only in the Zodiac, but in both hemispheres, and almost from pole to pole. That work he had "translated with attention," and "consigned it to Mr. Davis."[1] But Davis does not seem to have utilized this translation, and Sir William died 27th April, 1794.

Professor Playfair next read a paper to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in April, 1795, on the Trigonometry of the Brahmans, based on Davis's first essay.[2] What had most attracted Playfair's attention was the rule for the construction of the table of sines, viz.—that if 225 (the sine of 3° 45′) be divided by 225, the quotient, 1, deducted from it, and the remainder, 224, added to the first sine, we shall have the second 449, as the sine of 7° 30′; and if this again be divided by 225, and the quotient, 2, deducted from 224, already found, the second remainder added to 449 will give the third sine, 671; and so on. He pointed out that the 47th proposition of Euclid's book of *Data* was closely related to the theorem from which he thought this rule was deduced; that Ptolemy's theorem embraced Euclid's, and that the Hindu one was only a particular case of it, which had, however, been noticed first in Europe by Fr. Vieta (1540–1603) in his *Treatise on Angular Sections*. But it does not seem to have occurred to Playfair to test the Hindu rule further than was given in the statement of it. Had he done so he would have found that though it gives the first few values correctly enough, it does not hold for those farther down the table; and if a table were con-

on a Persian astrolabe, *ib.* vol. x. pp. 759–765, and vol. xi. pp. 720–722; also conf. *ib.* vol. ii. pp. 251 ff. Paṇḍit Bâpû Deva Sâstri described the Mânmandra observatory at Benares, in the *Trans. Benares Institute*, 1865, pp. 191–196.

[1] *As. Res.* vol. iv. p. 163. Mr. Davis was afterwards a Director of the Hon. E. India Co., and was the father of the late Sir John Francis Davis, Bart.

[2] *Trans. R. Soc. Edin.* vol. iv. pp. 83–106.

structed by this rule, the sine, for example, of 45° would be found to be 2423′, instead of 2431′, and the error would rapidly increase in the upper half of the quadrant. If the table had been constructed by the rule, then, evidently the sum of the sines up to any point divided by 225, and the quotient subtracted from that constant should give the difference between the last of those added and the next; thus the sum of the first sixteen sines, or to 60° inclusive, is 27,744′, and this divided by 225, gives 123 and only a small fraction; taking 123 from 225, leaves 102 as the next difference, whereas the table requires 106. Delambre also noticed the rule in 1806,[1] and showed that the divisor should not be equal to the sine of the first arc, but that for arcs of 3° 45′ it should be 233·527, and he suggested that 225 might be an error of the press. But the *Sûrya Siddhânta* directs to divide "the tabular sines in succession by *the first*," and designates the first by the words "*Tattrâśvina*,"[2] which renders any such mistake impossible. When the table had been computed by other and much simpler means, therefore, the author had noticed that such a process would answer in computing the first few sines, and inferred that it would serve for all. Had he attempted

[1] *Connaissance des Tems*, 1808, pp. 447-153; and *Phil. Mag.* vol. xxviii. (1807) pp. 18-25. Delambre computed a table of the sines for every 3° 45′ of the quadrant with 233·5 as the divisor, which agrees practically with the *Siddhânta* table, four of the sines only differing by more than half a minute from the Hindu values. Had the author of the *Siddhânta*, however, known the property used by Briggs, he would have seen that as the second differences have a constant relation to the sines, the sum of any number of sines of equidistant arcs divided by the sum of their second differences must give the constant divisor.

[2] *Tattva* stands for 25, and *aśvina* for 2, and all such numbers are written down from right to left. That the divisor should be equal to the first sine, the arcs would require to have been multiples of 3° 47′ 48″·48—values which would have been of no use in a table, even had the Hindus possessed the means of computing it. Again, the divisor 225 is correct only for multiples of 3° 49′ 13″·54 (or with the correct value of π, 3° 49′ 14″·22), which are equally unsuitable The Hindu sines are expressed in minutes, the radius being made equal to 3438′, which gives 3·14136 for the value of π, or 57° 18′ for radius. How this value was arrived at we know not. Archimedes, about 250 B.C., had determined the ratio of the diameter to the circumference to lie between 1 to $3\frac{10}{70}$ and 1 to $3\frac{10}{71}$. These give respectively 57° $16\frac{4}{11}$′ and 57° $18\frac{12}{23}$′; and, rejecting the fraction, the latter might readily be adopted as lying *between* the limits, though very near the second.

to compute even half the table by it, he would have found that it did not answer; and had he divided the sum of any considerable number of the tabular sines by that of their second differences, he would have obtained the correct divisor, or a very close approximation to it.[1] That he did not shows how little conception he had of the principle on which the rule is based.

16. In 1799 Mr. John Bentley prepared his first paper, *On the Antiquity of the Sûrya Siddhânta and the formation of the Astronomical Cycles therein contained.* This paper was intended to expose Bailly's assumption of the extreme antiquity and accuracy of the Hindu system and observations; and, notwithstanding other mistakes into which he fell, he fully established this point.[2] But he was misled by the statement of Śatânanda, who, in his *Bhâsvatî-Karaṇa*, calls himself the disciple of Varâha Mihira. As Śatânanda composed his work in Śaka 1021, Bentley, believing this misleading statement literally, and that Varâha Mihira was the author of the *Sûrya Siddhânta* which we now possess, ascribed the latter author and his work to the eleventh century A.D. It can hardly be said, however, that he was intentionally unfair in his discussion; his mathematical method was not unsound, but his application of it gave equal 'weights'

[1] Thus in the Hindu table the sum of the sines of 23 arcs is 50795, and of the second differences 218; and dividing the first by the second we have 233 as the approximate value. Had the sines been calculated to decimals we should have 50791·01 ÷ 217·495 = 233·527; and for the 24 arcs 54229 ÷ 232·217 = 233·527—both correct to the third place of decimals. By modern tables we get the true value thus:

$2(1-\cos. 3° 45') = 4 \sin^2 \frac{3° 45'}{2} = \cdot0042821523 = \frac{1}{233\cdot5273583}$; and sine 3° 45' = 0·065403129, multiplied by R' = 3437'·746770785, gives 224'·8393961, instead of 225'—the Hindu value. Log. 233·5273583 = 2·3683377665.

It is evident that the *Sûrya Siddhânta* rule was founded on inspection of the first few sines of the Table, and not the table on the rule. Ranganâtha, in his commentary, makes a similar deduction from a false conclusion. He states that the last second difference is 15' 16'' 48'''—which is evidently found by dividing R = 3438' by 225; then he makes the proportion: As radius to any other sine, so is this difference to the second difference at that sine. This gives a roughly approximate value in a table already formed, but which could not be constructed with this divisor. Even with R = 3438' the second difference at 90° is 14' 43''·322—the correct value being 14' 43''·257567.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. pp. 537–588. See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 389, 390 (or Cowell's ed. p. 341); Weber's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 261.

to all errors of motion whether large or so small that their effects could only be detected after very long periods, and he tried to fix the date of the work in question by striking an average between the dates derived from all the errors in position in each case. Had he divided the sum of the errors of position at any assumed date by the sum of the errors in annual motion, they would have been weighted somewhat in proportion to the annual amounts, and a date would have been determined when the errors were most fairly balanced; but if most of the elements given in a text had not been practically determined at or about one time, and also with an approach to accuracy, this would not necessarily fix correctly the date of the work.[1] Bentley did not coax his results into the closest possible agreement with one another, by refinements of computation as Bailly had done on the other side; and his paper showed a large acquaintance with the subject, and laid the basis of a better understanding of it by subsequent writers.

17. In the first number of the *Edinburgh Review* (October, 1802) was given a notice of the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, concluding with a review of Bentley's paper, and though it extended only to two pages (pp. 42, 43), it was strongly opposed to any reduction of the supposed immense antiquity and accuracy of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*. Though accepting Sir W. Jones's conclusion that Varâha Mihira flourished about 499 A.D., the reviewer insisted that he was a comparatively modern author as compared with the compiler of this *Siddhânta*, and if Parâśara mentions the Śaka era, the passage must be an interpolation.

18. To this prejudiced critique (which was ascribed to Professor Playfair) Bentley replied in a second paper *On the Hindu Systems of Astronomy, and their connection with*

[1] Thus the positions of Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, and the moon's apogee yielded dates at which they agreed with Lalande's tables, varying between 887 and 945 A.D., and dividing the sum of the errors at any fixed date by the sum of the errors of annual motion we obtain 924 A.D. as the approximate date at which the *Siddhânta* elements gave generally correct results for these planets. But for Mars the result would be about 1458 A.D., which is

History in ancient and modern times.[1] In this he pursued the same line of argument, as in his first essay, and though not a Sanskrit scholar, he showed considerable acquaintance for the time with the Sanskrit literature of the subject; but still associating Varâha Mihira with the authorship of our present redaction of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, which he tacitly assumed was based on fairly accurate observations—a great mistake,—and being irritated by the injustice of the anonymous reviewer, he developed prejudices against allowing even a fair antiquity to the Hindu astronomical system, which seriously interfered with the value of his paper.

19. This paper was in turn reviewed in a separate article in the *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1807 (vol. x. pp. 455–471), by Professor Playfair, in which Bailly's superior ability to an 'amateur' like Bentley is paraded; and the argument of the latter is attempted to be turned by an illustration

suggestive of a much later epoch, or a revision of the text. It is with the moon's motions, however, that Hindu astronomy is most concerned, and we might fairly suppose that its elements would form the best test of the age of a *Siddhânta*. Taking from the *Sûrya Siddhânta* the positions relative to the sun, we have:

	Text: errors in 1200 A.D.	Annual error.	When correct	With *bija*: errors in 1450 A.D.	Annual error.	When correct.
Moon	+0′ 1′ 36″	0″·72	1067	+0 4′ 55″	0″·72	1067
,, Apogee	−0 24 50	28·9	1251	−0 4 17	27·7	1459
,, Node	+0 13 0	20·3	1162	−0 5 30	18·3	1468
Sums	−0 10 14	49·9	1212	— 4 52	46·7	1456

In the last case it will be seen how little the smaller annual error affects the result, and if the first of the three be omitted the average is 1463 A.D. The mean longitudes of Venus, Mars, and Jupiter, give respectively A.D. 1509, 1456, and 1575, when correct, as computed with the *bija*, and the mean brought out as above is 1516. As an error of 20′ is perhaps not too much to allow in any observation taken by the Hindus, the *Sûrya Siddhânta* may fairly be ascribed to the thirteenth century, and the *bija* corrections to the latter half of the fifteenth or even to the sixteenth century A.D.; but the observations on which each edition is based were most probably taken at various dates and never reduced to one epoch.

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. pp. 195–244.

specially constructed for the purpose. Whatever the defects of Bentley's method, this was not, in the case, a fair scientific argument. Bentley might be wrong in ascribing the *Sûrya Siddhânta* to the eleventh century; his argument might not quite prove that, but his critic was far more in error in ascribing to it an antiquity of nearly 5000 years. The application of the *bîja* or correction to the elements of the planets was possibly made in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D.; and the general approximate accuracy of the elements in the text, as compared with those in the oldest works, supports Bentley's argument, for a comparatively modern date for the known redaction, which was really all he contended for. The unfair way in which his papers were treated in the *Edinburgh Review*, seems to have soured Mr. Bentley, and he published nothing more for twenty years.

20. The next contribution was from the pen of the scholarly H. T. Colebrooke, and appeared in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. This was *On the Indian and Arabian Divisions of the Zodiac*,[1] and contains a careful analysis of the stars in the different Nakshatras of the Hindus, and in the *manâzil al-qamar* of the Arabs, identifying them with those in European catalogues. He noted the correspondence of the Hindu signs of the Zodiac with those of the Greeks, and of the 36 *dreshkânas*, with the *dekanoi* of the Greeks and the *wujûh* of the Arabs—a term agreeing in sense precisely with πρόσωπον, which is similarly used; and finally he suggested an investigation to determine whether 'Yavanâchârya' does not refer to a Greek author. Part of this excellent paper was severely attacked by Bentley, nearly eighteen years after publication, in his *Hindu Astronomy*, apparently for no other reason than that Colebrooke had ascribed Varâha Mihira's age to the sixth century A.D., not having yet discovered that the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, as he knew it, was not Varâha's work at all.

[1] *As. Res.* vol. ix. (1807), pp. 323–376; reprinted in Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 321–373.

21. Nearly nine years elapsed before the publication of Colebrooke's second astronomical paper *On the Notion of the Hindu Astronomers concerning the Precession of the Equinoxes and Motions of the Planets.*[1] It discussed the question scientifically with abundant references to original authorities. In his *Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus*, prefixed to his *Algebra*, etc., of Brahmagupta and Bhâskara,[2] he also determines the dates of several of the astronomical works and writers, placing Âryabhaṭa about 360 A.D. (which, however, is too early, the correct date being about 500 A.D.),[3] Brahmagupta, 628 A.D., Bhaṭṭotpala in 968 A.D., etc. The notes and illustrations to this paper also contain much information respecting Hindu astronomy, and conclude with one on the "communication of the Hindus with Western nations on 'Astrology and Astronomy,'" calling attention to the non-Sanskrit origin of such technical words as *horâ*, *dreshkâṇa liptâ* (λεπτα), *kendra* (κέντρον), *anaphâ*, *sunaphâ*, *durudharâ*, *kemadruma*, etc.

22. In 1817, the same year in which Colebrooke's work just referred to was published, M. Delambre issued his *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, in the first volume of which he devotes two long chapters to the history and results of European research in Indian astronomy. They contain a very full *resumé* of the work of Bailly and of the memoirs by Jones, Davis, Bentley, and of Colebrooke's first essay, with frequent comments and explications; but they add nothing to previous knowledge. Bentley's views were substantiated, and those of Bailly and the Edinburgh Reviewer are treated with contempt.[4]

23. But the investigation of the subject had somewhat lost its interest, and for a long period the workers in this

[1] *As. Res.* vol. xii. (1816), pp. 209-250; also in Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 374-416.

[2] London, 1817; reprinted in *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 417-531.

[3] *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 429; Weber's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 257 n.; see below, § 31.

[4] Professor Playfair must have felt the severity of Delambre's remarks: see his paper "On the Algebra and Arithmetic of the Hindus," *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. (Nov. 1817), pp. 162, 163. In his review (vol. x. p. 456) Playfair apparently implies that he also wrote the first notice in vol. i. pp. 42, 43.

field were few. In 1814 Captain John Warren, one of Colonel Lambton's chief assistants in the Trigonometrical survey, at the suggestion of Mr. F. W. Ellis, prepared a paper on Hindu astronomical computations, and another on the Muhammadan Kalendar. These were afterwards expanded and others added, and finally published together at Madras in a thick quarto volume in 1825, under the name of *Kalasankalita*. It treats almost exclusively of the methods employed by the Brahmans in Southern India, explaining in detail the arithmetical processes for determining chronological and astronomical elements. The author deprecates any charge of trying to support the views of Bentley, or of the partizans of Bailly: his object "is merely to explain the various modes according to which the Natives of India divide *time*, and to render their Kalendars intelligible." As a practical book on the subject it is still a standard, and though it contains some errors and misprints, they are not difficult to detect.

24. In 1825 also, Mr. Bentley, having learnt through friends that Professor Playfair "was not the author of the review, and that he could not, consistently with his character, be the author of any such nonsense,"—though still very irate at the "wanton and insidious attack" made on him by "persons in concealment,"—published his *Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*. It was written in a state of declining health, his constitution having probably been enervated by a residence of more than forty years in India, and was published after his death. Everywhere it betrays a stubborn animus against all who differed from his opinions, even on minor questions, which did not at all involve his main contention: hence his assumptions are rarely to be trusted, though stated with unqualified confidence. Colebrooke especially, he was furiously opposed to, where a little consideration might have convinced him of the probable accuracy of that great scholar's deductions, and of the support they might lend to his own chief argument. The work, as well as Warren's, made accessible the Hindu Tables of Equations for computing the places

of the planets, and other data.[1] To Bentley's attack on Colebrooke, that scholar replied in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1826 (vol. xxi. pp. 360 ff.) in language of considerable acerbity.* It was not difficult to show that, with certain modifications, Colebrooke was ready to accept the principles of Bentley's methods of dealing with the age of the *Siddhântas*, but that, owing to the inaccuracies of Hindu observations, his computations could only supply approximations to the dates of the treatises,[2] which, on the other hand, had borrowed largely as to theory.

25. Mr. C. M. Whish, in a paper in the *Transactions of the Madras Library Society* (1827) "On the Antiquity of the Hindu Zodiac," dealt with certain traces of Greek influence. Sir William Jones had treated Montucla's theory,[3] that the Hindu astronomy was based chiefly on the Ptolemaic, with contempt. But Mr. Whish proved most satisfactorily that the zodiacal signs with the figures of the constellations must have been borrowed immediately from the Greeks, and were known even by Greek names. Varâha Mihira, in the sixth century, describes the twelve; Śrîpati in the *Ratnamâlâ* repeats the description;[4] and the commentary on it, the *Prabhodana*, gives the same in twelve verses put into the mouth of Yavaneśvara. Varâha, in the *Vṛihat Jâtaka* (i. 8), enumerates them in the lines—

Kriya Tâvuri Jituma Kulîra Leya Pâthona Jûka Kaurpyâkhyâḥ |
Taukshika Âkokero Hṛidrogaś chântyabhaṁ chetthaṁ || [5]

[1] These tables were reprinted in the Appendix to Rothman's *History of Astronomy* (1834).

[2] Part of this paper was reproduced in the new edition of Colebrooke's *Essays*, edited by his son, vol. ii. pp. 366–374.

[3] *Histoire des Mathématiques* (1758), tome i. pp. 402–404.

[4] *As. Res:* vol. ii. p. 292.

[5] Whish (*Trans. Lit. Soc. Madras*, p. 67) gives a variant reading of this *pâda*, viz. :—*Taukshika Âkokero Hṛidogaś chesthusi kramasaḥ* ||,—giving Isthusi for Ἰχθύς. Kulîra, though closely resembling κόλουροι, is not connected with it, but, like Karkaṭa also, is a Sanskrit word: Varâha, quoting Yavaneśvara, has —*Karkî kulîrakṛitiramba samstho*, etc. Whish also mentions that it is found in the *Horâ Śâstra*, xi. 9.

Here are the Greek names transliterated, and elsewhere the list is repeated with trifling variants. Thus we have—

Greek.	Latin.	
Κριός	Aries	Kriya
Ταῦρος	Taurus	Tâvuri, v.ll.-Tâvuru, Tâmbiru.
Δίδυμος	Gemini	Jituma, Jutuma, Juthuma, Jittama, Jitma.
Καρκίνος	Cancer	Karkin, Karka.
Λέων	Leo	Leya, Liyaya.
Παρθένος	Virgo	Pâthena, Pâthona, v.ll.-Pârtîna, Pârtheya.
Ζυγόν	Libra	Jûka, Dyûka, Jûga.
Σκορπίος	Scorpio	Kaurpya, Korpia, Kaurba, Korpya.
Τοξότης	Sagittarius	Taukshika.
'Αιγόκερως	Capricornus	Âkokera, Âgokîru.
'Υδροχόος	Aquarius	Hṛidroga, Hṛidoga, Udruvaga.
'Ιχθύς	Pisces	Ittha, Ithusi, Isthusi.

But, again, the names of the planets are similarly given in the *Horâ Śâstra* and elsewhere in Greek forms, *e.g.*—

The Sun—	Heli, for	*Ἥλιος*.
Mercury—	Himna, Hema, Himra, for	*Ἑρμῆς*.
Mars—	Âra,	*Ἄρης*.
Saturn—	Koṇa,	*Κρόνος*.
Jupiter—	Jyau, Jîva, Jyaus, Jyos, Dyupatiḥ Divaspatiḥ,	*Ζεύς*.
Venus—	Âsphujit, Apsujit,	*'Αφροδίτη*.

26. Colebrooke and subsequent scholars have pointed out other Greek terms connected with geometry, astronomy, and astrology that have been transferred into Sanskrit works,[1] *e.g.*—

anaphâ, *ἀναφή*.

[1] Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 526 f. or new ed. pp. 320, 476 f.; J. Muir, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xiv. pp. 810 f.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* vol. ii. pp. 254, 261; Jacobi, *De Astrologiae Indicae*, etc., pp. 8, 11, 33, 35; Kern, *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, int. p. 28. Whish's paper was translated by Lassen, *Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* vol. iv. p. 302.

âpoklima ἀπόκλιμα—declination; ἀπόκλιματα—the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th astrological houses.
drikâṇa, drikkâṇa, drekkâṇa, drishkâṇa, dreshkâṇa, δέκανος, decanus—the chief of ten parts (out of thirty) of a sign.[1]
durudharâ, δορυφορία, the 13th yoga.
duśchikya, τυχικόν, name of the 3rd astrological mansion.
dyûnam or dyûtam, δυτόν, the 7th mansion, reckoning from that in which the sun is.
harija, ὁρίζων, the horizon.
hibuka, ὑπογεῖον, the 4th *lagna* or astrological house: Pâtâla.
horâ, ὥρα, hour[2]—the twenty-fourth part of a day.
jâmitra, διάμετρον, diameter; the 7th house.
kemadruma, κενόδρομος.
kendra, κέντρον, distance of a planet from the apsis of its orbit; argument of an equation; κέντρα—the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th houses.
koṇa, γωνία, angle; and trikoṇa, τρίγωνον, a triangle.
liptâ, λεπτή, a minute of arc.
meshûraṇa, μεσουράνημα, meridian; the 10th house.
paṇapharâ, ἐπαναφορά, rising; ἐπαναφοραι, the 2nd, 5th, 8th, and 11th houses.
rishphâ, riḥphâ, ῥιφή; the 12th house.
sunaphâ, συναφή, a planetary conjunction.
veśi, φάσις,[3] a phase.

These terms occurring in Varâha Mihira's writings are conclusive proof of the Greek origin of Hindu astronomy and astrology, and Dr. Weber has pointed out that the technical terms among these are all used in the same sense in the *Eisagôgê* of Paulus Alexandrinus. They occur, indeed, in all astrological works after about the commencement of the fourth century A.D.[4]

[1] Firmicus Maternus, *Math.* ii. 4; Salmasii *Plinianæ Exercitationes*, pp. 460 f.; Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 364–370.
[2] *Sûrya Siddh.* xii. 79.
[3] The ordinary dictionaries, Greek or Sanskrit, do not explain the precise meaning of these terms in astrology or astronomy.
[4] Conf. Sir G. Lewis, *Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, on the early history of astrology.

27. For some time after Mr. Whish's paper there were but few original contributions to our knowledge of Hindu astronomy.[1] In 1834 Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson, of the Bombay Civil Service, contributed a paper to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* on the use of the *Siddhântas* in native education,[2] followed by an extract with translation from Bhâskar Âchârya's *Siddhânta Śiromaṇi* (A.D. 1150). This was followed, in 1842, by the publication by him of the text of the *Golâdhyâya* section, and subsequently by a translation and notes, afterwards edited by Paṇḍit Bâpu Deva Śâstri for the *Bibliotheca Indica*; and, in 1843, by an edition of Mallâri's *Grahalâghava*.

28. In the same year Capt. J. B. Jervis's *Indian Metrology* was published, containing a long chapter (195 pages) on measures of time, which shows a considerable knowledge of the texts. In it he explains, with Tables from the *Laghu* and *Brihach Chintâmaṇi*, the construction of the *Pañchâṅga* or Hindu calendar.[3] Dr. E. Roer, in 1844, also contributed to the *Journal of the Bengal Society*,[4] a Latin version of the third section, or *Ganitadhia* of Bhâskara's *Siddhânta Śiromani*.

29. At Jaffna, in Ceylon, in 1849, the Rev. H. R. Hoisington published a treatise in Tamil, with a translation called *The Oriental Astronomer*, forming a text-book for the usual computations required for native almanacs. It was based chiefly on the work of Uḷḷamuḍayan with the epoch of A.D. 1243, and on Viśvanâtha Śâstri's system of eclipses with the epoch of 1756.

[1] In 1832 was published an *Account of British India*, prepared by Dr. Hugh Murray and others, in three volumes, in the last of which was a chapter (2nd ed. vol. iii. pp. 288–323) on Hindu Astronomy and Mathematics, written by Prof. W. Wallace, of Edinburgh University, giving a good popular account of previous researches.

In 1834 Mr. Rothman, in his *History of Astronomy* (pp. 116–128), gave a brief outline of the subject with Mr. Bentley's tables of the planets. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his *History of India* (1839), in the first chapter of book iii., also gave a brief summary of what was known up to that time.

[2] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. iii. pp. 504–519.

[3] *Indian Metrology*, pp. 174–259.

[4] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xiii. pt. i. pp. 53–66.

30. In 1858, however, a very valuable work on Hindu astronomy appeared in a translation of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, by the Rev. E. Burgess, a missionary in the Maratha country, first published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (vol. vi. pp. 141–498), with a full commentary and notes, largely by Professor Whitney.[1] This work has placed within the reach of all who are interested in the subject a complete outline of Hindu methods of astronomical calculation as practised for centuries past, together with a clear exposition of the theories on which they are based, and their relations to European science. The book is a model of careful annotation.[2]

31. An important paper on the age and authenticity of the more notable Hindu writers on astronomy was contributed by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâji to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1864. In this able contribution he agrees with Bentley that the *Mahâ Ârya Siddhânta*[3] is probably of about A.D. 1322. The *Âryabhaṭîya*, or *Laghu Ârya Siddhânta* (composed in 499 A.D.) containing both the *Daśagîti* and *Âryâshṭaśata*[4]—the latter of 108 couplets—he identified as the work of Âryabhaṭa of Kusumapura or Pâṭaliputra, born in A.D. 476, whose peculiar method of expressing numbers by letters was explained by Mr. Whish. This author seems to have used for the ratio of the diameter

[1] It was also issued as a separate volume. Bâpu Deva S'âstri's version was published under the supervision of Archdeacon Pratt, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1860. An English version of the early part of this Siddhânta had also appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*, May. June, 1817; and part of the first and the eighth chapter, with a French translation, in Abbé J. M. F. Guerin's *Astronomie Indienne*, 1847. The text, with Rañganâtha's commentary, was edited by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1859.

[2] A good exposition of the principal steps in the calculation of eclipses is to be found in a paper by the late William Spottiswoode in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XX. (1863), pp. 345–370.

[3] Dr. Fitzedward Hall, in *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* (1860), vol. vi. pp. 556-559, and Dr. Whitney in an additional note to the paper (*ib.* pp. 560–564), had discussed Âryabhaṭa and his writings; and Dr. Kern, in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XX. pp. 371–387, collected the extracts from Âryabhaṭa found in Bhaṭṭa Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛihat Samhitâ*.

[4] Dr. Kern has edited the text of these works -*Ârya-bhaṭîya*, with the commentary *Bhaṭadîpikâ* of Paramâdîsvara (Leiden, 1874). A notice of this work by Prof. A. Weber appeared in the *Liter. Central-Blatt*, 1875, No. 7, and was reprinted in his *Indische Streifen*, Bd. iii. pp. 300-302.

to the circumference of a circle that of $1:3\frac{177}{1250}$; and his elements are still used in Southern India in astronomical computations. Al-Berûnî (A.D. 1030), however, refers to a still earlier author of the name, distinguishing the second as "of Kusumapura."

Varâha Mihira, the author of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* and other works, on the testimony of Âmarâja, died in A.D. 587. Brahmagupta, in the *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhânta*, gives his own date, as born A.D. 598, and Al-Berûnî gives 665 as the epoch of his *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka*.[1] Bhaṭṭotpala's date had been discovered by Colebrooke as A.D. 966; and Bhâskara Achârya's date for the *Siddhânta Śiromaṇi*, A.D. 1150, when he was thirty-six years of age, is supported by the evidence of an inscription near Chalisgâm.[2]

32. Dr. H. Kern in a preface to his edition of the text of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ* (1865), added further to our knowledge of the earlier Hindu writers in this branch, and submitted very important considerations as to their relations.

33. M. J. B. Biot (1775–1862), in the *Journal des Savants* for 1840 and 1845, advanced the theory that the Hindu Nakshatras were only the Chinese *sieu*, introduced into India for astrological purposes. M. Sédillot, in 1849, rejected this view, and claimed for the Arabs the invention of the lunar mansions.[3] Weber, in 1852, expressed the suspicion that the Chinese had rather borrowed the *sieu* from India, and soon after rejected Biot's views, to which the latter replied in the *Journal des Savants* in 1859. Weber then wrote two very elaborate papers on the subject, published in 1860 and 1862,[4] showing their relation to

[1] Sachau's *Al-Berûnî*, transl. vol. ii. p. 7.

[2] He has been confounded with Vitteśvara (A.D. 899), son of Bhadatta, of Al-Berûnî (vol. i. p. 156), author of the *Karaṇasâra*: conf. Weber's *Sansk. Liter.* p. 262. Mallikârjunada, a southern astronomer, is supposed by Warren to have written about A.D. 1178, and used the meridian of Râmeśvaram (79° 22′·1 E. of Greenwich), as did also Balâdityakalu, a Telugu astronomer, who wrote in 1456 A.D. Vâvilâla Kuchchunna, another Telugu astronomer, is said to have written in 1298 A.D. Warren's *Kala Sankalita*, pp. 171, 356, 389–90. Notices, in Sanskrit, of a number of astronomical writers, have of late appeared in *The Paṇḍit*.

[3] *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire comparée des Sciences Mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, pp. 467–549.

[4] *Die Vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra* (Berlin, 1860 and 1862).

the *manâzil* of the Arabs, as indicative of their derivation from Western Asia. Professor Max Müller next claimed the Nakshatras to be of purely Hindu origin, and that the Jyotisha account of the position of the colures fixed the twelfth century B.C. as the date, not the fourteenth as Colebrooke had concluded.[1] And, again, in the preface to the fourth volume of the *Rigveda* he discussed the question of the Indian or foreign origin of the Nakshatras. Professor Whitney, in his notes to the translation of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, and in separate papers, reviewed the whole question in a very able way.[2]

34. Professor Weber, in 1865 (*Ind. Stud.* vol. x. pp. 264 ff.), directed attention to the *Sûryaprajñapti*—a Jaina astronomical treatise—which, from the resemblance its elements bear to the system of the *Jyotisha-Vedânga*, naturally suggests that it preserves for us the main features of Hindu science before it was affected and modified by that of the Greeks. This new line of research was followed up by Dr. G. Thibaut, in a paper in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1877 (vol. xlvi. pt. i. pp. 411–437), already referred to, and two on the *Sûryaprajñapti* in the same *Journal* for 1880 (vol. xlix. pt. i. pp. 107–127, and 181–206). The elements of the system there expounded are—that 61 months of 30 civil days each are equal to 62 lunar months, or 67 sidereal revolutions.

These figures give, for the moon's sidereal revolution 27·313433 days, and for the synodical 29·516129*d.*; but, as compared with the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, these periods are both too short, 67 sidereal revolutions being equal to 1830·89645 days, and 62 synodical equal to 1830·55217,—

[1] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xxix. (1860), p. 200.

[2] Conf. Biot, *Jour. des Savants*, 1860; or *Études sur l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise* (1862); Sédillot, *Courtes Observations sur quelques Points de l'Hist. de l'Astronomie* (1863); Whitney, *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. vi pp. 325–350, etc.; vol. viii. pp. 1–94, 383–398, and Proc. p. lxxxiii.; Weber, *Ind. Str.* vol. ii. pp. 172, 173; *Ind. Stud.* vol. ix. pp. 424 ff.; vol. x. pp. 213 ff.; E. Burgess, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* vol. viii. pp. 309–334, and Proc pp. lxvii.–lxviii.; Archdeacon Pratt, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xxxi. pp. 49 f.; Whitney, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. I. (N.S. 1864), pp. 316–331; Sir E. Colebrooke, *ib.* pp. 332–338; and Whitney, *Orient. and Linguistic Studies* (1874), vol. ii.

instead of 1830 days for each. This indicates a primitive and rough method of observation, and not even a knowledge of the 19-year period; for we thus have—

	Jyotisha.	*Sûr. Siddh.*	Diffs. or errors.
235 Synodical months,	6939·689 *d.*	6936·290 *d.*	−3·399 *d.*
254 Sidereal "	6937·612	6939·705	−2·093
19 Solar years	6954	6939·916	+14·084

By dividing the *sâvana* day into 60 *nâḍikâs* of $10\frac{1}{20}$ *kalâs* each, or into 603 *kalâs*, the *nakshatra* day or thirtieth part of a sidereal revolution is expressed by 549 *kalâs*, the period during which the moon passes through one *nakshatra* is 610 *kalâs*, and the duration of a *tithi* is $593\frac{17}{62}$ *kalâs*; and from the motion of the moon being to that of the sun as 67 : 5, the sun's motion is 45 parts, while the moon's is 603, in 1 *sâvana* day. In this there is no trace of the Greek sexagesimal division.

The *Sûryaprajñapti* uses 28 *nakshatras* of unequal extent, while the *Vedâṅga* has 27 of equal extent, and uses for the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle, that of $\sqrt{10} : 1$; the sun's diameter is made $\frac{48}{61}$ of a yojana; but it accounts for the celestial phenomena by supposing two suns, two moons, etc.

35. The *Nakshatras*, or lunar asterisms, seem to have been first mapped out on the heavens as groups of stars, not far from the ecliptic, readily recognizable, and by which the positions of the moon and planets could be readily indicated. The distances between the leading or distinguishing stars of the successive groups were necessary unequal, and when it was required to indicate the time in which the moon passed through, or continued in the space allotted to the different asterisms, they came to be divided into those of longer, shorter, and average duration. But the lunar sidereal month consists of about $27\frac{193}{600}$ days, or $819\frac{13}{20}$ muhûrtas; if, then, an average of a day is assigned to each Nakshatra, there must be twenty-eight of them, one having a duration of only $9\frac{13}{20}$ muhûrtas. And this was possibly the earlier arrangement with the twenty-seven distributed,

so that six—the 4th, 7th, 12th, 16th, 21st, and 27th of the series beginning with Aśvinî—were of longer extent, or through each of which the moon passed in $1\frac{1}{2}$ days: other six—the 2nd, 6th, 9th, 15th, 18th, and 25th—were shorter, or of half a day each; and the remaining fifteen (*i.e.* exclusive of Abhijit, the 22nd) were passed through in one day each. But the division of the ecliptic into $27\frac{9}{28}$ parts (or thereabouts) is inconvenient and perplexing, and in astrology would be got rid of if possible; and, as the synodical month of $29\frac{3}{4}\frac{6}{8}$ days was divided into thirty *tithis*, the sidereal revolution could equally readily be divided into twenty-seven *dina* each of 24*hrs.* 17*min.* 9·335*sec.*, in which time the moon traverses 13° 20′. With this arrangement the longer *Nakshatras* would occupy 20° of longitude each; the short 6° 40′; and the rest 13° 20′ or 800′ each; while Abhijit—the additional one of about $4\frac{1}{4}$°—was included in the 21st, or Uttarâshâḍhâ—one of the long ones. This is the arrangement as represented by Garga and in the *Nakshatra-kalpa* brought to notice by Weber.[1] Brahmagupta, however, in his *Uttara-Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* (665 A.D.) adheres to the early arrangement of a separate portion for Abhijit of 4° $14\frac{7}{27}$′, computing the precise arcs moved over by the moon in the long, short, and average spaces for one and a half, half, and one *civil* day respectively.[2] These durations he apparently brought over from a time preceding the knowledge of Greek astronomy in India; for we find in the fragments of Pushkarasârin's work on eclipses,

[1] *Vedische Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, 2nd Th. p. 390.

[2] Al-Berûnî's *India* (Sachau's tr.), vol. ii. p. 87; conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv. p. 43; Biot, *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne* (Ex. du *Jour. d. Sav.*), pp. 81, 82. According to Brahmagupta the moon's sidereal motion in one civil day is 13° 10′ 34″·88, whence the Nakshatra portions or arcs are:—

Six of	19°	45′	52″·32	each	=	118°	35′	13″·92
Six of	6	35	17·44	,,	=	39	31	44·64
Fifteen of	13	10	34·88	,,	=	197	38	43·19
Twenty-seven together (average 13° 10′ 34″·88)					=	355	45	41·75
Abhijit (for 0·3216673 day)						4	14	18·25
						360	0	0

In Al-Berûnî's account, by neglecting a small fraction in the average daily motion, the value left for Abhijit comes out 4° 14′ 18″·60.

recently discovered in Central Asia, that while 810 muhûrtas, or twenty-seven days, were allotted to the other twenty-seven *Nakshatras*, a duration of seven or eight muhûrtas was assigned to Abhijit.[1] And the early character of this work is supported by its beginning the series of *Nakshatras* with Kṛittikâ rather than Aśvinî; it also divides them into four groups, Nos. 3 to 9 (of the following list) belonging to the *East*, Nos. 10 to 16 to the *South*, Nos. 17 to 23 to the *West*, and Nos. 24 to 28, and 1, 2, to the *North*. This is also the arrangement in the *Nakshatra-kalpa*.[2]

When sexagesimal computation came to be depended on rather than observation, the arcs were equalized, and the Nakshatra portions retained the names of the asterisms, just as the zodiacal signs did those of the constellations, without coinciding very closely with them. The twenty-seven Nakshatra arcs were thus made, in later Hindu works, of 800′ each; but Abhijit was still occasionally retained. Thus the *Muhûrta Mâlâ* says, "the last quarter of Uttarâshâḍhâ and the first fifteenth of Śravaṇa together constitute Abhijit." This allows 4° 13′ 20″ for this Nakshatra, or very nearly the value given by Brahmagupta. Most of the later works take 100′ from Śravaṇa, and extend Abhijit to 5°, or from 276° 40′ to 281° 40′.

The number of stars in the different asterisms varies in different works: Al-Berûnî gives the numbers from Brahmagupta,[3] with the positions of the *yogatârâs*, or distinguishing stars, in each. These positions differ in several instances from those of the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, and are given in the following table, along with the periods for each *Nakshatra*, the number of stars, and the determinant star (*yogatârâ*) as identified in our modern lists.[4]

[1] Dr. Hoernle has discussed a portion of the MS. of Pushkarasârin's work in the *Jour. As. Soc Bengal*, vol. lxii. (1893) part. i. pp. 9–18, See *The Academy*, Aug. 12th, 1893, p. 136.

[2] *Vedische Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, 2nd Th. p. 377.

[3] See Thibaut, in *Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv, p. 43. Where two numbers are given in the following table, the second is from Pushkarasârin's fragment, published by Dr. Hoernle in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. lxii. part i.; see also Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 322, and table.

[4] Burgess's *Sûrya Siddhânta*, pp. 175–220, or *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* vol. vi. pp. 319–364.

Names of the Nakshatras.	Duration in Muhûrtas.	No. of Stars mentioned.	Distinguishing Star. Polar Longitude.	Polar Latitude.	Star.
1. Aśvinî, or Aśvayujau	30	2, 3	8° 0′	10° 0′ N.	β Arietis.
2. Bharaṇî, or Apabharaṇî	15	3	20 0	12 0 N.	α Muscæ.
3. Kṛittikâ, or Kṛittikas	30	6	37 28	5 0 N.	23 Tauri.[1]
4. Rohiṇî	45	5	49 28	5 0 S.	Al-Dabarân, α Tauri.
5. Mṛigaśirsha, Andhakâ, Aryikâ, Invakâ, or Ilvalâ	30	3	63 0	5 0 S.	λ Orionis.
6. Ârdrâ, or Bâhu	15	1	67 0	11 0 S.	α Orionis (?)
7. Punarvasû	45	2	93 0	6 0 N.	β Geminorum.
8. Pushya, Tishya, or Sidhya	30	1, 3	106 0	0 0	δ Cancri.
9. Âśleshâ, Âśreshâ, or Âśleshâs	15	6, 5	108 0	6 0 S.	ε Hydræ.
10. Maghâ, or Maghâs	30	6, 5	129 0	0 0	Regulus.
11. Pûrva-Phalgunî, or Arjunî	30	2	147 0	12 0 N.	δ Leonis.
12. Uttara-Phalgunî	45	2	155 0	13 0 N.	Al-Ṣarfa, β Leonis.
13. Hasta	30	5	170 0	11 0 S.	γ or δ Corvi.
14. Chitrâ	30	1	183 0	2 0 S.	Spica Virginis.
15. Svâtî, or Nishṭyâ	15	1	199 0	37 0 N.	Arcturus.
16. Viśâkhâ, or Viśâkhe	45	2	212 5	1 30 S.	ι Libræ.
17. Anurâdhâ	30	4	224 5	3 0 S.	δ Scorpionis.
18. Jyeshṭhâ or Rohiṇî	15	3	229 5	4 0 S.	Antares.
19. Mûla, or Vichṛitau	30	2, 4	241 0	9 30 S.	λ Scorpionis.
20. Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, or Âpya	30	4, 3	254 0	5 20 S.	δ Sagittarii.
21. Uttara-Ashâḍhâ, Vaiśva	45	4	260 0	5 0 S.	σ Sagittarii.
22. Abhijit	8 (7)[2]	3	265 0	62 0 N.	Al-Nasr Al-wâqi', Vega.
23. S'ravaṇa, S'roṇa, or As'vattha	30	3	278 0	30 0 N.	Al-Nasr Al-ṭâ'ir, α Aquilæ.
24. S'ravishṭhâ, or Dhanishṭhâ	30	5, 4	290 0	36 0 N.	β Delphini.
25. S'atabhishaj	15	1	320 0	0 18 S.	λ Aquarii.
26. Pûrva-Bhâdrapadâ, Proshṭhapadâ, or Pratishâna	30	2	326 0	24 0 N.	α Pegasi.
27. Uttara-Bhâdrapada, etc.	45	2	336 0	26 0 N.	γ Pegasi or, α Andromedæ.
28. Revatî	30	1	360 0	0 0	ζ Piscium.

[1] Alcyone is not given in Ptolemy's Star List, and by Ulagh Beg it is mentioned only as "a small star": Atlas (27, Tauri) or Merope (23, T.) is probably intended in the Hindu works.

[2] The MS. of Pushkarasârin's work, found in Central Asia, ascribes 8 (or 7) muhûrtas to Abhijit, which gives 27·267 (or 27·233) days for the moon's sidereal revolution, which is only a rough approximation. Brahmagupta's value is equivalent to $9\frac{13}{20}$ muhûrtas, giving 27·32167 days for the sidereal month as derived from the elements he adopts.

36. Prof. H. Jacobi, in a tract, *de Astrologiae Indicae 'Horâ' appellatae Originibus: accedunt Laghu-Jâtaki, cap. ined. iii-xii.* (Bonnae, 1872),[1] called attention to the circumstance that the system of the twelve astrological mansions occurs first in Firmicus Maternus (A.D. 350), and hence that the Indian Horâ-texts, in which these are of essential importance, cannot be of much earlier date. He also calls attention to the Greek words occurring in Varâha Mihira's and later works, which are employed in the same sense in the *Εἰσαγωγή* of Paulus Alexandrinus (A.D. 378).

37. The publication in 1888 of Dr. E. C. Sachau's version of Al-Berûnî's *India*, supplies us with a good deal of information respecting the Hindu astronomical works in use in the eleventh century, and their methods of computation, compared with the Arab science of that age.

38. In 1874, however, Dr. Bühler discovered the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* of Varâha Mihira, for an account of which we are indebted to Dr. Thibaut (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. liii. 1884, pp. 259–293), and subsequently (in 1889) for an edition of the text and translation, based on two MSS. obtained by Dr. Bühler. This work expounded the systems of five early treatises, the *Saura, Pauliśa, Romaka, Vâsishṭha,* and *Brâhma* or *Paitâmaha Siddhântas*—all now lost, so far as we know, in their original forms. The author mentions that the difference of longitude between Yavanapura and Ujjain is 7⅓ *nâḍîs* or 44°, and between the first and Benares is 9 *nâḍîs* or 54°; if Alexandria is meant, as is almost certainly the case, the correct figures are 46° and 53° 11′, and the closeness to truth of the values in an element so difficult to determine with accuracy before the invention of any sort of chronometer is satisfactory. Varâha makes the starting point of computations in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* the 1st Chaitra Śaka 427.[2] The sun's mean place is computed, by the *Saura Siddhânta* by multiplying the *ahargaṇa*

[1] This tract (48 pp.) was reviewed by Prof. A. Weber in the *Liter. Central-Blatt*, 1873, No. 25, pp. 786-88, reprinted in *Indische Streifen*, Bd. iii. pp. 165–68; also by Prof. H. Kern in *The Academy*. 1873.

[2] March 18th, A.D. 505, at 33gh 9p after noon.

from the initial date by 800, deducting 442, and dividing by 292207. This makes the year 365*d.* 15*g.* 31′ 30″ as in the *Pauliśa Siddhânta.* Next we have a *yuga* of 180,000 years equal to 65,746,575 days containing 2,226,389 synodical or 2,406,389 sidereal months,[1] which gives values slightly differing from the modern *Sûrya Siddhânta.* The moon's node makes 900 revolutions in 2,908,7[illegible] days, as in the *Âryabhaṭîya*, of which 2,260,356 had elapsed at the epoch. So also we find that the period of Jupiter's revolution is taken as 4332·3205754 days.

The *Romaka Siddhânta* employs a *yuga* of $150 \times 19 = 2850$ years or 1,040,953 days, which gives a tropical year of 365*d.* 14*gh.* 48*p.* (365*d.* 5*h.* 55*m.* 12*s.*), exactly as determined by Hipparchus and Ptolemy. In the same period there are 1050 *adhimâsas* and 16,547 suppressed lunar days; hence the lunations are $12 \times 2850 + 1050 = 150 \times 235 = 35250$, and the synodical month 29*d.* 31*gh.* 50′ 5″·617, while the tropical (not sidereal) month is $1040953 \div (35250 + 2850) =$ 27·32160105*d.*[2] For the anomalistic month we have 110 in 3031 days, or 27·554 days; for the node, 24 revolutions in 163,111 days, or $6796\frac{7}{24}$ days for a revolution. The epoch is sunset at Yavanapura at the beginning of the lunar month of Chaitra, Śaka 427, at the beginning of Wednesday, and this counting of the astronomical day from *sunset* was customary among the Greeks. Varâha does not give details respecting the planetary motions, other than the lunar, as treated in the *Romaka Siddhânta.* It places the sun's apogee in longitude 75°, and the greatest equation of the centre amounts to 2° 23′ 23″ or but little in excess of Ptolemy's value.

[1] This is otherwise put as 900,000 revolutions in 24589506 $\frac{748100}{2406389}$ = 24589506·3100775 days, and the rule for the moon's mean place is to multiply the ahargaṇa by 900,000, deduct 670,217, and divide by 24,589,506, and correcting for the fraction by taking $\frac{91}{8120}$ of the elapsed revolutions as seconds to be subtracted.

[2] The almost perfect coincidence of these values with those of Ptolemy, *Math. Syn.* lib. iii. c. 2, has been pointed out by me, *Ind. Ant.* vol. xix. p. 284. The *Romaka Siddhânta* accepts, without modification, the Metonic cycle of 19 years combined with Hipparchus's length of the Tropical year; and this may account for the very slight differences. If, instead of 126007 days *plus* one hour which Ptolemy uses for the lunar equations, we substituted 126007 days *minus* one hour (or $1\frac{1}{2}h$) we should get the *Romaka Siddhânta* values.

The *Paitâmaha S.* is discussed very briefly by Varâha Mihira, but appears to have belonged to the primitive astronomical system of the *Jyotisha*, *Garga Samhitâ*, etc., employing a *yuga* of 5 years of 366 days each, and one of these *yugas* beginning with the third year of the Śaka era.

The *Vâśishtha S.* is also treated so briefly, and as of so inferior scientific value, that little can be said about it.

Of the *Pauliśa Siddhânta*, we already knew much from Al-Berûnî and from Hindu writers. Its peculiar methods appear to be the same as those used in Southern India.[1] The longitude of the sun's apogee is made 80°. The year is 43831÷120=365·2583 days.

One peculiarity is the Table of Sines which is given under the heading of this *Siddhânta*. It is constructed for the usual 24 arcs increasing by 3° 45′ each; but instead of using 57° 18′, the length of the radius in arc, as the value of the sine of 90°, it follows the Greek method of Ptolemy who divided the radius or chord of 60° into 60 parts, subdivided sexagesimally, and gave the chords of double arcs in terms of this: thus the chord of 180° or the diameter was 120 parts, and of 60° was 60 parts. Now if we copy out Ptolemy's chords for every 7° 30′ in succession up to 180° we shall have the *Pauliśa Siddhânta* table of sines for each arc from 3° 45′ to 90°.[2] Moreover, if we set down Ptolemy's successive differences, between each pair we shall have the differences given also in this *Siddhânta*—varying only in that Ptolemy gives each quantity to the third degree of sexagesimals, while Puliśa gives the values only to seconds. It need only be added that, as it is to Ptolemy that the sexagesimal division is ascribed,[3] there can be little if any doubt that Paulus or Puliśa was one of those who introduced it and the Greek system of astronomy into India. Dr. Thibaut considers that the *Romaka* and *Pauliśa Siddhântas* must have been composed not later than A.D. 400.

[1] Warren's *Kâla Sankalita*, pp. 118 ff.
[2] See this in *Ind Ant.* vol. xx. p. 228.
[3] Wallis, *Hist. and Prac. Algeb.* c. 7.

39. At the close of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Varâha Mihira adds some short rules (ch. xviii, śll. 66–79) for the longitudes of the sun and planets. Dr. Thibaut remarks[1] that the durations ascribed in these to the synodical revolutions "are extraordinary," agreeing "neither with those assigned to the synodical motions in Hindu astronomy generally, nor, therefore with the true periods—from which the periods implied in the teaching of the *Siddhântas* differ to a very inconsiderable extent only"; and, he adds, "to meet with a set of numerical quantities widely differing from those generally accepted is indeed so startling that one at first feels strongly inclined to doubt the soundness of the text." But on referring to his translation (p. 103) it appears that Varâha Mihira, speaking of the sun first (śl. 66), uses degrees or *saura* days, and this measure is naturally carried through the following ślokas. We have no other instance, so far as I know, of the synodical revolutions being stated in a Sanskrit treatise, and we are not to infer that they should be given in civil days, as in European works based on the Copernican system, rather than expressed in degrees or equivalent *saura* time, —as Varâha Mihira has done in this place and with considerable accuracy.

His values are readily derived in the following way:—Employing the *yuga* of 1080000 sidereal solar revolutions, the revolutions of the planets in that period are—Mars, 574206; Jupiter, 91055; Saturn, 36641; Mercury, 4484250; Venus, 1755597; and if we divide the *degrees* in 1080000 revolutions by the difference between 1080000 and the number of heliocentric revolutions of the planet, we obtain the arcs through which the sun moves during the planet's synodical revolution. Thus, for Mars, we have—

$$\frac{1080000^r \times 360^\circ}{1080000 - 574206} = \frac{388800000^\circ}{505794} = 768^\circ{\cdot}6924, \text{ or nearly } \frac{3075}{4} \text{ or } 768\tfrac{3}{4},$$

as in the text. Similarly, for the other planets we find—

For Mercury . 114°·2102 or very nearly $\frac{3312}{29}$ or $114^\circ\frac{6}{29}$;
For Jupiter . . 393°·146 „ $\frac{2752}{7}$ or $393\frac{1}{7}$;

[1] *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, Introd. p. xlvii.

For Venus . .	575°·491	nearly	$\frac{1151}{2}$ or $575\frac{1}{2}$;
And for Saturn.	372°·6426	,,	$\frac{1118}{3}$ or $372\frac{2}{3}$;

—the fractional values in each case being those given in the text.[1]

Dr. Thibe[illegible]s prefixed an excellent introduction to his edition; [illegible]he himself allows, the translation admits of emen[illegible]e text of the only copies available being very co[illegible]upt; and a commentary much more complete is required to illustrate the version satisfactorily.

40. The only further contributions connected with this branch of Hindu science have been devoted to its relation to chronology. The Hindu calendar is constructed in so peculiar a way, depending on the relations of solar and lunar motions, that it is a complicated problem to fix the date in the Julian calendar corresponding to a given day in the Hindu reckoning. That reckoning, too, not being necessarily quite accurate, but dependent on the system in their astronomical treatises, requires us to work out the coincidence by means of their data.[2] It is very important, however, to be able to determine such coincidences with complete accuracy as a means of fixing the precise dates of inscriptions upon which Indian chronology must be based.

[1] The greatest error is only 3'·4 in the case of Mars, for which the fraction $\frac{9993}{13}$ would have given the more accurate value of 768°·691; and for Mercury, the multiplier 2170 and divisor 19, would have been even closer than 3312 and 29. To convert these arcs into civil time, using Varâha Mihira's value for the sidereal year, 365*d.* 15*gh.* 33*p.*, we have to multiply by 1·01460764 or $1\frac{9}{616}$: the results are—Mars, 779·92 days; Jupiter, 398·87; Saturn, 378·08; Mercury, 115·88; and Venus, 583·90 days.

[2] The principal of these papers are:—Jacobi, *Methods and Tables for verifying Hindu Dates, Titles*, etc. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. xvii. pp. 145–181; *The Computation of Hindu Dates in Inscriptions*, etc., with Tables in *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. i. pp. 403–460; *Tables for Calculating Hindu Dates in True Local Time*, in *ibid.* vol. ii.; R. Schram, *Hilfstafeln fur Chronologie*, in *Denkschriften d. Kais. Acad. d. Wissensch. mat. nat. Cl. Wien*, vol. xlv. pp. 289–358; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. xviii. pp. 290–300; Kielhorn, *The Sixty year Cycle of Jupiter*, in *Ind. Ant.* vol. xviii. pp. 193–209, and 380–386, and *Abhand. d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. z. Göttingen*, 1889.

ART. XIX.—*Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation.*
By MABEL BODE.

(*Continued from page* 566.)

6. *Nandā.*

Chaṭṭhe jhāyīnaṃ yadidaṃ Nandāti jhānābhiratānaṃ[1] Nandā therī aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge Satthu dhammaṃ suṇantī Satthāram ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ jhānābhiratānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapetuṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Tato kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā amhākaṃ Satthu nibbattito puretaraṃ eva Mahāpajāpati-Gotamiyā kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi.

Nandā ti' ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Rūpanandā ti pi vuccati. Sā aparabhāge uttamarūpabhāvena Janapadakalyāṇi nāma jātā.

Sā amhākaṃ dasabale sabbaññutaṃ patvā anupubbena Kapilavatthuṃ āgantvā Nandañ ca Rāhulañ ca pabbājetvā pakkante Suddhodanamahārājassa parinibbutakāle Mahāpajāpatiṃ Gotamiṃ Rāhulamātarañ ca nikkhamitvā Satthu santike pabbajitā ti ñatvā imāsaṃ pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya mayhaṃ idha kiṃ kamman ti, Mahāpajāpatiyā santikaṃ gantvā pabbaji.

Pabbajitadivasato paṭṭhāya Satthā rūpaṃ garahatīti Satthu upaṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati. Ovādavāre sampatte aññaṃ pesetvā ovādaṃ āharāpehīti.

[1] S.T. *omits* Nandāti jhānābhiratānaṃ.

Satthā tassā rūpamadamattabhāvaṃ ñatvā attano ovādaṃ attanā va āgantvā gaṇhantu na bhikkhunīhi aññā pesetabbā ti āha.

Tato Rūpanandā aññaṃ maggaṃ apassantī akāmā ovādam agamāsi. Satthā tassā cariyavasena iddhiyā ekaṃ itthirūpaṃ nimminitvā tālavantaṃ gahetvā vījamānaṃ viya akāsi. Rūpanandā naṃ disvā cintesi: Ahaṃ ākāren 'eva pamattā hutvā nāgacchāmi evarūpā pi itthiyo Satthu santike vissatthā caranti mama rūpaṃ etāsaṃ rūpassa kalaṃ nāgghanti solasiṃ ajānitvā va ettakaṃ kālaṃ nā āgatamhīti tam eva itthiṃ nimittaṃ gaṇhitvā olokentī aṭṭhāsi. Satthā tassā pubbahetusampannāya:

Aṭṭhīnaṃ nagaraṃ katan ti[1]
Dhammapade gāthaṃ vatvā,
Caraṃ vā yadi vā tiṭṭhaṃ nisinno uda vā sayan ti
Suttaṃ abhāsi.

Sā tasmiṃ yeva rūpe khayaṃ vayaṃ paṭṭhapetvā arahattaṃ pāpuni. Imasmiṃ ṭhāne idaṃ vatthuṃ heṭṭhā Khematheriyā vatthunā sadisaṃ evāti na vitthāritaṃ. Tato paṭṭhāya Rūpanandā jhānabhiratānaṃ antare dhurappattā ahosi. Satthā aparabhāge Jetavane nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento Nandattheriṃ jhāyinīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

6. *Nandā.*[2]

In the sixth (Sutta) by the words *yadidam Nandā ti*, he points out the Therī Nandā as the chief of those who practise meditation.

It is related that this woman was reborn in a noble family at Haṃsavatī in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and later on, when hearing the Teacher preach the Truth, and seeing him assign to a certain Bhikkhunī the chief place among those who practise the Meditations, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

[1] Dhammapada, verse 150.
[2] Dhammapāla calls this Therī Sundarīnandā.

Then, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence, born of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, before our Teacher's birth.

They gave her the name Nandā. She was also called Rūpanandā.

And afterwards, by reason of her loveliness, she came to be called Janapada Kalyāṇī (the belle of the land).

Now, after our Buddha of the Ten Powers had attained to omniscience, and had returned to Kapilavatthu, and successively admitted Nandā and Rāhula into the Order, and then departed; and the great king Suddhodana had died, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, and the mother of Rāhula went forth and entered the Order under the Teacher. She (Rūpanandā) on seeing (all this) thought: "Since they renounced the world what have I to do here?" So, going to Mahāpajāpatī she entered the Order.

From the day she entered the Order she never went to minister to the Teacher, having heard it said: "The Teacher finds fault with beauty." When the time for the exhortation came round, she sent another Bhikkhunī, and bade her bring word of the discourse.

The Teacher saw that she was intoxicated with her own loveliness, and he said: "Let each one come and receive her exhortation for herself. None of the Bhikkhunīs may send others."

Then Rūpanandā, not seeing any way out of it, went unwillingly to the exhortation.

Now, because of this conduct of her's, the Teacher created, by the power of Iddhi, the form of a woman, who, holding a palm-leaf, seemed to be fanning him.

Rūpanandā seeing this, thought to herself: "For (such) a reason was I neglectful, and did not come! And, behold, women like this go about fearlessly near the Master! My beauty is not worth a sixteenth part of their's! Yet, ignorant of this, I have not come hither all this time!" And she stood utterly spell-bound gazing at the woman.

And the Master recited to her, who had reached the climax of causes heaped up in former births, the stanza in

the Dhammapada, which begins: "Of bones is the fortress made"; and then uttered the Sutta beginning: "*Whether walking or standing still—whether sitting or lying down.*"

And, she gaining (the knowledge of) decay and death, attained to Arahatship.

Now in the commentary on this passage the story is not told in full, since it is the same as the foregoing history of the Therī Khemā.

Thenceforward Rūpanandā held the first place among those who practised the meditations.

Afterwards the Teacher, seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, gave to the Therī Nandā the chief place among those who practise meditation.

7. *Soṇā.*

Sattame āraddhaviriyānan ti paggahitaparipuṇṇa-viriyānaṃ Soṇā aggā ti dasseti.

Ayaṃ kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge dhammadesanaṃ[1] suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ āraddhaviriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā' taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Sāvatthiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge gharāvāse patiṭṭhitā bahu puttadhītaro labhitvā sabbe pi visuṃ visuṃ gharāvāse patiṭṭhāpesi. Tato paṭṭhāya ayaṃ amhākaṃ kiṃ karissatīti taṃ attano santikaṃ āgataṃ mātā ti saññam pi na kariṃsu. Bahuputtikā Soṇā nesaṃ attani agāravabhāvaṃ ñatvā ghāravāsena kiṃ karissāmīti nikkhamitvā pabbaji.

Atha naṃ bhikkhuniyo ayaṃ mattaṃ na jānāti ayuttaṃ karotīti daṇḍakammaṃ karonti. Puttadhītaro taṃ daṇḍakammaṃ āharantiṃ disvā[2]: ayaṃ yāvajja divasā sikkhāpadamattam pi na jānātīti diṭṭhadiṭṭhaṭṭhāne ujjhāyanti.

[1] T.I. &c. S.M. *only* dhammaṃ suṇantī.
[2] S.T. āha rattiṃ ayam, etc.

Sā tesaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā uppannasaṃvegā attano gativisodhanaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatīti nisinnaṭṭhāne pi ṭhitaṭṭhāne pi dvattiṃsākāraṃ sajjhāyati. Sā yath'eva pubbe bahuputtika-Soṇattherī ti paññāyittha evaṃ pacchā sā āraddhaviriya-Soṇattherī ti pākaṭā jātā. Ath' ekadivasaṃ bhikkhuniyo vihāraṃ gacchantiyo: Bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakan tāpeyyāsi Soṇe ti vatvā agamaṃsu. Sā pi udakatāpanaṃ katuṃ vaṭṭatīti tato purotaram eva[1] aggisālāyaṃ caṅkamitvā caṅkamitvā dvattiṃsākāraṃ sajjhāyantī vipasannaṃ vaḍḍhesi. Satthā Gandhakuṭiyaṃ nisinno va imaṃ obhāsagāthaṃ abhāsi:

Yo ca vassasataṃ jīve apassaṃ dhammam uttamaṃ
Ekāhaṃ jīvitam seyyo passato dhammam uttaman ti.[2]

Sā gāthā-pariyosāne arahattaṃ patvā cintesi: Ahaṃ arahattaṃ pattā, āgantukajano ca anupadhāretvā va mayi avaññāya[3] kiñci kiñci avatvā[4]: bahuṃ pāpaṃ pasaveyya tassa sallakkhaṇakāraṇaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatīti. Sā udakabhājanaṃ uddhanaṃ āropetvā heṭṭhā aggiṃ na akāsi. Bhikkhuniyo āgantvā uddhanaṃ olokentiyo aggiṃ adisvā: imaṃ mahallikaṃ bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakan tāpehīti avocumha, ajjāpi uddhane aggim pi na karotīti āhaṃsu.

Ayye, kiṃ tumhākaṃ agginā, uṇhodakena nahayitukāmā bhājanato udakaṃ gahetvā nahāyathāti. Tā: bhavissati ettha kāraṇan ti gantvā udake hatthā otāretvā uṇhabhāvaṃ ñatvā ekaṃ kuṭaṃ āharitvā udakaṃ gaṇhanti. Gahitaṭṭhānaṃ pari pūrati. Tadā sabbā va tassā arahattabhāve niṭṭhaṃ gantvā daharatarā tāva pañca-patiṭṭhitena pādesu patitvā: Ayye ettakaṃ kālaṃ tumhe anupadhāretvā heṭhetvā[5] viheṭhetvā kathayimhā, khamatha no ti[6] khamāpesuṃ buddhatarā pi ukkuṭikaṃ nisiditvā khama ayye khamāpesuṃ. Tato paṭṭhāya mahallakakāle pabbajitvā pi āraddhaviriyebhāvena na cirass 'eva aggaphale patiṭṭhitā ti theriyā guṇe pākaṭo ahosi.

[1] *sic.* S.M. T.I. *has* Sā pi udakatapanato to purotaram eva, etc.
[2] Dhammapada, verse 115.
[3] T.I. avaññāyati.
[4] S.M. vatvā.
[5] S.M. *omits.*
[6] S.T. khamathato ti.

Aparabhāge Sattha Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento Soṇattheriṃ āraddhaviriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

7. *Soṇā.*

In the seventh Sutta by the words "*Āraddhaviriyānam*," he points out Soṇā as the foremost among those who are strenuous in effort.

They say that this woman re-entered existence in a noble family at Haṃsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara; and afterwards, when hearing the preaching of the Law, she saw the Master assign to a certain Bhikkhunī the chief place among those who are strenuous. She, after she had done homage to the Buddha, aspired to the same distinction.

And when she had wandered in the worlds of gods and men for twenty thousand æons, she re-entered existence in a noble family at Sāvatthī, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

Afterwards, being herself a householder, and having borne many sons and daughters, she also established all of them, one after another, in the lay life (as householders).[1]

From that time forth, thinking: "What can she do against us?" When she came to see them, they did not even greet her as "Mother."[2] And Soṇā, mother of these many children, feeling in her own heart their lack of piety towards her, thought: "What is the good of my living any longer in the world?" And going forth she entered the Order.

Now the Bhikkhunīs put penances upon her as one who did not observe moderation, and whose conduct was

[1] Ṭīkā explains she thought "as I have established my sons, they will look after me. What is the use of a separate estate to me?" And dividing all her wealth she gave it to them.

[2] Ṭīkā adds that after a few days her eldest son's wife said: "would that she would give us our half, thinking: 'this is my eldest son!' and that she would go back to her own house!" And the wives of her other sons said the same, and her daughters (from the eldest downwards) said the same, from the time she went to their houses.

unseemly. Thereupon her sons and daughters, seeing her undergoing penance, laughed her to scorn wheresoever they saw her, saying, "This woman does not, even to this day, know the Precepts!" When she heard their words, struck with dismay, she thought: "I must set about a way of self-purification." And thereafter, wherever she might be, either standing or sitting down, she repeated over the Dvattiṃsākāra. So, even as she had formerly been called "the Therī Soṇā, mother of many children," she thenceforward became known as "the Therī Soṇā, strenuous in effort."

Now, one day, when the Bhikkhunīs were going to the Vihāra, they said to her: "Soṇā, heat some water for the company of Bhikkhunīs." And they went away.

And then (while pacing to and fro in the hall where the fire was, and repeating over the Dvattiṃsākāra) she, even before the water boiled, reached the perfection of spiritual insight.

And the Master, although seated (far away) in the Perfumed Chamber, spoke this stanza, which she heard as from a vision:

"Nay, let a man live a hundred years without sight of
the Perfect Law,
Better do I call the one-day's life of him who beholds the
Perfect Law."

And she, having, at the end of the stanza, attained to Arahatship, thought:

"I have attained to Arahatship! Yet, when they all come back, not understanding this, they will find fault with me. And if I say nothing, great blame might be cast on me. I had better do something to show them a sign."

And she placed the water-jar hanging over the hearth on the camp-fire, but did not light the fire beneath it.

When the Bhikkhunīs returned, on looking at the fire-place, and seeing no fire, they said: "We bade this old woman boil water for the company of Bhikkhunīs; but lo! to-day she has lighted no fire in the fire-place."

And Soṇā said: "Ladies! What do you want with fire? Should you wish to bathe in water made hot by fire, take water from the jar and bathe in it."

They, thinking: "There must be some reason for this!" went and plunged their hands in the water, and, feeling how hot it was, they brought a pot; and as they took up water in it, the vessel whence they took it filled up again.

Thereupon they were assured that Soṇā had attained to Arahatship. And all the younger Bhikkhunīs prostrated themselves utterly before her, falling at her feet and saying: "Oh, noble lady! for so long a time we have misunderstood, injured, and reviled you—Forgive us!" Thus did they beseech her forgiveness.

Moreover, the elder Bhikkhunīs, crouching before her, pleaded for forgiveness, saying, "Pardon us, noble lady!"

And, from that time forth, the Therī, having in a short time attained the Fruit of the Paths (though she had entered the Order in her old age), became renowned for her virtue.

Afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs one after another, put the Therī Soṇā in the foremost place among those who are strenuous in effort.

8. *Sakulā.*

Aṭṭhame *yadidaṃ Sakulā* ti dibbacakkhukānaṃ Sakulattherī aggā ti dasseti.

Ayam pi hi Padumuttara-buddha-kāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā vayappattā Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ dibbacakkhukānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhupāde Sāvatthiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā aparabhāge Satthu dhammadesanaṃ sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā pabbajitvā na cirass' eva arahattaṃ pāpuṇi.

Tato paṭṭhāya dibbacakkhumhi ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Aparabhāge Satthā Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiya ṭhānantare ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ dibbacakkhukānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

8. *Sakulā.*

In the eighth Sutta, by the words *dibbacakkhukānam yadidaṃ Sakulā,* he points out the Therī Sakulā as the foremost among those who are gifted with the Higher Vision.

Now this woman also had been reborn, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, in a noble family at Haṃsavatī. And when she had come of age, when hearing the Master preach, she saw him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those gifted with divine vision; she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction. And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in a noble family at Sāvatthī, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha

Later on, hearing the Master preach on the Truth, and becoming filled with Faith, she entered the Order, and, shortly after, attained to Arahatship.

From that time forth she became much practised in the Higher Vision.

Afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs one after another, placed this Therī first among those who have the gift of the Higher Vision.

9. *Bhaddā* (*Kuṇḍalakesā*).

Navame *khippābhiññānan* ti khippābhiññabhikkhunīnaṃ Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā aggā ti dasseti.

Ayam pi hi Padumuttara-buddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā, Satthu dhammakathaṃ sutvā Satthāraṃ

ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ khippābhiññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā Kassapa-buddhakāle Kikissa Kāsirañño gehe sattānaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni dasasīlāni samādāya komārabrahmacariyaṃ carantī saṅghassa vasanaka-pariveṇaṃ kāretvā ekaṃ buddhantaraṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Rājagaha-nagare seṭṭhikule paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Bhaddā ti'ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu.

Taṃ divasaṃ yeva c'asmiṃ nagare purohitaputto jāto. Tassa jātavelāya rājanivesanaṃ ādiṃ katvā sakalanagare āvudhāni pajjaliṃsu. Purohito pāto va rājakulaṃ gantvā rājānaṃ sukhaseyyaṃ pucchi. Rājā: kuto ācariya sukhaseyyā, ajja sabbarattiṃ rājanivesane āvudhāni pajjalantāni disvā bhayappattā ahesumhāti āha.

Mahārāja tappaccayā[1] mā cintayittha, na tumhākaṃ yeva gehe āyudhāni pajjaliṃsu, sakala-nagare evaṃ ahosīti.

Kiṃ karaṇā ācariyāti.

Amhākaṃ gehe coranakkhattena dārako jāto, so sakalanagarassa sattu hutvā uppanno, tass'etam pubbanimittaṃ, tumhākaṃ upaddavo natthi, sace pana icchatha hārema nan ti.

Amhākaṃ pīḷāya asati hāraṇakammaṃ n'atthīti.

Purohito mama putto attano nāmaṃ gahetvā va āgato ti Sattuko yev'assa nāmaṃ akāsi.

Seṭṭhigehe Bhaddā vaḍḍhati purohitagehe pi Sattuko vaḍḍhati. So attano ādhāvana-vidhāvanena kīḷituṃ samatthakālato paṭṭhāya attano vicaraṇaṭṭhāne[2] yaṃ yaṃ passati sabbaṃ āharitvā mātāpitunnaṃ gehaṃ pūreti. Pitā naṃ kāraṇaṃsayam pi vatvā[3] vāretuṃ nāsakkhi. Aparabhāge pan'assa vayappattassa sabbākārena pi vāretuṃ asakkuṇeyyuṃ bhāvaṃ ñatvā dve nīlasāṭake nivāsāpetvā sandhiccheda-upakāraṇañ ca siṅghāṭaka-yantakañ ca hatthe datvā: tvaṃ iminā va kammena jīvāhīti taṃ vissajjesi.

So taṃ divasato paṭṭhāya siṅghāṭakayantaṃ khipitvā

[1] S.M. *omits.*
[2] *So* S.M. T.I. *has* vicaram naṭṭhāne.
[3] *So* S.M. T.I. *has* naṃ kāraṇassam pi vatvā.

kulānaṃ pāsāde āruyha sandhiṃ chinditvā parakulesu nikkhittabhaṇḍakaṃ attanā ṭhapitaṃ viya gahetvā gacchati. Sakalanagare tena aviluttagehaṃ nāma n'ahosi.

Ekadivasaṃ rājā rathena nagare vicaranto sārathiṃ pucchi: Kin nu kho imasmiṃ nagare tasmiṃ tasmiṃ ghare chiddam eva paññāyatīti.

Deva imasmiṃ nagare Sattuko nāma coro bhittiṃ bhinditvā kulānaṃ santakaṃ haratīti.

Rājā nagaraguttikaṃ pakkosāpetvā: Imasmiṃ kira nagare evarūpo nāma coro atthi, kasmā naṃ na gaṇhissasīti.

Mayaṃ deva naṃ coraṃ sahoṭhaṃ [1] passituṃ na sakkomāti.

Sace ajja naṃ coraṃ na gaṇhasi rājāṇan te karissamīti.

Evaṃ devāti nagaraguttiko sakalanagare manusse cāretvā taṃ bhittiṃ bhinditvā parabhaṇḍaṃ harantaṃ sahodham [2] eva gahetvā rañño dassesi.

Rājā: imaṃ coraṃ dakkhiṇadvārena nīharitvā ghātethāti āha. Nagaraguttiko rañño paṭissutvā taṃ coraṃ catukke catukke pahārasahassena tāletvā gāhāpetvā dakkhiṇa-dvāraṃ gacchati.

[3] Tasmiṃ samaye ayaṃ Subhaddā seṭṭhidhītā mahājanassa kala-kala-saddena sīhapañjaraṃ ugghāṭetvā olokentī Sattukaṃ coraṃ tathā nīyamānaṃ disvā ubhohi hatthehi hadayaṃ sandhārentī gantvā sirisayane adhomukhā nipajji. Sā ca tassa kulassa ekadhītikā, ten'assā ñātakā appamattakam pi mukhavikāraṃ sahituṃ na sakkonti. Atha naṃ sayane nipannaṃ disvā: kiṃ karosi ammāti pucchiṃsu.

Etaṃ vajjhaṃ katvā nīyamānaṃ coraṃ addasatthāti.

Āma āma addasāmāti.

Etaṃ labhamānā jīvissāmi alabhamānāya me maraṇam evāti.

Te taṃ aneka-pariyāyena pi saññāpetuṃ asakkontā: maraṇā jīvitaṃ seyyo ti sallakkhesuṃ Ath' assā pitā nagaraguttikassa santikaṃ gantvā sahassaṃ lañcaṃ datvā: Mayhaṃ

[1] S.M. saccaṃ passitum, etc.
[2] T.I. Sahosam.
[3] This episode recurs several times. See Peta Vatthu Vannanā, 72 foll. and Jātaka 3,435 foll.

dhītā core paṭibaddhacittā, yena kenaci upāyena imaṃ muñcāti āha.

So sādhūti seṭṭhissa paṭissutvā coraṃ gahetvā yāva suriyassa atthupagamanā ito c'ito ca papañcetvā suriye atthaṃ upagacchante cārakato ekaṃ manussaṃ nīharāpetvā Sattukassa bandhanaṃ mocetvā Sattukam seṭṭhigehaṃ pesetvā tena bandhanena itaraṃ bandhitvā dakkhiṇadvāreṇa nī haritvā ghatesi.[1] Seṭṭhidāsā pi Sattukaṃ gahetvā seṭṭhinivesanaṃ agamaṃsu.

Taṃ disvā seṭṭhidhītu manaṃ pūressāmīti Sattukaṃ gandhodakena nahāpetvā sabbābharaṇapatimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā pāsādam pesesi. Subhaddā paripuṇṇo me saṅkappoti atirekālaṅkārena alaṅkaritvā taṃ paricaramānā carati. Sattuko katipāhaṃ vītināmetvā cintesi: imissā pasādhanakabhaṇḍakaṃ mayhaṃ bhavissati, kiñcid eva upāyena imaṃ ābharaṇam gahetuṃ vaṭṭatīti samīpe sukhanisinnakāle Bhaddaṃ āha: mayhaṃ ekaṃ vacanaṃ vattabbaṃ atthīti.

Seṭṭhidhītā sahassalābhaṃ labhitvā viya tuṭṭhamānasā: vissaṭṭhaṃ vada ayyati āha.

Tvaṃ cintesi: Maṃ nissāya iminā jīvitaṃ laddhan ti. Ahaṃ pana gahitamatto va corapapāta-pabbate adhivatthāya devatāya: Sac'ahaṃ jīvituṃ labhissāmi balikamman te dassāmīti āyāciṃ. Taṃ nissāya mayā jīvitaṃ laddhaṃ, sīghaṃ balikammaṃ sajjāpehīti.

Subhaddā tassa manaṃ pūressāmīti balikammaṃ sajjāpetvā sabbapasādhanaṃ pasādhetvā ekayāne āruyha sāmikena saddhiṃ corapapātapabbataṃ gantvā pabbatadevatāya balikammaṃ karissāmīti abhirūhituṃ āraddhā.

Sattuko cintesi: Sabbesu abhirūhantesu mama imissā ābharaṇaṃ gahetuṃ okāso na bhavissatīti tam eva balibhājanaṃ gāhāpetvā pabbataṃ abhirūhi. So Bhaddāya saddhiṃ kathento piyakathaṃ na katheti. Sā ingiten'eva tassa adhippāyaṃ aññāsi.

Atha naṃ so āha: Bhadde, tvaṃ sāṭakaṃ omuñcitvā kāyārūḷham pasādhanaṃ ettha bhaṇḍikam karohīti.

Sāmi mayhaṃ ko aparādho ti.

[1] *Sic* S.M. T.I. *has* nesi.

Kiṃ pan' ahaṃ balikammatthaṃ āgato ti saññaṃ karosi[1] aham pi imissā devatāya yakanaṃ ubbattetvā khādeyyaṃ,[2] balikammāpadesena pana tava ābharaṇaṃ gaṇhitukāmo hutvā āgato 'mhīti.

Kassa pana ayya pasādhanaṃ, kassa ahan ti.

Mayaṃ evarūpaṃ na jānāma, aññaṃ tava santakaṃ aññaṃ mama santakan ti.

Sādhu ayya, ekaṃ pana me adhippāyaṃ pūretha, alaṅkataniyāmen 'eva purato ca pacchato ca āliṅgituṃ dethāti.

So sādhūti sampaṭicchi. Sā tena sampaṭicchita-bhāvaṃ ñatvā purato āliṅgitvā pacchato āliṅgantī viya hutvā pabbatapapāte pātesi. So patanto ākāse va cuṇṇavicuṇṇo ahosi. Tāya kataṃ vicitrabhāvaṃ ñatvā pabbate adhivatthā devatā guṇakittanavasena imā gāthā āha:

Na so[3] sabbesu ṭhānesu puriso hoti paṇḍito
Itthī pi paṇḍitā hoti tattha tattha vicakkhaṇā
Na so sabbesu ṭhānesu puriso hoti paṇḍito
Iṭṭhī pi paṇḍitā hoti muhuttam api cintaye[4] ti.

Tato Subhaddā cintesi: Na sakkā mayā iminā niyāmena puna gehaṃ gantuṃ, ito va gantvā ekaṃ pabbajjaṃ pabbajissāmīti nigaṇṭhārāmaṃ gantvā nigaṇṭhe pabbajjaṃ yāci. Atha naṃ te āhaṃsu: kena niyāmena pabbajjā hotūti.

Yaṃ tumhākaṃ pabbajjāya uttamaṃ tad 'eva karothāti.

Te sādhūti tassā tālaṭṭhinā kese luñcitvā pabbājesuṃ. Kesā puna vaḍḍhantā rāsivasena kuṇḍalāvaṭṭā hutvā vaḍḍhiṃsu. Sā ten'eva kāraṇena Kuṇḍalakesā nāma jātā. Sā attano pabbajitaṭṭhāne sabbasippaṃ uggaṇhitvā: tesaṃ ito uttariṃ viseso natthīti ñatvā gāma-nigama-rājadhāniyo vicarantī yattha yattha paṇḍitā atthi tattha tattha gantvā tesaṃ jānanasippaṃ sabbam eva gaṇhati, ath' assā bahusu ṭhānesu sikkhitabhāvena paṭivādaṃ dātuṃ samatthā na honti. Sā attanā saddhiṃ kathetuṃ samatthaṃ adisvā yaṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā pavisati tassa dvāre vālikarāsiṃ katvā tattha jambusākhaṃ ṭhapesi: Yo mama vādaṃ āropetuṃ sakkoti

[1] T.I. saṅkaṃ karosi.
[2] S.M. and T.I. (*primâ manû*) mādeyyaṃ.
[3] At Jātaka 3,438, where these verses recur, the reading is *hi*.
[4] Jātaka, *lahum attha-vicintikā*.

so imaṃ sākhaṃ maddatūti samīpe ṭhitadārakānaṃ saññaṃ deti. Taṃ sattāham pi maddantā na honti atha naṃ gahetvā pakkamati.

Tasmiṃ samaye amhākaṃ bhagavā loke nibbattitvā Sāvatthiyaṃ upanissāya Jetavane viharati. Kuṇḍalakesā pi kho anupubbena Sāvatthiṃ patvā antonagaraṃ pavisamānā porāṇakaniyāmen 'eva vālikarāsimhi sākhaṃ ṭhapetvā dārakānaṃ saññaṃ datvā pāvisi. Tasmiṃ samaye Dhammasenāpati bhikkhusaṅghe paviṭṭhe ekako va nagaraṃ pavisanto vālikathūpe jambusākhaṃ disvā: kasmā ayaṃ ṭhapitā ti pucchi.

Dārakā taṃ kāraṇaṃ aparihāpetvā kathesuṃ. Evaṃ sante imaṃ gahetvā maddatha dārakā ti. Tesu therassa vacanaṃ sutvā ekacce madditum na visahiṃsu, ekacce taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva madditvā cuṇṇavicuṇṇaṃ akaṃsu.

Kuṇḍalakesā bhattakiccaṃ katvā nikkhamantī sākhaṃ madditaṃ disvā: kass'etaṃ kammau ti pucchi. Ath' assā Dhammasenāpatinā kārāpitabhāvaṃ kathayiṃsu.

Sā attano thāmaṃ ājānanto: imaṃ sākhaṃ maddāpetuṃ no visahessati, addhā mahanto eko bhavissati, ahampi pana khuddikā bhavantī na sobhissāmi, antogāmam eva pavisitvā parisāya saññaṃ dātuṃ vaṭṭatīti cintetvā tathā akāsi. Asīti-kula-sahassanivāse nagare [1] sabhāgasabhāgavasena sabbe va jāniṃsūti veditabbaṃ.

Thero pi bhattakiccaṃ katvā aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamūle nisīdi. Ath' ayaṃ Kuṇḍalakesā mahājanaparivutā therassa santikaṃ gantvā paṭisanthāraṃ katvā ekamante ṭhatvā : Bhante tumhehi sākhā maddāpitā ti pucchi.

Āma mayā maddāpitā ti.

Evaṃ bhante tumhehi saddhiṃ amhākaṃ vādo hotūti.

Hotu Bhadde ti.

Kassa pucchā hoti kassa vissajjanan ti.

Pucchā nāma amhākaṃ pattā, tvaṃ pana tuyhaṃ jānanakaṃ pucchāti.

Sā therena dinna-anumatiyā sabbam eva attanā jānanavādaṃ pucchi. Thero sabbaṃ vissajjesi. Sā sabbaṃ

[1] S.M. akāsīti kula sahasse nagare.

pucchitvā tuṇhī ahosi. Atha naṃ thero āha: Tayā bahuṃ pucchituṃ, mayampi ekaṃ pañhaṃ pucchāmāti.

Pucchatha bhante ti.

Ekaṃ nāma kin ti.

Kuṇḍalakesā: na jāṇāmi bhante ti āha.

Tvaṃ ettakam pi na jānāsi aññaṃ kiṃ jānissatīti.

Sā tatth 'eva therassa pādesu patitvā: tumhākaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi bhante ti āha.

Maṃ saraṇā gamanakammaṃ n'atthi, sadevake loke agga puggalo Dhuravihāre[1] vasati, taṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāti.

Sā evaṃ karissāmi bhante ti sāyaṇha-samaye Satthu dhammadesana-velāyaṃ santikaṃ gantvā pañcapatiṭṭhitena vanditvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Satthā tassā madditasaṅkhārāya cariyāvasena Dhammapade imaṃ gātham āha:—

> Sahassam api ce gāthā anatthapada-saṃhitā
> Ekaṃ gāthāpadaṃ seyyo yaṃ sutvā upasammatīti.[2]

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathā ṭhitā va saha paṭisambhidāhi Arahattaṃ patvā pabbajjaṃ yāci. Satthā tassā pabbajjaṃ paṭicchi. Sā bhikkhuni-upassayaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Aparabhāge catuparisamajjhe kathā udapādi: Mahantā vatāyaṃ Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā yā ca catuppadikagāthāvasāne Arahattaṃ pattā ti. Satthā taṃ kāraṇaṃ aṭṭhupattiṃ katvā theriṃ khippābhiññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

9. *Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā.*[3]

In the ninth Sutta by the words *khippābhiññānaṃ*, he points out Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā (the curly-haired) as the chief among those Bhikkhunīs who are swift to reach the Higher Insight.

This woman also was reborn in a noble family at Haṃsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara. And

[1] So all MSS.
[2] Dhammapada, verse 101.
[3] She is the author of the five verses, 107-11, in the Therī Gāthā. The MSS. of Dhammapāla's commentary on that passage spell the name -kesī at p. 89 of Prof. Ed. Müller's edition, and -kesā at p. 99.

when, on hearing the Master preach the Law, she had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are swift to reach the higher insight; she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons she was reborn (in the time of the Buddha Kassapa) as one of seven sisters, in the house of Kiki, the king of the Kāsi country. And for twenty thousand years, having taken a vow to keep the Ten Precepts, she lived a life of chastity, and had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus. And when she had passed on from world to world of gods and men, during the interval between the coming of one Buddha and another she re-entered existence in the family of the Treasurer in the city of Rājagaha, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

They gave her the name Bhaddā. And that very same day, and in the same city, a son was born to the King's chaplain.

At the moment he was born all the weapons in the city, beginning from those at the royal palace, grew wondrous bright.

And when the chaplain went on the morrow, he asked if the king had slept pleasantly.

The king replied: "How should we sleep pleasantly this day, reverend sir, when all night we were alarmed by seeing the weapons in our palace glowing bright!"

"Oh, great king," said the chaplain, "be not disturbed by reason of this! Not only at your palace did the weapons grow bright, but it was the same through the whole city."

"For what reason, reverend sir?"

"In our house a child was born under the robber's star. He has come as an enemy to the whole city. This is his sign. There is no special danger foretold against yourself. But if you wish it, we will put the child away."

The king said: "So long as he wrongs us not there is no need of putting him away."

The chaplain thought: "My son has come bringing

his name with him!" So he called him Sattuko ("Highwayman").

And Bhaddā grew up in the Treasurer's house, while Sattuko, on the other hand, grew up in the chaplain's house.

From the time he was able to walk and run about in play, whatever he used to see in the places here and there where he rambled about, that did he take, and bring home till he filled his parents' house.

And his father, moreover, though threatening him with the stocks, was not able to stop him.

But later on, when he had come of age, his father, seeing that he could not possibly be prevented from doing this, gave him two dark-blue cloths to wear, and put in his hands such tools as he would need for house-breaking, and said to him: "Earn your own living then, even by this trade!" and he turned him adrift. And from that day forth he used to throw his weighted rope over the house-top, and climbing up and breaking through the joinings of the masonry, he would bear away the goods stored up in his neighbour's dwellings, even as if he had stored them there himself. And through the whole city there was not a house he had not robbed.

Now one day the king, when going about the city in his chariot, asked his charioteer:

"Pray, how is it that there is a breach to be seen in every single house in this city?"

"Your highness, in this city there is a robber they call Sattuko, who breaks down the masonry of the houses and carries off property."

The king caused the city-watchman to be summoned, and said to him: "We are told that there is even such a thief as this in the city! Why do you not lay hands on him?"

"Your highness, we cannot find this robber."

And the king said: "If you seize this thief to-day, well and good! If you don't seize him I will have you impaled."

And the watchman said: "So be it, your highness."

And he sent men about through the whole city. And having seen this man bearing away goods from a house he had broken into, he handed him over to the king.

And the king said: "Take this robber forth by the South Gate and kill him."

And the city-watchman, according to the king's command, took the robber, and had him beaten with a thousand lashes at each place where four streets met; and so he went on to the South Gate.

Just then Subhaddā,[1] the Treasurer's daughter, having unbolted her lattice, was looking forth because of the noise of the great crowd; and beheld the robber, "Highwayman," thus haled along. And, clasping both hands upon her heart, she went and lay upon her bed, with face bowed down. And since she was the only daughter of this family, her kinsfolk could not bear to see so much as a trifling trouble in her face; therefore, when they saw her lying on her bed, they asked her: "What ails you, dear one?"

"Did you see that robber led to execution?" said she: "Yes, yes; we saw him," they answered. "If he is mine I shall live, but if I do not have him, it will surely be my death!" said she.

They, failing to pacify her in any way whatsoever, came to the conclusion "better she should live than die!" So her father went to the city watchman, and giving him a thousand pieces of gold as a bribe, said to him:

"My daughter's heart is bound up in the robber. Set the man free by any stratagem whatever it may be!" "Very well!" said the watchman, and consented to the Treasurer's request. So he kept the robber lingering here and there till nearly sunset, and when the sun was about to set, he had a certain man brought out of the prison; and he caused Highwayman's fetters to be struck off, and sent him to the Treasurer's house; then binding the other

[1] This addition of *Su* to the name occurs also in Dhammapāla.

man with these fetters he led him away, dismissing him by the south gate.

Thereupon the Treasurer's slaves took Highwayman, and went to the Treasurer's house.

When he saw him, the Treasurer said: "I will fulfil my daughter's wish," so he caused Highwayman to be bathed in scented water, and had him adorned with all his jewels, and sent him to the upper part of the house.

And Subhaddā thinking "My heart's desire is won!" adorned herself with those jewels that were left over, and went about serving him.

When he had passed a few days (thus) Highwayman thought: "I will have those jewels she wears to adorn her. By whatever wiles it may be, I must get those gems!"

So at the time when they were sitting happily near one another, he said to Bhaddā:

"There is something I ought to say."

The Treasurer's daughter, full of contentment, as one who has received a thousand gifts, answered:

"Speak freely, my lord!"

And he said:

"You thought: 'His life was saved through me.' But when I was taken prisoner, I prayed to the goddess who dwells on that mountain, whence they throw down the robbers, and I besought her: 'If my life be saved I will offer gifts to thee'! It was through her my life was saved. Do you prepare an offering with all speed."

Subhaddā, thinking, "I will do as he wishes," made ready an offering.

Then, adorning herself with all her jewels, and mounting one bullock cart with her husband, she went to the mountain where they used to cast down robbers. And purposing to offer gifts to the goddess, she was about to climb the mountain, when Sattuko thought to himself:

"If all our people were to climb the mountain with us, I shall have no chance of seizing on her jewels!"

So bidding her take the sacrificial vessel herself, he went on up the mountain.

And while talking with Bhaddā, he had not a loving word for her, and she felt by his very manner what his purpose was.

Now he said to her: "Bhaddā, take off your Sāṭaka (garment), and make a bundle here of those jewels you brought up hither upon you."

"Oh my husband, what wrong have I done?" she said.

"Why do you suppose I have come to offer gifts? Why I could tear out this goddess's liver and eat it! I came hither under pretence of offering gifts because I coveted your jewels."

But she said, "Whose, Sir, pray, are the jewels, and whose am I? We know nothing of any such idea as there being any difference between a thing belonging to you and one belonging to me. Still, all right Sir! Only fulfil one desire I have. Allow me once more, still dressed in my finery, to embrace you both face to face, and from behind your back."

And he consented, saying, "Very well!" And having embraced him face to face, she made as if she would embrace him from behind, and thrust him over the precipice. So falling through the air he was crushed to atoms.

And the goddess who haunted the mountain, seeing this wondrous deed, uttered these verses in her praise:

'Tis not on all occasions a man alone who is clever.
A woman can be clever too, with her eyes open on all sides.
'Tis not on all occasions a man alone who is clever.
A woman can be clever too, should she give thought for
a moment only.

Then Subhaddā thought to herself: "I cannot go back to my own home thus! I will go forth and forsake the world by entering some order."

So she went to the dwelling of the Nigaṇṭhas (Jains), and begged them to admit her into their Order. And they said to her: "With what manner of ceremony will you be ordained?" She answered: "With your highest

ordination." And saying, "So be it!" they pulled out her hair with palmyra thorns, and thus ordained her.

And when her hair began growing again, it grew in curls, through its great abundance, and for this reason she came to be called Kuṇḍalakesā (Curly Locks).

Now when she had mastered all the teaching to be had in that place where she had been ordained, and saw that there was nothing further to be learned there, she wandered about in villages and market-towns, and wheresoever there were learnéd men, there did she acquire their learning, nay, all of it!

And, therefore, in many places they were not able to give any answers to her because she was so learnéd. So having found no one who was able to dispute with her, whatever village or town she entered, she used to make a heap of sand beside the gate and plant a Jambu-branch on it, and tell the children standing near:

"If any man is able to dispute with me he may trample down this branch!"

If in seven days there was no one who trampled it down, she used to take it away and depart thence.

At this time Our Blessèd One, reborn into this world, was living at Jetavana near Sāvatthī.

Now Kuṇḍalakesā also arrived at Sāvatthī, and when she came to the city she planted her branch on a heap of sand in the very same way as before. And telling the children about it she went into the city.

Just then the Captain of the Faith, Sāriputto, was entering the city alone (the company of Bhikkhus having preceded him), and he saw the mound of sand and the branch.

"What has this been put here for?" he asked. The children told him about it, leaving nothing out.

"If that be so, take it down and trample on it, boys!" said he.

Some among them, when they had heard the Thera's words, did not dare to trample on the branch, but others, that very moment, trampled it to fragments.

Kuṇḍalakesā, having finished her meal, was setting out, when she saw that the branch was trampled down, and she asked:

"Whose doing is this?"

Then they told her that the Captain of the Faith had caused it to be done.

And she thought to herself: "He must have known his own strength when he dared to tell them to trample down my branch! Surely he is some great man! But as for me, I am insignificant, and I shall not show to advantage alone! I had better go into the village and tell the people." And she did so.

[It must be understood that all the eighty thousand families in the city got to know of it according to their districts.]

Now the Thera, having finished his meal, seated himself at the foot of a certain tree. And this woman, Kuṇḍalakesā, followed by a great crowd, went to the Thera, and, after greeting him, stood respectfully on one side and asked him: "Reverend sir, was it you who bade them trample down my branch?"

"Yes, it was I who had it trampled down," he answered.

"So be it, sir! Then let us dispute—you and I together," said she.

"So be it, Bhaddā," he replied. "Which of us shall ask questions, and which shall answer?"

"It is my right to question?"

"Ask away, then, on whatever you understand," said he.

So, the Thera having agreed to it, she questioned him on such matters as she understood.

The Thera solved all she put to him. And when she had asked all her questions she was silent.

Then the Thera said to her:

"You have asked me many questions. Now, let me ask you this one question."

"Ask it, reverend sir," she said. And he asked her one riddle only: "What is the one?" Kuṇḍalakesā answered: "Reverend sir, I do not know!"

"If you do not know even so little as that, how can you know anything else?"

And thereupon she fell down at the Thera's feet, saying:

"I take you as my refuge, O reverend sir!"

"Nay, you must not come to me as a refuge, but to him who is the Lord and greatest in the world. He dwells at the *Maha-Vihāra.* Go you to him as your refuge!"

And she said: "I will do so, sir!"

And in the evening she went to the Master at the time of the preaching, and when she had prostrated herself wholly before him she stood on one side.

And the Master, by way of leading her to suppress the Sankhāras (Elements of Being), spoke to her this stanza, which is in the Dhammapada:

"Though there be a thousand verses full of foolish sentences
Better do I hold one sentence of a verse whereby, on
hearing it, one is set at rest."

And, at the end of the stanza, even as she stood there she received the four Gifts of Perfect Understanding, and attained to Arahatship.

And she prayed that she might enter the Order, and the Master consented to her ordination. So, going to the home of the Bhikkhunīs, she renounced the world.

Afterwards it was talked of, among the four classes of disciples (Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunīs, and lay disciples, both men and women), how great must be this Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā to have attained to Arahatship at the end of a stanza of four lines. And the Master set forth the reason of this, and gave the Therī the chief place among those who are swift to reach the higher knowledge.

10. *Bhaddā Kāpilānī.*

Dasame *pubbenivāsānan* ti pubbe-nivuttha-khandha-santānaṃ anussarantīnaṃ Bhaddā Kāpilāni aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddha-kāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā Satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ

bhikkhunim pubbenivāsam anussarantīnam aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentam disvā adhikārakammam katvā tam ṭhānantaram patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassam devamanussesu saṃsaritvā anuppanne buddhe Bārāṇasiyam kulagehe paṭisandhim gaṇhitvā attano bhātu jāyāya saddhim kalaham karontī tāya paccekabuddhassa piṇḍapāte dinne: Ayam imassa piṇḍapatam datvā attano vasam vattetīti paccekabuddhassa hatthato pattam gaṇhitvā bhattam chaḍḍetvā kalalassa pūretvā adāsi. Mahājano bālā ayan ti garahi, bhātu jāyāya te saddhim[1] kalahe kate tassā kiñci na karosi, paccekabuddho te kim aparajjhatīti āha.

Sā tesam vacanena lajjāyamānā puna pattam gahetvā kalalam hāretvā dhovitvā gandhacuṇṇena ubbaṭṭetvā[2] catumadhurassa pūretvā upari āsittena paduma-gabbhavaṇṇena sappinā vijjotamānam paccekabuddhassa hatthe ṭhapetvā: yathā ayam piṇḍapāto obhāsajāto evam obhāsajātam me sarīram hotūti patthanam ṭhapesīti sabbam Mahākassapattherassa vatthumhi vuttanayen'eva veditabbam. Mahākassapatthero pana dakkhiṇamaggam gahetvā dasabalassa santikam Bahuputtaka-nigrodha-mūlam gato ayam Bhaddā Kāpilāni vāmamaggam gaṇhitvā mātugāmassa pabbajjāya ananuññāta-bhāvena paribbājikārāmam agamāsi Yadā pana Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī pabbajjam labhi tadā sā therī theriyā santike pabbajjañ ca upasampadañ ca labhitvā aparabhāge vipassanāya kammam karontī arahattam patvā pubbenivāsañāṇe ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Atha Satthā Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento imam therim pubbenivāsam anussarantīnam aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

10. *Bhaddā Kāpilāni.*

In the tenth Sutta by the words *pubbenivāsānam* (dwelling in the past), he points out Bhaddā Kāpilāni as the chief among those who remember former states of existence.

[1] S M. ayanti garahitvā yāya te saddhim. T.I. (*primâ manû*) ayanti garahi vā yāya te saddhim.
[2] T.I. *has* ubbaddhetvā.

They say that this woman, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, was reborn in a noble family at Haṃsavatī. And when, on hearing the Master preach the Law, she had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who remember former births, she (forming a resolve) aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence in a noble family at Benares, at a time when there was no Buddha upon the earth.

Now there arose a quarrel between her and her brother's wife. And when the other had given food to a Pacceka Buddha she (Bhaddā) thought:

"By giving him food she gets him into her own power." And she took the bowl from the hand of the Pacceka Buddha, and threw away the food, and filled it with mud, and gave it to him.

And the multitude blamed her for a fool, saying, "The quarrel was between you and your brother's wife, yet you did nothing to *her*! What harm has the Pacceka Buddha done to you?"

And she was put to shame by these words, and took the alms-bowl again and emptied out the mud, and washed it, and rubbed it with perfumed powder, and filled it with the four kinds of sweet food, and gave it into the hand of the Pacceka Buddha, shining with butter of the colour of the inside of the bloom of the lotus, and she uttered the prayer: "May my body become bright even as this food in the alms-bowl!"

All the rest should be understood as before told in the story of the Thera Mahākassapo, (only adding that) the Thera took the right-hand road and went to the Blessed One at the foot of the Bahu-puttaka Banyan Tree, and this woman Bhaddā Kāpilāni took the left-hand road, and, since women had not then received permission to be ordained in Gotama's Order, went to the grove of the women who had entered the Order of the Wandering Ascetics.

Afterwards at the time when Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī

received the permission for women to enter (Gotama's) Order, then this Therī went to her, and from her received both the lower and the higher grade of ordination; and, striving after Spiritual Insight, attained to Arahatship, and became endowed with knowledge of her former births.

So the Master, seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, placed this Therī first among those who remember their former births.

11. *Bhaddā Kaccānā.*

Ekādasame *mahābhiññappattānan* ti mahatiyo abhiññā pattānaṃ Bhaddā Kaccānā aggā ti dasseti.

Ekassa pi buddhassa cattāro ca janā mahābhiññā honti na avasesasāvakā. Avasesasāvakā hi kappasatasahassam eva anussaritum sakkonti, na tato paraṃ, mahābhiññappattā pana kappasatasahassādhikam asaṇkheyyaṃ anussaranti. Amhākam pi Satthu sāsane dve aggasāvakā Bakkula thero Bhaddā Kaccānā ti ime cattāro ettakaṃ anussarituṃ sakkhiṃsu. Tasmā ayaṃ therī mahābhiññāppattānaṃ aggā nāma jātā. Bhaddā Kaccānā ti tassā nāmaṃ, bhaddakañcanassa viya hi uttamasuvaṇṇassa viya tassā sarīravaṇṇo ahosi. Sā tasmā Bhaddakañcanā ti nāmaṃ labhi. Sā pacchā Kaccānā t'eva saṇkhaṃ gatā, Rāhulamātāy' etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Sā hi Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ mahābhiññappattānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Suppabuddhasakkassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Bhadda Kaccānā ti 'ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Sā vayappattā bodhisattassa gehaṃ agamāsi.

Aparabhāge Rāhulakumāraṃ nāma puttaṃ vijāsi.[1] Tassa jātadivase va bodhisatto nikkhamitvā bodhimaṇḍe sabbaññutaṃ patvā lokānuggahaṃ karonto anupubbena Kapila-

[1] S.M. vijāyi.

vatthum āgamma ñātīnam saṅgaham akāsi. Aparabhāge parinibbute Suddhodanamahārāje Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī pañcahi mātugāmasatehi saddhim Satthu santike pabbaji. Rāhulamātā pi Janapadakalyāṇī pi theriyā santikam gantvā pabbajiṃsu. Sā pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya Bhaddā Kaccānattherī t'eva pākaṭā ahosi. Atha aparabhāge vipassanam vaḍḍhetvā arahattam patvā abhiññāsu ciṇṇavasī ahosi, ekapallaṅke nisinnā ekāvajjanena kappasatasahassādhikam asaṅkheyyam anussari. Tassā tasmim guṇe pākaṭe jāte Satthā Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imam therim mahābhiññapattānam aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

11. *Bhaddā Kaccānā.*

In the eleventh Sutta by the words *mahābhiññappattānam* he points out Bhaddā Kaccānā as the chief among those who attained to the Great Gifts.

Now, every single Buddha has four followers, who are gifted with the Great Insight. But the rest of the disciples are not so gifted. For the rest of the disciples can recall a hundred thousand æons, but, on the other hand, these four, after attaining to the Great Gifts, can remember innumerable ages, a time longer than a hundred thousand æons.

Now, under the dispensation of Our Master, those who had the power of remembrance were the two chief disciples, and also the Thera Bakkula and Bhaddā Kaccānā.

These four were able to remember thus much. Therefore this Therī came to be called the chief among those who have attained to the Great Gifts. The name Bhaddā Kaccānā was given to her because her skin was beautiful, like gold (kañcana); nay, like the very finest of gold. On account of this she came by the name Bhaddā Kañcanā, and afterwards she came to be called Kaccānā, which is a synonym for (her more usual designation) 'the mother of Rāhula.'

She, too, had re-entered existence in a noble family at Hamsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and afterwards, when she (on hearing the Master preach the Truth) had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are endowed with the Great Gifts, she had aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in the household of Suppabuddha, the Sākya, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

And when she came of age she was married to the Bodhisat. Afterwards she bore a son, who was named Rāhula.

But, on the very day of his son's birth, the Bodhisat went forth. And when he had attained to perfect wisdom under the Bo-Tree, he, out of mercy to the world, returned in due course to Kapilavatthu, and reconciled his kinsfolk.

Afterwards, on the death of the great King Suddhodana, Mahāpajāpatī, the Gotamī, together with five hundred other women, received ordination from the Master. And both the mother of Rāhula and Rūpanandā, going to the Therī,[1] entered the Order.

And it was only from the time of her entering the Order that she became known as Bhaddā Kaccānā.

Now, afterwards, when she had reached the fulness of Spiritual Insight and attained to Arahatship, she lived in the practice of the Spiritual Gifts.

And, seated once upon a couch, she recalled, in one meditation, immeasurable ages, more than a hundred thousand æons. And since her merit in this became renowned, the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, put this Therī in the chief place among those who have attained to the Great Gifts.

[1] That is to Mahāpajāpatī.

12. *Kisāgotamī.*

Dvādasame *lūkhacīvaradharānan* ti tīhi lūkhehi samannāgataṃ paṃsukūlaṃ dhārentīnaṃ Kisāgotamī aggā ti dasseti. Gotamī ti tassā nāmaṃ, thokaṃ kilantadhātukattā pana Kisā Gotamī ti vuccati. Ayam pi hi Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā Satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Sāvatthiyaṃ duggatakule nibbattā vayappattakāle ekaṃ kulaṃ agamāsi. Tattha naṃ duggatakulassa dhītā ti paribhaviṃsu.

Sā aparabhāge puttaṃ vijāyi. Ath'assā sammānam akaṃsu. So pan'assā dārako ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā kīḷanavaye ṭhito kālam akāsi. Tassā soko udapādi. Sā: ahaṃ imasmiṃ yeva gehe hatalābhasakkārā hutvā puttassa jātakālato paṭṭhāya sakkāraṃ pāpuniṃ. Ime mayhaṃ puttaṃ bahi chaḍḍetum pi vāyameyyun ti puttaṃ aṅken'ādāya: puttassa me bhesajjaṃ dethāti gehadvārapaṭipāṭiyā vicarantī diṭṭhadiṭṭhaṭṭhāne manussā: kattha te matakassa bhesajjaṃ diṭṭha pubban ti pāṇiṃ paharitvā parihāsaṃ karonti.

Sā tesaṃ kathāya n'eva saññattiṃ gacchati.

Atha naṃ eko paṇḍita-puriso disvā: Ayam puttasokena cittavikkhepaṃ pattā bhavissati. Etissā pana bhesajjaṃ añño na jānissati dasabalo va jānissatīti cintetvā evam āha: Amma tava puttassa bhesajjaṃ añño jānanto nāma n'atthi. Sadevakeloke aggapuggalo dasabalo Dhuravihāre vasati. Tassa santikaṃ gantvā pucchahīti.

Sā: saccaṃ puriso kathetīti puttaṃ ādāya tathāgatassa buddhāsane nisinna-velāya parisapariyante ṭhatvā: puttassa me bhesajjaṃ detha bhagavā ti āha.

Satthā tassā upanissayaṃ disvā: bhaddakan te Gotamī kataṃ bhesajjatthāya idhāgacchantiyā, gaccha nagaraṃ pavisitvā koṭito paṭṭhāya sakalanagaraṃ caritvā yasmiṃ

gehe koci matapubbo n'atthi tato siddhatthakaṃ āharāhīti āha.

Sā: sādhu bhante ti tuṭṭhamānasā antonagaraṃ pavisitvā paṭhame gehe yeva: ḍasabalo mama puttassa bhesajjatthāya siddhatthakaṃ āharāpeti siddhatthakam me dethāti āha. Handa Gotamī ti nīharitvā adaṃsu.

Ayaṃ eva gahetuṃ na sakkā. Imasmiṃ gehe koci matapubbo atthīti.

Kiṃ vadesi Gotamī[1] idha matake gaṇetuṃ na sakkotīti.

Tena hi alaṃ, nāhaṃ gaṇhissāmi. Dasabalo maṃ yattha matapubbo atthi tato siddatthakaṃ na gaṇhāpetīti.

Sā iminā va niyāmena dutiyaṃ tatiyaṃ[2] gharaṃ gantvā cintesi: Sakalanagare ayaṃ eva niyāmo bhavissati. Idaṃ hitānukampakena buddhena diṭṭhaṃ bhavissatīti saṃvegaṃ labhitvā tato bahi nikkhamitvā āmakasusānaṃ netvā puttaṃ hatthena gahetva: Puttaka ahaṃ imaṃ maraṇaṃ tav'eva uppannan ti cintesiṃ, na pan'etam tav'eva mahājanasādhāraṇo esa dhammo ti vatvā puttaṃ āmakasusāne chaḍḍetvā imaṃ gātham āha :—

> Na gāmadhammo nigamassa[3] dhammo
> Na cāp'ayaṃ eka kulassa dhammo
> Sabbassa lokassa sadevakassa
> Eso va dhammo yadidaṃ aniccatā ti.

Evañ ca pana vatvā Satthu santikaṃ agamāsi. Atha naṃ Satthā: laddho te Gotamī siddhatthako ti āha.

Niṭṭhītaṃ bhante siddhatthakena kammaṃ. Patiṭṭhaṃ pana me dethāti āha.

Ath' assā Satthā Dhammapade imaṃ gātham āha:

> Taṃ puttaṃ pasutaṃ[4] mattaṃ byāsattamānasaṃ naraṃ
> Suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchatīti.[5]

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathā ṭhitā va sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāya pabbajjaṃ yāci. Satthā pabbajjaṃ anujāni. Sā tikkhattuṃ

[1] MSS. often Gotami in voc.
[2] T.1. *secundâ manû*: MSS. *omit* dutiyaṃ.
[3] S.M. no nigamassa.
[4] S.M. puttapasusaṃ.
[5] Dhammapada, verse 287, compare 47.

Satthāraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā vanditvā bhikkhuni-upassayaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Upasampadaṃ labhitvā pana na cirass' eva yonisomanasikāre kammaṃ karontī vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhesi. Ath'assā Satthā imaṃ obhāsa-gāthaṃ āha:

Yo ca vassasataṃ jīve appassaṃ amataṃ padaṃ
Ekāhaṃ jīvitam seyyo passato amataṃ padan ti.[1]

Sa gāthāpariyosāne arahattaṃ pattā parikkhāravalañje paramukkaṭṭhā hutvā tīhi lūkhehi samannāgataṃ cīvaraṃ pārūpitvā vicari.

Aparabhāge Satthā Jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ lūkhacīvaradharāṇaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

12. *Kisāgotamī.*

In the twelfth Sutta by the words *lūkhacīvaradharāṇaṃ* ("those who wear a rough garment"), he points out Kisāgotamī as the chief among those who wear rags of the three kinds of roughness, taken from a dust heap.

Gotamī was the name of this woman, but as she was (apt to be) soon wearied, they called her Kisā Gotamī (the weakling). She, too, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara was reborn in a noble family at Haṃsavatī, and when (while hearing the preaching of the Law) she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who wear rough garments, she, stoutly resolving, aspired to the same distinction.

And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in the time of this Our Buddha, in a poor family at Sāvatthī. When she came of age she married. And she was treated with contempt, as being the daughter of poor folk.

Later on she bore a son, and thereupon she was treated with deference.

[1] Dhammapada, verse 114.

But when this child had come to an age to be able to run about hither and thither in play, it died.

And she grieved, thinking: "In this very household where I had been stripped of all advantage and honour, I rose to dignity from the moment of my child's birth! Surely these people will now try to cast out my son!"

So she took her child upon her side, and wandering from door to door, asked at one house after another, "Give me medicine for my child!" And, wherever they saw her the people jeered at her, clapping their hands, and saying, "Where did you ever yet see medicine for a dead child!" And yet, for all they spoke so, she could not understand.

Now a certain wise man saw her and thought to himself: "This woman is distraught through grief for her child. But though no other knows of any medicine for her, yet the Blessèd One will surely know." And he spoke thus to her: "Friend, there is no other who knows of any medicine for your child. (But) He who is greatest of all in the world of gods and men is dwelling in the Dhura Vihāra. Go then to him and ask him."

And she, thinking: "This man is telling me the truth," took her son and went and stood at the back of the assembly, as the Blessèd One was seated in the seat of the teacher. And she said to him: "Master, give me medicine for my child?"

The Master, seeing what destiny (was in store for her), said to her: "This is well done Gotamī, that you should come hither for medicine! Go now, enter the town, and starting from one end walk through the whole of it, and in whatsoever house death has never yet been, there get some white mustard-seed."

And she answered: "That will I, master!" and, joyful in heart, took her way townwards. And at the very first house she said, "The Blessèd One bids me get white mustard-seed as medicine for my child. Give me some mustard-seed."

"Here, then, Gotamī," said they, and brought mustard-seed and gave it to her. But she would not take it

simply so, and she asked further, "But has anyone ever died in this house?"

"What are you saying, Gotamī? The number of those that have died here can no man count!"

"Then never mind, I must not accept the mustard-seed," she said, "The Blessèd One told me not to take it from any house where death has been."

But when she had gone in this same way to the second and to the third house, she thought to herself: "It will be the same throughout the whole city! This thing was surely (fore)seen by the Buddha in his mercy and love." And her heart was moved within her. And going forth out of the city, even to the open graveyard, she took her child by the hand, saying:

"Little one! I thought death had befallen thee (alone), but lo! it is the law common to thee and to all mankind!"

And she put him down in the graveyard, and uttered this verse:

> "This is the Law not only for villages or towns—
> Not for *one* family is this the Law,
> For all the wide worlds both of men and gods,
> This is the Law—that all must pass away!"

But when she had thus spoken, she went to the Master. And the Master said to her: "Did you get any mustard-seed, Gotamī?"

And she answered: "The work of the mustard-seed is done! (But) be you (now) a refuge unto me!"

Then the Master spoke this verse to her (which is in the Dhammapada): "To him who is wrapt in his children and his possessions, whose mind is distracted.

To him comes death, bearing (all) away, even as the flood bears away the sleeping village."

And at the end of the verse, even as she stood there, she reached the Fruit of the Paths, and she prayed that she might enter the Order. And the Master granted her wish. So, first paying solemn obeisance three times to the

Master, she went to the home of the Bhikkhunīs and entered the Order.

And after rising to the higher grade in the Order, it was not long before, earnest in careful meditation, she perfected her Spiritual Insight.

Then the Master, even as in a vision, spoke this verse—

> Let a man live a hundred years,
> Beholding not the Deathless State,
> 'Twere better to have lived a single day
> The life of him who knows the Deathless State.

And at the end of the stanza she attained to Arahatship. And she became eminent in the greatest degree in the right observance of the Eight Requisites, and used to don robes rough in the three (prescribed) ways.

Afterwards, when the Master, seated at Jetavana, was assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs one after another, he gave to this Therī the chief place among those who wear the rough robe.

13. *Sigālakamātā.*

Terasame *saddhādhimuttānam* ti saddhālakkhaṇe abhiniviṭṭhānaṃ Sigālakamātā aggā ti dasseti.

Ayaṃ kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatiyaṃ kulaghare nibbattā Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ saddhādhimuttānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapetuṃ disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Rājagahanagare seṭṭhikule nibbattā samānajātikaṃ kulaṃ gantvā ekaṃ puttaṃ vijāyi. Tassa Sigālakakumāro ti nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Sā pi ten 'eva kāraṇena Sigālakamātā nāma jātā. Sā ekadivasaṃ Satthu dhammakathaṃ sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā Satthu santike pabbaji. Pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya saddhindriyaṃ adhimattaṃ paṭilabhi.

Sā dhammasavanatthāya vihāraṃ gantvā dasabalassa sarīranipphattiṃ olokayamānā va tiṭṭhati. Satthā tassā

saddhālakkhaṇe abhiniviṭṭhabhāvaṃ ñatvā sappāyaṃ katvā[1] pasādaniyamen 'eva dhammaṃ deseti. Sā pi therī saddhālakkhaṇaṃ eva dhuraṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Atha naṃ Satthā aparabhāge Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ saddhādhimuttānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

Theripāli vaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

13. *Sigālakamātā.*

In the thirteenth Sutta by the words *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* (intent upon Faith) he points out Sigālakamātā as the foremost among those who are firmly established in the characteristic of Faith.

They say that in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara this woman was reborn in a nobleman's house at Haṃsavatī. And when (on hearing the Law preached) she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are intent upon Faith, she, making a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha, was reborn in the Treasurer's family, in the city of Rājagaha. And having married into a family of equal rank with her own, she gave birth to a son. They called him young Sigālaka. For this reason she came to be named "the Mother of Sigālaka."

One day, when she had been hearing the Master preach the Law, she received Faith, and entered the Order under him.

From the time of her entering the Order she became gifted with Faith to the very utmost.

And having gone to the Vihāra, to hear the preaching of the Law, she stood gazing at the bodily perfection of the Blessèd One.

[1] S.M. *omits* sappāyaṃ katvā.

The Master, perceiving that she was firmly established in the virtue of Faith, for her sake preached the very doctrine in such wise as to fill her with belief. So this Therī also, making Faith the basis, reached up to Arahatship. And afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, gave to this Therī the chief place among those who are intent on Faith.

Art. XX.—*The Late Appearance of Romances and Novels in the Literature of China; with the History of the Great Archer, Yang Yû-chi.* By Professor Legge.

It is well known that, as Mr. Wylie has said, "Works of Fiction *par excellence* are not admitted to form a part of the Chinese National Literature."[1] We look in vain for such books in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library. In the Supplements to the Ch'un Ch'iû of Confucius, especially in that of Tso Ch'iû-ming,[2] we find many narratives full of stirring adventure, which have secured for him the title of "The Froissart of China." But his Work belongs to the department of history, and the finest passages in it owe their interest to the ability of the author, whom the late Stanislas Julien used to denominate, in his letters to me, "Un grand écrivain." In the works of Lieh-tsze, who could hardly be later than Tso Ch'iû-ming,[3] and of Chwang-tsze,[4] we have a good deal of Tâoist mythology and speculation; and, later on, Han Fei,[5] Hwai-nan Tsze,[6] Han Ying,[7] Liû Hsiang,[8] and others supply us with a multitude of incidents and anecdotes, with now and then an apologue, employed to point the moral of some classical passage or important statement of the authoritative writings of the Schools to which they severally belonged. In the

[1] Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 161.

[2] Opinions differ as to the personality, the date, and even the name of Tso-shih. See what I have written on these points in the prolegomena to the Chinese Classics, vol. v. ch. i. sect. iv. It is well established that his work made its appearance very early in the Han dynasty (B.C. 206).

[3] Mayers describes Lieh-Tsze as "a metaphysician whose period is assigned to the age immediately succeeding that of Confucius."

[4] Of the fourth century B.C. See my Introduction to the Texts of Taoism, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxix. p. 5.

[5] Died by his own hand in B.C. 236.

[6] Or Liû An, King of Hwâi-nan: also died by his own hand in B.C. 123.

[7] Of the second century B.C.

[8] Of the first century B.C.

Lî Sâo of Ch'ü Yü'an,[1] and other pieces of composition, all poetical, classed with it under the name of "The Elegies of Ch'û," we have more of the mythological and imaginative element, but still nothing that can be styled a novel or a romance. To find this, we have to come down to the Yüan or Mongol dynasty of our thirteenth century; so late was the literature of China in blossoming into this species of composition.

During the five centuries occupied by the Ch'in and Han dynasties there occurred the fires of Ch'in, which, no doubt, led to the loss of much of the ancient literature; and then ensued the researches of the government and scholars to recover and expound what of it could still be gathered up. In the first of our Christian centuries Buddhism was introduced into the country, and claimed possession of men's minds, along with the reveries of Tâoism, and the pure and calm rationalism of the *Literati* who had by this time adopted Confucius as their representative and hero.

Division and strife, political as well as literary, prevailed through our third, fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, amid a multitude of small and brief dynasties, some native and some of foreign origin, till we come to the great dynasty of T'ang, which dates from A.D. 618, and lasted for three centuries. It was a period of incessant contention between the Three Doctrines. Several of its emperors were strong and able men, having their sympathies very much with Buddhism, the progress of which however, was resisted by scholars and officers of great eminence. Early in the dynasty there was the historiographer Fû Yî, a resolute opponent of the Buddhistic system.[2] Later on there was Han Yü,[3] in the

[1] Of the fourth century B.C. He drowned himself on the fifth day of the fifth moon and his death is still commemorated on that day and month of every year.

[2] 傅奕, Fû Yî had been in office under the Sûi dynasty, and was made grand historiographer by the founder of the T'ang. He died in A.D. 639.

[3] 韓愈, styled T'ûi-chih (退之), and known by his local name of Ch'ang-lî (昌黎), A.D. 768–824. He was canonized as Han Wân Kung (韓文公), "Han, Duke of Literature."

eighth and ninth centuries, canonized as Han Kung, or "Duke of Literature." Mayers describes him as "foremost among the statesmen, poets, and philosophers of the dynasty, and one of the most venerated names in Chinese Literature." His essay against the relic-worship of Buddhism and the honours with which a bone of Buddha was received from the West, and admitted to the imperial palace, is still universally read,—the most celebrated State-paper and polemical diatribe in the world. Buddhism was not without its able defenders; and among them was a contemporary of Han Yü, called Liû Tsung-yüan,[1] a devoted Buddhist, a scholar also and a statesman like Han, and hardly inferior to him as an administrator and philosopher. They were both also celebrated as poets, and indeed poetry was cultivated throughout the dynasty more than it had been before. The rules that to this day are observed as to the length of the line, with the arrangement of the tones and of the cæsural pause, were first made in this dynasty. The names of Lî T'âi-po[2] and Tû Fû[3] stand out conspicuous among a host of other celebrated poetical writers, though neither then, nor before or after, has China given birth to any Epic poem, to be regarded as a romance in metre. Tâoism was also in vigour under the T'ang dynasty; and in the year 748[4] the emperor Hsüan confirmed the old Chang family in the headship of it with the title of *T'ien Shih*, or "Heavenly Master." The hostility between Tâoism and Buddhism came to a head during the short reign of Wû Tsung, and an edict was issued ordering the demolition of Buddhist monasteries and convents, and that monks

[1] 柳宗元, styled Tszr-hâu (子厚), and known also as Liû Liû-châu (柳柳州), from his banishment at a time of political disgrace to the charge of Liû-châu district.

[2] 李白, and 李太白, with the local designation of Ch'ing-lien (青蓮); A.D. 699–762.

[3] 杜甫, designated Tszc-mei (子美); with the local designation of Tû-ling (杜陵).

[4] A.D. 841–846.

and nuns should all return to the ways of common life. The blow was a heavy one, but Wû Tsung's reign soon came to an end, and the wounds of the Buddhist state began to be bound up by his successor.[1]

Within fifty years of the end of the T'ang dynasty, there arose that of Sung. The two together may be called a long Augustan period of Chinese literature. The Sung dynasty, extends from A.D. 960 to 1278, rather more than three centuries; and no nation can boast of a greater number of distinguished writers and thinkers than it exhibits.

In the eleventh century there lived the two brothers Ch'ăng,[2] with whom there began a great revival of the Confucian learning and philosophy. To the same century, and the early part of the twelfth, belonged the family of the Sûs,[3] and also Sze-ma Kwang,[4] a high minister and great historian. Above all, the twelfth century was made illustrious by the labours of Chû Hsî,[5] the critic and commentator of the ancient classics, developing the ethical teaching of Confucius and Mencius, and attempting, though vainly, to carry a torch of metaphysical speculation into

[1] See my "Christianity in China." pp. 48, 49.

[2] Ch'ăng Hâo (程 顥) styled Po-shun (伯 淳), and also Ming-tâo (明 道), A.D. 1032-1085; and Ch'ăng Î (程 頤) styled Chăng-shû (正 叔), and also Ich'wan (伊 川), A.D. 1033-1107.

[3] The father Sû Hsun (蘇 洵), styled Ming-yun (明 允), and also Lâo-ch'wan (老 泉), 1009-1066, with his two sons, Sû Shih (蘇 軾), styled Tsze-chan (子 瞻), and Tung-p'o (東 坡), 1036-1101; and Sû Chêh (蘇 轍), styled Tsze Yu (子 由), and Ying-pin (潁 濱), 1039-1112.

[4] 司 馬 光, styled Chün-shih 君 實, and also Sû-shûi (涑 水), 1009-1086.

[5] 朱 熹, styled Yüan-hui (元 晦), Chung-hûi (仲 晦), and Hûi-an (晦 菴), with several other literary designations or pseudonyms, and canonized as Wăn L'î (文 理), "The highly Cultured," 1130-1200.

all the great problems of human thought. Whatever he wrote possessed a wonderful charm and fascination of style. The scholars of his day looked up to him as their oracle, and his views have ever since been the standard of orthodoxy at the competitive examinations which belong to their country.

In all the succession of dynasties which I have thus imperfectly sketched, amid the varied productions of their scholars, abounding in interesting subjects of thought and finished elegance of style, which can hardly be paralleled in other literatures, we do not meet with any romance or novel properly so called.

The rise of the Yüan, or Mongol dynasty, took place soon after the middle of our thirteenth century, and it was signalized by the appearance of what the Chinese acknowledge to be the first and best of their romanced histories. The name of the book is *San Kwo Chih Yen Î*, that is, "The Expanded Narrative of the History of the Three Kingdoms." It relates vividly and romantically the closing events of the famous Han dynasty, embracing rather less than a century, from A.D. 198 to the beginning of the Tsin dynasty in 265. Foreign students generally suppose that we have in it the history of the period, and not such a history romanced. Even writers, with such a scholarly reputation as the late Dr. S. Wells Williams, ascribe it to Ch'ăn Shâu,[2] an author of our fourth century. He wrote the dynastic history of "The Three Kingdoms," which is not a bad history of its kind, but in no way superior to several others. If all the dynastic histories of China came within an appreciable distance of the "Expansion" of Ch'ăn's volumes, no other country would have a record of its heroes and their achievements comparable to it for genius and attractiveness.

[1] 三國志演義.

[2] 陳壽. See Williams' "Middle Kingdom," revised edition, vol. i. p. 677.

That expansion was executed by a Lo Kwan-chung,[1] of the Yüan dynasty; but beyond his name, as recorded by Mr. Wylie, I have not been able to discover any particulars about him. It is enough for his fame to be recognized as the writer of the finest historical romance of which literature can boast. Certainly the pages of no other have wiled from me at different times the sleep of so many nights. His example has led others to attempt to romance all the most important epochs of their history, but his work still remains "superior and alone." No other has thus far been made, either "similar or second" to it.

The short occupancy of the throne of China by the descendants of Jenghis[2] deserves a fuller study than it has yet received from European Sinologues.

We owe to the Yüan dynasty not only the historical romance, but also the purely ideal novel, and a great impetus to dramatic writing, the beginnings of which have been traced up to the T'ang era, and which had been cultivated by scholars of the Tartar dynasty of Chin,[3]

[1] Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 161.

The sovereigns of the Yüan dynasty were of the Mongolian race.

When Kublai (忽必烈), as he is called, the grandson of Jenghis, began in 1271 to feel himself secure on the throne of China, Liû Ping-chung (劉秉中), one of his ministers, suggested to him to assume Yüan (元) as the dynastic title of his rule, with reference to the signification of that term, = "first and greatest," in the first sentence of the Yî-ching.

[2] Jenghis (variously spelt) is taken from the Chinese attempt to give the title by which his vassals hailed the Mongol chieftain in 1206, after the successful conquests of his early career. The Chinese characters for it are 成吉士, "Ch'ăng Chî Shih," which we may translate by "The Successful and Fortunate." They cannot have been intended to give the sound of the Mongol name as nearly as Chinese characters could do; but were a new title, like the *Yüan*, adopted for the name of the dynasty.

[3] Chin (Kin) was the dynastic title (金) assumed by the Nü-chăn (女眞) Tartar tribe, said to be ancestors of the present Man-chûus, who held Pekin and a considerable part of the kingdom against the later Sung dynasty for about a century (1115-1234).

which strove with the second sovereignty of Sung for the possession of the empire. One collection, embracing specimens of all these varieties of "Light Reading," may be referred to in passing. It bears the name of "The Ten Men of Genius;"[1] and after mentioning the titles of some of the works contained in it, I will pass on to the story of "The Great Archer," which I first thought of as the subject of this Paper, without the preliminary matters through which I have been groping my way to it.

The first work in this collection is "The Expanded Narrative of the History of the Three Kingdoms," of which I have already spoken;—in 120 chapters or books, each of about the same size as a chapter in one of Sir Walter Scott's novels.

The second is the novel of "The Good Mate,"[2] an admirable translation of which was published in 1829 by the late Sir John Francis Davis under the title of "The Fortunate Union," in twenty books.

The third is the *Yü Chiao Li*,[3] which was translated in French both by Rémusat and Julien, under the title of "The Two Cousins," also in twenty books.

The fourth is the *Ping Shan Lang Yen*,[4] of the same size as the two others, also translated by Julien, under the title of "The Two Young Accomplished Ladies."

The fifth is *Shui Hû Chwan*,[5] or Record of the Brigands about the Hwâi and other rivers in the early part of the twelfth century, and their pacification, written by a Shih Nâi-ar of the Yüan dynasty. In seventy books.

[1] 十才子.

[2] 好逑傳. The title is taken from the first ode in the Shih King.

[3] 玉嬌梨.

[4] 平山冷燕. Mr. Wylie describes this as "a tale with very little plot in it," the author having seemingly exhausted his efforts in description, dialogue, and the figures of rhetoric generally.

[5] 水滸傳. Written by Shih Nâi-an (施耐菴), of the Yüan dynasty.

I need not specify the names of the other five works in the collection. The whole contains 386 chapters, and the student who has made himself familiar with them may be considered as fairly acquainted with "The Light Reading"[1] which the literature of China supplies.

The "Expansion of the History of the Three Kingdoms" stands out pre-eminent among these romances and novels, but there is another book closely resembling it which, however, is not reckoned among them. This is the "*Tung Châu Lieh Kwo Chih*,"[2] or "History of the various States or Kingdoms during the time of the Eastern Châu." Mr. Wylie observes that "though written in the form of a novel, it differs less from authentic history probably than any other in the same category." Some Chinese writers have said that its truthfulness is what has kept it from being counted among other romances. It is not so brilliantly written as "The History of the Three Kingdoms," but its narratives are nearly as full of interest. The two have often brought to my mind the greater historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, and his "Tales of a Grandfather." The former abound more in grand pictures of chivalry and descriptions of battles; the latter are quieter, but more tender, and equally impressive. The work gives us a vivid sketch of the long period, from the reign of king Hsüan, (which commenced in B.C. 827) to the close of the dynasty of Châu, when it was superseded by that of Ch'in, and the early feudal period of China gave place to the despotic, but not unregulated, empire which has, with many dynastic changes, continued to the present day.

The Archer's story begins in the reign of king Chwang of Ch'û, which dates from the year B.C. 613.[3] For some time after his accession, Chwang seemed to abandon himself to luxurious pleasure, leaving the government in the hands

[1] 小說.

[2] 東周列國志.

[3] Under B.C. 614, the entry is 商臣卒子旅嗣是爲莊王.

of his ministers. His natural powers, however, were great; and while apparently indifferent to things around him, he was taking careful note of the characters of his officers, and revolving the ambitious projects of his house. Those projects had appeared so early as B.C. 888,[1] when the then count of Ch'û had assumed the title of king. The usurped title was soon abandoned—for a time[2]—in consequence of the vigour of the king of Châu, but it was publicly and defiantly[3] resumed in B.C. 704 by the count Wăn, known to us as king Wû, and had been borne by his successors on to Chwang. Chwang succeeded to a territory, greatly enlarged by the encroachments of his predecessors on the neighbouring States; and when he awoke, or emerged, from his period of indolent enjoyment, it soon appeared that he was not less ambitious than any of them. In B.C. 606 he undertook an expedition northwards against a tribe from the West, which had fled from the aggressions of the powerful States of Ch'in and Tsin on its territory, and sought to take refuge under the tutelage of the king of Châu, in the district of Lû-hwăn, lying south from the river Lo.[4] This expedition brought him to the neighbourhood of the capital, and the king sent his congratulations to him on his success against the refugee tribe by an envoy, to whom he showed his hand in making enquiries about the nine Tripods of Yü, which had come down from that founder of the Feudal state, through the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, and were regarded as palladia of the kingdom. Baffled by the ingenuity of the envoy, Chwang commenced his return to Ch'û, and on the way had to encounter a powerful insurrection, which gave occasion to the first appearance of our Great Archer.

When the count-king started for the north from his

1 Under this year is the entry 楚僭王之始.

2 In B.C. 878.

3 "Defiantly," the King of Châu having refused in 706 to sanction the assumption of the title.

4 The entry, under 606, is 楚子伐陸渾至洛.

capital of Ying,[1] he had left the government under the charge of Tâu[2] Yueh-chiâo, his chief minister, associating with him several other great officers in whose fidelity he had more confidence. This precautionary measure, however, was fruitless. The minister knew that the king suspected

[1] The name of the capital of Ch'û from the time of king Wû; a little way north from the present departmental city of Ching-châu in Hû-pei.

[2] The Tâus (鬬 氏) were a numerous and distinguished clan in Ch'û, and many members of it had been eminent in their service of the State; no one more so than the minister of king Ch'ăug (B.C. 671–625), who has come down to us with the designation of Tsze-Wan (子 文).

The story of his birth reminds us of the legend of Romulus and Remus. His grandfather, Tâu Zo-âo (鬬 若 敖), had married a daughter of the Count of Yün, and died after she had born a son named Po-pî (伯 比). The daughter of Yün then returned with her child to her native State, and the boy grew up in the palace of his maternal uncle, becoming a great favourite with his wife, who loved him, we are told, as if he had been her own son. She had a daughter, and the two children grew up together in great intimacy. Even when grown up, they were allowed to meet, and the result was that the princess became with child. Then, indeed, the mother was enraged; but not wishing to let her daughter's shame be known, she confined her to an apartment, and gave out that she was ill. Ere long a boy was born, and Po-pî went back in disgrace to Ch'û. Without telling her husband what had happened, the Countess of Yün wrapped the infant in a mat, and caused it to be thrown away in the marsh of Măng, probably in the present department of Yo-châu. It happened that the count, soon after, was hunting near the marsh, and saw a tigress crouching at a certain spot, which kept her place, notwithstanding several arrows discharged at her. It turned out that the tigress was watching over and suckling an infant, and the count hastened home and told his wife of the prodigy. "It must be the child," she said, "whom I caused to be thrown away." And she thereupon related the whole story of their daughter, urging, from ancient instances, that the infant, whose life had been so wonderfully preserved, was sure to prove a great and good man. It was accordingly brought home to its mother, who was forgiven, and sent to Ch'û to be regularly married to Tâu Po-pî. The boy grew up and fulfilled his grandmother's hope, becoming, in course of time, the famous minister Tsze-wăn. In his earlier years he was called *Tâu Ku yü-t'u* (鬬 榖 於 菟), or Tâu Tiger-suckled; *Kû*, in the common speech of Ch'û, having the meaning of "to suckle," and Yû-t'û being the name for "a tiger." The people of Ch'û had a different language from their northern conquerors. Other names in the records of the State, such as Zo-âo, which we now receive simply as names, might, no doubt, be similarly explained if we had the necessary information about them.

him, and had long been meditating rebellion, when the expedition to the North afforded him the opportunity which he desired. He procured the assassination of the men who were intended to keep him in check, collected a considerable force, raised the standard of revolt, and hurried northwards to intercept the king on his southward march. The two forces met at a place called the Dyke of Chang, where the king offered favourable terms to the rebel if he would return to his duty; but negotiation was ineffectual. A sharp engagement ensued. Yüeh-chiâo was famed for his strength and archery; and while king Chwang, according to the fashion of the time, was fiercely beating the drum in the front seat of his chariot, thereby urging his troops to advance, an arrow narrowly missed him, and lodged in the drum-stand. Another followed with as good an aim, so that the king was frightened, and sounded a retreat, which would have been disastrous, but for the arrival of two fresh divisions of his army. The fortune of the day, however, remained with the rebel. His arrows were found to be half as long again as those of the ordinary size, and the soldiers gathered in groups, disappointed and desponding as to the result of the contest. King Chwang sent round a false report that there were only two such long arrows, which Tâu had brought with him from a temple in the capital. This somewhat reassured the minds of the men, but orders were issued to continue the retreat to the south, as if the only safety were in escaping from the enemy.

This retreat, however, was not a flight, but a stratagem. Having satisfied the remonstrances of his generals, the king hurried south to the river Ch'ing, in the present department of An-lû in Hû-pei. There he stopped, but did not cross the stream. Having divided his followers, and placed them in ambush, he made with a third body as if he were turning again to the North. It turned out as he expected. When news was carried to Yüeh-chiâo that the king had fled, he hastened after with all his followers in pursuit; and, in one day and night, by a wonderful effort, they got to the bridge over the Ch'ing.

On the north of it some troops of Ch'û were cooking their breakfast; but, at the appearance of their pursuers, they forsook their vessels, and ran in a northward direction. The rebel urged his men to follow them, crying out, "When we have taken the king of Ch'û we will prepare our breakfast." They soon came up with the rear of the fugitives, the commander of whom, pretending to be a friend, told Tâu to push on quickly, if he would take the king. His men continued their march at the top of their speed, and came up with another detachment of the royal army. Its leader also pretended to be a friend, and told him that the king had not yet got so far; but, said he, "Your men are exhausted. You must let them have a meal; otherwise they will not be able to fight." The rebels accordingly began to prepare a meal; but, before it was ready, they were surprised by a strong force under the two brothers of the king, and fled with their leader to the south. They made for the bridge over the Ch'ing, and got to it only to find it broken down. The king's stratagem was now manifest. He had concealed himself in the neighbourhood, and, as soon as the rebels turned back to the north in pursuit of him, had caused the bridge to be broken down. Yüeh-chiâo's return to the south was thus cut off. Full of anxiety, he ordered search to be made for a ford, and just then a royal general appeared with a force on the southern bank, and shouted to him to submit and surrender. He replied to the insulting language by a discharge of arrows from his men, when, just at this moment, a young officer of no high position stepped forward from the royal ranks, and begged the general to allow him to try his skill in archery against the rebel. This was Yang Yû-chî, or Yang-shû, that is, Uncle Yang, our "Great Archer."

Having received the permission which he sought, Yang advanced to the edge of the river, and shouted out to his formidable opponent, "The stream is too wide for our arrows. I have heard of your skill and would fain try my own against it. Let us take our stand on the abut-

ments of the bridge which still remain, and each shoot three arrows, and boldly await the result, be it life or death." After some parley, the other agreed, only stipulating that he should be allowed to shoot his three arrows first. "Three arrows!" cried Yung, "what have I to fear, though you shoot a hundred arrows? the one of us that slips to one side, shall not be accounted a brave man!"

On this Yüeh-chiâo drew his bow, and discharged an arrow, confident that it would go through his adversary's skull. But he was in too great a hurry. To be hurried shows a lack of skill: the skilful man is never in a hurry. Yang saw the arrow coming, and hit it with the end of his bow, so that it fell into the water, while he shouted, "Quickly shoot; quickly shoot." The rebel placed a second arrow on the string, took heedful aim, and sent it off with all his strength. But Yang stooped down, and let it pass over his head. "You said," cried Tâu, "that there was to be no slipping aside. Why did you crouch down to avoid the arrow? You are not a brave man!" "You have still the third arrow," retorted Yang "I will not try to avoid it, but if it do not hit me, it will be my turn to shoot." The other thought that with this arrow, if he did not step aside, he would be sure to hit him; and thereon, standing quite straight, he discharged it, shouting, at the same time, "A hit." And it went right for the mark; but when it came near, Yang, who stood firm, and made no movement, opened his great mouth, caught the arrow in it, and with his teeth held it fast by the point.

By this time, the rebel's heart misgave him, and he would fain have slunk away, but his character and word kept him in his place, and he called out, "Yes, you may shoot now; but if your three arrows all miss, it will be my turn again." "He would be an apprentice at the trade," cried Yang in reply, "who should need three arrows to do for you; a single arrow will be enough to make you fall by my hand!" His words still more disturbed the mind of Yüeh-chiâo, and Yang then made as if he were adjusting the arrow, and raised his bow,

but without the arrow on it, drawing the string at the same time as if he were shooting. His opponent heard the twanging of the bow, and thinking the arrow was on its way to him, moved to the left to evade it. "A fine fellow you are," cried Yang, "to speak of its not being brave to slip on one side! The arrow is still in my hand!" Tâu shouted back, "He is not a good archer who is afraid of his opponent's moving." Yang again went through the same pretence of shooting, and the other slipped hastily to the right. Just at that moment, our archer looked steadily at him, put his arrow on the string, raised the bow, and sent the missile right through the brain. So it was that Tâu Yüeh-chiâo, who had been for several years chief minister of the kingdom of Ch'û, died, at the bridge of Ch'ing by the hand of the small officer, Yang Yû-chî.

On the fall of their leader there was a terrible rout of the rebels. Their slaughtered bodies lay about in heaps, and the waters of the Ch'ing were tinged with their blood. There was an end of the rebellion, and promotion came of course to Yang-shû. He obtained a high command among the royal kindred, and was made supporter of the king on the right in his war-chariot. But years pass on before we come to the record of his next great feat of archery. At this time his years could not have been much over twenty.

It is the year B.C. 575. King Chwang has passed away in 591, and it is the sixteenth year of his son king K'ang. Ch'û and the great northern State of Tsin are at war; and their armies are confronting each other in Chăng, at Yen-ling, which is still the name of one of the districts of the department K'âi-făng. One day a general of Ch'û, called P'an Tang, was showing his skill to a crowd of onlookers behind the camp, and had thrice in succession hit what we call the bull's-eye. While all were shouting their applause, Yang Yû-chî drew near, and they cried out, "Here comes the archer with the spirit hand." This offended P'an, who exclaimed, "In what is my archery

inferior to Uncle Yang's?" and Yû-chî himself replied, "You can only hit the red heart of the target, which is not a wonderful thing, but can you go through a willow branch at a hundred paces off?" "What do you mean," asked many of the beholders, "by cleaving a willow at such a distance?" Yang said, "A friend once put a mark on a leaf of a willow, and from the distance of a hundred paces I sent an arrow right through it." "Here is a willow tree," said the others, "will you try such a mark now?" The archer agreed to do so, and they all in great glee said, "To-day we shall see the spirit-like archery of Uncle Yang." So they put a black mark on a leaf, and made Yang take aim at it from the appointed distance. The arrow whizzed forth; and, not seeing it fall to the ground, they ran to examine the tree. There, sure enough, it was, sticking by its point in the branch, having gone right through the centre of the leaf.

"It is but a chance hit," said P'an Tang, turning to his rival. "If you will allow me to mark in order three leaves, and then hit them, one after the other, I will acknowledge your marvellous skill." "I may not be able to do so," said Yang, "but I will try;" and then the other on three leaves at different heights wrote the characters for one, two, three. Yang looked at them well to make sure of them and their numbers; and then going to his place, he took three arrows, and wrote on them the same characters, one, two, three. Having done this, he discharged them, one after another, and each hit the proper mark. All bowed to him, and praised him as indeed the archer with the spirit-hand.

P'an Tang joined in the congratulations, but still he was discontented, and wished to show what he considered his own peculiar ability. "Your archery," he said to Yang, "is indeed good; but still, in the strife of men, it is strength that must carry off the palm. I can send an arrow through several buff-coats, and I should like to show the feat to the gentlemen." "Do so," was the general cry, "we should like to see it." Having called

several of their heavy-armed followers, they made them take off their thick buff-coats. Five of these were placed together, and then they said "Enough," but P'an made them add other two. "Seven buff-coats," they said, "can hardly be less than a cubit in thickness; how can an arrow be sent through them?" The pile was suspended on the target, and P'an walked to his place the hundred paces off, took up, his black carved bow, and laid on it an arrow with a wolf's tooth for a point. Standing steady and erect, with his left hand as if it were laid against mount T'âi, and his right as if it were supporting an infant, he sent the arrow forth. "A hit!" he cried, as the sound of its collision came from the target, and all shouted "A good arrow! A good arrow!" It had indeed gone through all the buff-coats to the target behind, and remained sticking firmly in it, like a nail driven through a board. The general's face wore on it the consciousness of his success, and he was telling the soldiers to take the pile with the arrow through it, and carry it through the camp as a sight, when they were stopped by Yang, who cried out, "Wait a little till I also shoot an arrow." "Yes," they all responded, "let us see the wonderful strength of Uncle Yang?" but he suddenly stopped short. "Why do you not shoot?" they asked; and he said, "To go through the buff-coats in the same way would be easy, but I have a method of sending his arrow away." With these words he fitted his arrow to the string, and sent it off, saying, as the bow twanged, "All right." Straight to the head of P'an's arrow his went, not a hairbreadth too high or too low, neither to the right nor to the left. Exactly on the end of that arrow it lighted, and drove it through the buff-coats and target on to the ground, taking itself the place which the other had occupied.

The spectators did not witness the feat without putting out their tongues. P'an Tang's jealousy was at last overcome; he acknowledged Yang's superiority, and said, "I have not your admirable hand!"

A procession hurried off with the trophy through the

camp, taking the two archers with them. It passed near king Kung himself, and the leaders of it recounted what the men had done, and concluded by saying, "Since our army has such archers in it, why need we be anxious about the thousands and myriads of the soldiers of Tsin?" The king's reception of the announcement damped their enthusiasm. "Victory," said he in a rage, "is gained by the skilful arrangements of the general, and does not depend on the chance hit of an archer." To the two men he said, "The art of which you boast is sure to be the occasion of your death." He seemed to be specially offended with our hero, took away his arrows from him, and forbade him to shoot any more. Downcast and ashamed, Uncle Yang slank away from the royal presence, but his disgrace did not last long. A general, but indecisive, engagement took place between the two armies next day, when Ch'û had rather the worst of it, and a son of king Kung was taken prisoner, and carried off by one of the generals of Tsin. The battle was renewed the day after, the captive prince being carried in front of the fight where it was fiercest, to damp the courage of the men of Ch'û, and infuriate their king, who had deprived himself moreover of the assistance of his able and trusty Yang, for whom he had substituted another officer to take his place by himself in his chariot. Amidst the heat of the engagement, a general of Tsin, who was watching king Kung's chariot, discharged an arrow which hit the king in his left eye, entirely destroying it! Who could help him now? Amidst his terrible pain, he yet called for the Great Archer, Yang-Yû-chî, to be brought to him. This was soon done, but, as the king had ordered the day before, Yang had not a single arrow with him. The king gave him two of his own arrows, described the dress and appearance of the Tsin general who had shot him, and sent him away at once to avenge his wound. As fast as his horses could carry him, Yang galloped into the army of Tsin, and seeing a leader answering to the king's description, drove his chariot near to him, crying out, "How dared you,

Caitiff, to injure our lord?" and, before the other could reply, Yang's arrow had gone through his throat, so that he fell dead to the ground. The men of Tsin, however, gathered round the corpse, and succeeded in carrying it off, while Yang returned to the king, with one arrow still in his hand, and reported, "By Your Majesty's good fortune, Great king, I have shot the man in the green robe, with the curling beard and whiskers." The king, of course, was delighted, took off his own robe, and gave it to Yang, ordering him to receive a hundred arrows, all pointed with wolves' teeth. A retreat on the part of Ch'û, however, was necessary, and led to further distinction for our hero. Taking his position in the rear of the retiring forces, he plied his arrows on their pursuers; one and another were slain as they ventured to the front, so that opportunity was given to the other detachments of the Ch'û army to concentrate their strength and renew the battle. The day closed without any decisive result, though Tsin had the better of it.

King Kung, however, arranged with his principal commander Prince Ying-ch'i, suspending operations till next day, to allow the men a rest which was necessary; they should then fight the battle out. But this plan was strangely frustrated. First, reinforcements from the States of Lû and Wei arrived to strengthen the army of Tsin; and next, the prince commanding that of Ch'û suddenly gave way to a weakness to which he was occasionally liable, and against which he had been warned by the king. He was too fond of strong drink, and, when he once took a cup, was unable to stop. By the contrivance of one of the generals of Tsin he was led to taste, and then, through the weakness of his waiting-boy, he drank and drank again till he became dead-drunk. The king sent many times for him to come and consult about what should be done, but he could give no response. A general retreat to the south was ordered, and the commander was committed to the charge of our hero, Yang Yû-chî, who was left with a band of 300 chosen archers to bring up the rear. The

helpless prince could not be roused to do anything for himself. Yang caused him to be tied down in a carriage with leathern thongs, and so managed to bring him off. King Kung also, who was fond of the man, sent him a soothing message, but it was in vain. After what had occurred, he could not resume his command, and meet his former associates. He committed suicide, and disappears from history.

On his return from the campaign, in which he had performed such important services, our Great Archer was, no doubt, considered a more important man than he had been before. The State of Wû, though the oldest of all the Châu States, had long remained in obscurity, and the first mention of it in the text of the Ch'un-Ch'iû is in B.C. 584. As its power and resources increased, it became an enemy of Ch'û, hardly less dangerous than the great northern State of Tsin. Its territory was in the present Chiang-sû, along the lower waters of the Yang-tsze Chiang, and on the sea-board, and this position made its people skilful in naval warfare. It was thus on the waters of the Chiang that it came into collision with Ch'û, whose centre, as we have seen, was in Hû-pei. On the land it was long inferior to Ch'û, but superior to it on the river; but as time went on, it learned to take the field with its forces against its powerful adversary, while Ch'û, on its part, built a fleet of war-boats, and contested with the other the supremacy of the river.

After the battle of Yen-ling, Uncle Yang seems to have been employed in an important command on the borders of the Chiang, to watch and guard against any hostile attempt on the part of Wû. Notwithstanding the wound which king Kung received in that engagement, he lived on till 560, when he was succeeded by his son, known as king K'ang. Another of his sons fled at the same time to Wû, and next year the king of that State, called Chû-fan, sent an expedition under the command of his son, prince Tang, against Ch'û. This was met and defeated by our hero, who also killed, by an arrow from his bow, the

prince, its leader. King Chû-fan announced the event to Tsin, and begged its ruler to convoke a great meeting of the States, and organize an invasion of Ch'û on a grand scale. The meeting was held, but no hostile movement was undertaken against Ch'û in consequence. The action of Wû in attacking Ch'û, while the people were in mourning for the death of their ruler, was universally condemned. It had thereby violated a long-recognized custom of the States, by which it was sought to lessen and mitigate the frequency and fierceness of the wars between them. "By this attack of Ch'û, while in mourning for the death of its king," said one of the speakers, "Wû has brought the disaster on itself, and does not deserve our sympathy or help."

Only once again have I found mention made of Yang Yû-chî in the "Narratives of the several States," and that mention is in connection with his death. He must have lived nearly to, or beyond, the fourscore years, frequently assigned as the limit of vigorous human life. Hostilities, we are told, broke out afresh between Wû and Ch'û in 547, about one or more small States in the present department of Lü-châu, in An-hûi, about the principality of Shû-chiû especially, which had transferred to Wû its allegiance to Ch'û; and, to punish them, king K'ang sent a force under the command of his minister Ch'ü Chien. Uncle Yang went with the expedition, and begged the minister to allow him to go on before the main body of the troops. "You are old, O General," was the reply, "the rebellious territory is insignificant. There is no fear of our not subduing it. You need be in no anxiety." The other replied, "Wû is sure to come to the rescue of the rebels. I have long been accustomed to resist its forces, and am familiar with all their ways. Allow me to go on before you; though I should die in doing so, I will not regret it." Ch'ü Chien, hearing him speak of dying, was moved with a feeling of alarm and compassion, but Yang went on to say, "I have been most graciously favoured by our last two sovereigns, and have wished to sacrifice my life for the kingdom: but,

to my sorrow I have had no opportunity to do so. Now my hair has changed its colour, or fallen out. I may fall ill any morning, and die in my bed; and you, O minister, will be the cause of my so passing away."

The minister, seeing his determination, acceded to his request, only sending the great officer Hsî Hwan with him to assist him. They then marched to the city of Lî, where they encountered Î-mei, a younger brother of the king of Wû, and the premier Ch'ü Kû-yung,[1] hastening at the head of a large force to the relief of Shû-chiû. Hsî Hwan wished to wait for the arrival of the main force before attacking, but Yang said, "The men of Wû are skilful only on the water, but now they have left their boats, and come on the land. Archery and chariot-fighting are also strange to them. Let us attack them at once, while they are not prepared to receive us." With this, he took his bow and quiver, and commenced shooting, every arrow doing its work of death, and the troops of Wû retreating out of his reach. Our Archer followed them till he met Kû-yung in his chariot, and shouted to him, "Traitor to your State, how dare you look me in the face?" At the same time he was about to shoot, but, Kû-yung turned his chariot, and fled with the speed of the wind. Yang, said in astonishment, "Have the men of Wû also become thus skilful at chariot-driving?"

Hardly were these words out of his mouth, when, from four directions, there appeared a number of chariots, protected by plates of iron, and crowded with the best archers south of the Chiang, which formed a circle round him. He was a mark for them all, and there he died from the multitude of their arrows, which came on him like a shower of hail. The words of king Kung, that the art in which he trusted was sure to prove his death, had now their fulfilment.

Hsî Hwan came up, rallied the small body of Yang's followers, who were scared by the fall of their commander,

[1] This would probably be a refugee prince from Ch'û.

and retreated with them to report the sad event to Ch'ü Chien. The general received the news with sorrow, and sadly said, "Ah! the death of Uncle Yang was brought about by himself!" He then placed his men in ambush on the hill of Î, which was not far off, and sent the officer Tsze-ch'iang to renew the engagement with their pursuers, and then to make a hasty retreat, as if unequal to the fight. The general of Wû, however, afraid of an ambush, did not pursue them to the hill. But when the young prince Î-mei came up, he ascended a height, and not seeing the troops of Ch'û, he supposed that they had gone off in flight, and hurried after Tsze-ch'iang till he got to the foot of Mount Î. There Tsze-ch'iang turned on him, and the force of Ch'ü Chien sprang from its ambushment, and joined in the engagement. Î-mei and his men fought desperately, but must all have fallen or been captured if the force of Ku-yung had not arrived, beat the Ch'ûs back, and brought their friends off. The fortune of the day, however, had been on the side of Ch'û, and the army of Wû withdrew from the scene of strife, and left Ch'ü Chien to prosecute to a successful termination the expedition against Shû-chiû.

We have thus followed the career of Yang Yû-chî from its beginning to its close, and he disappears from history with character unblemished, and well deserving the appellation which I have given him of "The Great Archer" of his country. He was a man of arrows, not of words, though his last utterances tell us how, as thousands of his countrymen have been, and as thousands of them, I believe, still are, he was familiar with the Roman sentiment, so well expressed by Horace,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

Allow me now, in conclusion, to call your attention to the resemblance between his feats of archery in the campaign of Yen-ling and feats of the same kind described by the greatest of our novelists in his "Ivanhoe" and "Anne of Geierstein." The resemblance, I have no doubt,

occurred to many of you while I was reading what I had translated from my original. When you heard how Yang sent his arrow through the willow leaf, from the distance of a hundred paces, you would think of Robin Hood's cleaving the willow wand at five score yards on the second day after the tournament at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. When, again, Yang's arrow lighted on his antagonist's, and sent it on the ground through the pile of buff-coats and the target which it had pierced, you would think how Robin Hood "notched" Hubert's shaft in the centre of the target and split it to shivers. When, once more, he sent his three arrows, marked one, two, three, and nailed to the tree the three willow leaves similarly numbered, you would think of young Arthur de Vere, at the Castle of Geierstein, how, shooting at the pigeon tied to a pole, he made good the vaunt which he had previously written down,

"If I hit mast, and line, and bird,
An English archer keeps his word."

The three exploits are so similar, that we can hardly think of them as independent. But Scott could not have borrowed his descriptions from our Chinese authority, composed in the thirteenth century; and the edition of it, of which I possess a copy, bears the date of 1752. In his account of the feat of Arthur de Vere, our novelist probably had in mind Virgil's relation, in the 5th Book of his Æneid, of the games celebrated in Sicily by Æneas, on the anniversary of his father's death, and this relation was but an imitation of Homer's description of the games celebrated by Achilles after the death of Patroclus. The two relations have their differences, and Pope seems to give the preference to that of Virgil. Scott's account of young Arthur's archery is more wonderful than either of them as a display of archery, and the Chinese description of Uncle Yang's shooting is not inferior to it. Where did Lo Kwan-chung find any record of archery like that which he has given us? The names of Virgil, Homer, and Statius, and

their writings, were all unknown to him. Did he then himself invent the achievements of his archer as I have told them to you? I cannot tell, many coincidences in narratives, both genuine and imaginative, occur to the student, which are difficult to explain. I only refer to them as showing, how much easier it is to ask questions than to answer them, to awaken doubts than to solve them.

I conclude my Paper by one more short narrative of the skill of Uncle Yang. Once when the king, I suppose king Kung, was hunting on mount Ching, he came on an ape, which was very clever at catching the arrows discharged against it. Perched in a tree, which was surrounded by soldiers, several men deep, it caught all their arrows, until at last the king ordered Yang Yû-chî to be sent for. When the creature heard the name, it began to howl, and, immediately on our Archer's arrival, he sent an arrow to its heart. This little paragraph recalls to us stories that appear sometimes in American newspapers, about the recognition in the far West of Colonel Boone and other noted hunters by racoons and other creatures of their game.

Art. XXI.—*Notes on the Hittite Writing.* By Major C. R. Conder, LL.D., R.E.

For the last twenty years the question of the decipherment of the hieroglyphic texts found in Syria and Asia Minor, representing a distinct written character, has excited the interest of Orientalists; and for the last five the question has been much discussed in England and abroad. Fresh monuments have been copied by Puchstein and Hogarth, and a second bilingual has been recovered from Cilicia; but the number of texts which are of any length, or at all complete, is only two dozen, and we are still at the very beginning of the study. We may expect, however, that the successors of those who recovered the Egyptian and Cuneiform systems will, in the end, not fail to conquer a third system, the study of which must be conducted on the same principles, and must result from the same gradual advance, which led to the former final results.

It is proposed in this paper to examine the present condition of the problem, and to state first the points of agreement, and afterwards the conclusions which may be drawn from the ascertained facts. It is not proposed to claim a final solution of a problem which will probably remain in the controversial stage till further sources of knowledge are obtained. But, first, it should be noted that two entirely separate questions are somewhat confused together by the term "Hittite Writing," which is now very generally used for purposes of convenience. The first question is that of the race and language of the Hittites; the second is the quite distinct question of the language of the inscriptions found in North Syria and

Anatolia. It is probable that the two questions are intimately connected, but this as yet has not been proved.

As regards the first question, there is now a very general agreement that the people of North Syria, called *Kheta* by the Egyptians, and *Khati* or *Khatti* by the Assyrians, were the same people called *Khetim* or *Beni Kheth* by the Hebrews: since the latter—the Hittites—lived in the same region in which Egyptians and Assyrians found their Kheta enemies. A certain number of personal names of these enemies are recorded in the records of Rameses II., and of later Assyrian kings; and there are representations of the Kheta on the Karnak bas-reliefs. These, until quite recently, were the only sources of knowledge as to their race and language. As regards race, the late Dr. Birch was of opinion, on account of their features and their pig-tails, that the Kheta were a Mongol people; and his view may now be said to be very generally accepted. The pigtail is very distinctive of the Mongols, and is not of Chinese origin. The features of the Kheta are not Chinese-like, but resemble rather those of the Kirghiz and other Turkish peoples of Central Asia; and the absence of beard distinguishes the Kheta from the Semitic peoples of Syria on the same monuments—such as the Phoenicians and Amorites.

In the names of the Kheta chiefs, one of the commonest elements (as, I believe, Dr. Sayce first pointed out), is the word *Tarku* or *Tarkhu*, which does not appear to be a Semitic word, nor does it recall any Aryan term. When we turn to the Turkish dialects, we find *Tarkhan* to mean a "chief," and in Mongolian *dargo* has the same signification. Chabas, as early as 1862, came to the conclusion that the Kheta names indicated a non-Semitic language; and they give indications (as, for instance, in the name *Kheta-sar*) that the definition is on the opposite principle to that of Semitic speech, in which the genitive follows the nominative: thus indicating that the language was either Aryan or Mongolic. It need hardly be said that if it was Aryan the words would probably have been at

once recognized as such, so that by a process of exclusion, as well as by the occurrence of Mongolic words in this vocabulary, we appear to be driven to the conclusion that this Mongol race spoke a Mongol language.

In addition to such indications, we now possess a letter written in Cuneiform about 1450 B.C. by *Tarkhundara*, a Hittite prince, who ruled at *Arzapi*, apparently Rezeph North of Palmyra, which occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna Collection (No. 10, Berlin), and which (as is generally agreed) is not written in any Semitic language. I believe that Dr. Winckler was the first to observe that the precative form of the verb used by this prince is the same as in Akkadian, which—without entering further into the translation of this letter—is a strong argument in favour of the Hittite language having been an agglutinative dialect, resembling that spoken by the ancient non-Semitic race of Babylonia.

On the other hand, M. Halévy and others contend that the Hittites were a Semitic people. Probably this controversy is due to both parties being partly right, and each relying exclusively on partial evidence. It is certain that from a very early period—at least as far back as 1500 B.C.—there was a large population in North Syria which was Semitic. It is also certain that the Hittite power was overthrown about 700 B.C. by Sargon, and it seems not improbable that the Hittites may then have been nearly exterminated, as they do not appear in later history. But when a traveller journeys through this region, in the present day, he finds that it contains a mingled population, partly Turkish and partly Semitic; and we know historically that the same mingled population there existed in the tenth and down to the thirteenth centuries A.D. It is possible therefore that the Kheta represented the non-Semitic, while the Phoenicians, Amorites, etc., represented the Semitic race in North Syria at a very early period, just as the Akkadians and Assyrians belonged to distinct races in Mesopotamia further East.

The only attempts directly to connect the Hittites with

the Semitic population, which I have seen, appear to me to fail in definite result. M. Halévy quotes the inscription of Panammu, found in North Syria, which is not written in hieroglyphics, but in the familiar Phoenician letters. Panammu is known to have lived about 740 B.C., and to have been a chief of the Samalli; but there is nothing to show that the Samalli were Hittites, and the monument belongs to an age when the power of the Hittites was approaching its fall.

Another argument is drawn from the well-known Assyrian statement, that the words *Ekal mat Khati*, "temple of the land of the Hittites," were equivalent, in the "Language of the West" (*Akhari*) to the words *Bit Hilani* (apparently "house of beams"), as has recently been remarked in the *Academy*. But this is not a statement that the "Language of the West" was Hittite; since the *Akhari* or "Western people" are usually the Phoenicians. The "Land of the Hittites," as above remarked, contained a Semitic population, but it is not proved that that population was Hittite. Dr. Sayce prefers to read the word *Amuri*, or "Amorites," which points to a similar conclusion.

On the other hand, the Akkadian texts from Tell Loh show that, at a very early period, Gudea, the Akkadian prince, had penetrated as far as Egypt, Sinai, and Amanus, so that we have historical evidence that by 2500 B.C. the non-Semitic population of Mesopotamia had extended itself into Syria. It is, however, quite possible, as several scholars have supposed, that these invaders were few in number, and represented a ruling caste. This is not a question of great importance, since, in dealing with inscriptions, it is naturally with the ruling class that we have to deal.

The question whether the Hittites were Aryans needs less consideration. Dr. Peter Jensen, of Marburg, has recently proposed to compare their speech with Armenian, which is an Aryan language; but he himself says it was a suffixing language, which Armenian is not; and he has not brought any definite system to bear on his theory. it was rendered fairly certain by personal names and other

terms (especially *Bag* for "God" on a text of Sargon's) that the later Assyrians found Aryans in Armenia; and they, themselves, speak of the Medes in this region or a little further East. Such names as *Kustaspi*, *Bagadatta*, and *Artasirari*, applying to chiefs whom they conquered, are evidently Aryan; but they are not anywhere stated to have been Hittite names, and they belong all to a period when the Aryans were beginning to conquer the more ancient populations of Western Asia. The names of Hittites mentioned by Assyrian writers recall neither Semitic nor Aryan terms.

As regards the geographical extension of the Hittites, and the character of their government, it is to be remarked that all the known inscriptions refer them to Northern Syria; and, from 1500 B.C. down to 700 B.C., they are always noticed as ruled by a number of different contemporary chiefs, in such towns as Carchemish, Aleppo, Hamath, Merash, Rezeph, and Kadesh. No record has yet been found of their existence in Armenia, or of their conquest of Asia Minor, or of any Hittite Empire under a single ruler. The single notice of Ashdod as a Hittite city in Sargon's time is at present unexplained.[1]

As regards the Hittites, there seems therefore to be some ground for concluding that they were a Mongolic people, living among the Semitic peoples of North Syria, whose most flourishing period was from the fifteenth to the fourteenth centuries B.C.; and this now appears to be the more generally accepted conclusion in the matter.

In order not to prejudge the second question, as to the decipherment of inscriptions, which may or may not be Hittite, it is necessary to pursue the investigation on entirely independent grounds. It is possible that the texts found in Syria itself were written by Hittites, and

[1] Mr. Bliss, excavating the site which I identified with Lachish, came on a curious Scarab, which he kindly showed me. The emblems at the sides appear to be the Hittite signs *ko mo pu div pe*. There is no reason why Hittite remains should not be found near the Hebron mountains, which, according to the Bible, were early inhabited by an Hittite tribe.

those in Armenia and Anatolia by other tribes of the same or of a kindred race, who did not bear the name of Hittite. It is possible, on the other hand, that all the texts were written by the same race or tribe. It is to be remarked that those found in Syria are the most archaic in character, and those from Asia Minor are more hieratic, and represent a more sketchy mode of forming the emblems; and from this evidence it might be deduced, with some show of reason, that the race first settled at Carchemish and Hamath, afterwards extended its conquests to the North and West, and Eastwards at Samosata; but at present all such deductions are very conjectural, and it is only from the texts themselves that we can hope to know more.

The inspection of the texts shows very clearly that they are written *boustrophedon* wise, that is alternately from right to left and left to right, and (as is more usual) begin on the right for the first line. It is also clear that the emblems are arranged one below another in the line, just as they are in the old Akkadian texts of Tell Loh, which however, all read from the right. These are points which will not be disputed.

It was also early noticed, that there are similarities between the Syrian emblems and those used by the Akkadians and the Egyptians, namely, in the occurrence of heads, legs, arms, feet, animal heads, and such objects as thrones, bowls, vases, sceptres, pyramids, birds'-wings, etc. It is only natural to seek some aid from such resemblances in endeavouring to find the meanings of the signs; but, on the other hand, there are many Syrian emblems which are distinctive, and unlike any in other systems; so that it appears clear that the system was distinct, and could, at most, have only an early common origin with any other that was known before.

The discovery of several new texts shows that the number of emblems in common use was limited; and they reappear with hardly a single new form on each new text that is recovered. I estimate that not more than about 120

emblems in all—not counting reduplications or compounds—are to be recognized; and this contrasts with the large number of signs used in Egyptian (about 400), and in Assyrian (about 550); while, on the other hand, the Akkadian texts of Tell Loh are written with about 170 signs, which are mainly syllabic, with a few ideograms or determinatives. From such considerations we may fairly conclude that we have to deal, not with a picture writing—such as Egyptian itself was said to be before Champollion's time—but with a syllabary, consisting of a definite number of syllabic signs, with, no doubt, a few ideograms and determinatives in addition.

In this conclusion, which will, I think, be admitted by all who have studied the Syrian texts, and who know the history of the Cuneiform, we find the first basis of a possible study. If the sounds of this syllabary can be recovered, we shall be able to spell out the inscriptions. If only arbitrary values are given to the emblems, no convincing result can be expected; but, on the other hand, it is clear that if we could ascertain the class of language with which we have to deal, the inquiry might be advanced more quickly. Now it has been noticed that the smaller constantly recurring signs, which accompany the more important emblems, are almost invariably under them; whence it is natural to suppose that we have to deal with a language which used suffixes rather than prefixes; and as this is now held by Dr. Sayce, Dr. Peiser, and Dr. Jensen alike, however much they differ on other points, it may, I think, be taken to be rapidly becoming an accepted principle of study.

It is also natural to suppose that we have to deal with an agglutinative, and not with an inflexional language, the main reason being one long since pointed out by Dr. Sayce, that all the known hieroglyphic systems belong to agglutinative speech—whether Egyptian, Akkadian, or Chinese: the inflexional languages being more complex, and requiring for their expression alphabets rather than hieroglyphs. So the Persians converted the Cuneiform into an alphabet,

and the Phoenicians invented that used by the Greeks, all these races speaking inflected languages; while the Chinese, whose speech remains agglutinative in its barest form, have retained their hieroglyphic script.

But if the language of these texts be suffixing and agglutinative, it cannot be Aryan or Semitic. All languages of these two classes make great use of prepositions, and are inflexional. It is not probable that the Syrian texts represent a language *sui generis*, and it is certain that the script is not Egyptian. To call it Alarodian, or Proto-Armenian, or indeed by any other name, gives us no help, unless it can be stated what was the speech of the people to whom such names are applied. The only known agglutinative and suffixing languages of Western Asia are Mongolic languages; and it appears inevitable that, if these principles of examination are adopted, it is to the Mongolic languages that we must turn for purposes of comparison. In addition to this, there are heads represented on the Syrian texts, and on the accompanying monuments, which present us with the same Mongolic physiognomy remarked in the portraits of the Kheta; and in some cases they have pigtails. The evidence of the monuments thus points to their being the work of a Mongolic race, who, it is natural to conclude, may have spoken a Mongolic language.

In addition to the recent recovery of the Mitani language there are two ancient Mongolic languages known in Western Asia—the Akkadian and the Medic—each of which has independently been considered (by Drs. Oppert and Hommel) to have been nearer to pure ancient Turkish than to any other Mongolic speech; and having personally studied the grammar and vocabularies of both these languages, in the works of Lenormant and Oppert, and compared them with the grammar of the Yakut, and other pure Turkish dialects, I find that not only is the grammatical construction the same, but that some 300 Turkish words may be easily compared with Akkadian and Medic. When we consider that this seems also to apply to the language of Mitani spoken in a country immediately adjoining that in which

the Syrian monuments occur, and that such monuments occur in Mitani itself; and when, in addition, we notice that the type of face on their monuments, like the type of the Syrian Kheta, is nearer to the Turkish than to the East Mongol physiognomy, it appears natural to seek comparisons for the language in question in that of the Akkadians, early Medes, and Mitani people; and to verify such comparisons by reference to Turkish speech, which must, however, be studied, not in the Ottoman vocabulary, which is so much mixed by the introduction of Persian and Arabic, that only about one word in ten in use is really Turkish at the present day, but in the older and purer Turkish of Central Asia, which can be studied in the Yakut, and in the other dialects of which Vambéry has furnished a comparative vocabulary.

To Dr. Sayce we owe the first indications of the direction in which to seek for the sounds of the language to be studied, in his comparison with the Cypriote syllabary, and in his indication of two short bilinguals; and no serious student of the subject can overlook the value of these indications. All hieroglyphic systems have produced hieratic—or, so to say, a running-hand—script, due to the natural desire to render writing easier and more rapid. The hieratic character, which grew out of the Hittite, has been recognized in the Cypriote syllabary, first explained by George Smith.

This syllabary did not apparently originate in Cyprus. It was used in Asia Minor by the Carians, and texts have been found so written in Lycia, as well as in tombs in Egypt, where it was employed by an ancient people, apparently Carians.[1] In Cyprus it was used by Greeks, from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., but it does not follow that it was of Aryan origin. The Cuneiform was

[1] The early art of Mycenæ and Troy has by some been connected with the Carians. The only remains of early writing found at Troy were a few Cypriote syllables. The actual treasures (including ivory, bronze, jade, and amber, with leaves of gold) show a marked connection with the contemporary art of Mitani, as described in the list of presents sent by the Dusratta to Egypt, including ivory, bronze, jade, and leaves of gold. The Carians seem to have been a branch of the Mongolic race of Armenia, afterwards Aryanised.

not originally a script invented by either Semitic or Aryan races, though it came to be used by the Assyrians and the Persians. The Greek alphabet was of Phoenician origin: the Roman text is used by Hungarians, who are not Aryans. Script and language generally have no necessary connection. But it is always found necessary to modify a script, when it is used for a language for which it was not originally intended, as we see in the introduction of long and short vowels into Aryan alphabets, which were not originally needed in Phoenician.

Now with regard to the Cypriote, it is at once evident that the script was but ill adapted to express the many vowel and consonantal variations of the Greek; and the representation of sound is very imperfect. This syllabary consists of fifty-four emblems in all, representing seven vowels and forty-seven syllables, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, such as *Ta Te Ti To Tu*, *Na Ne Ni No Nu*, and so on for other sounds. It is to be noted that among these *D* is not distinguished from *T*, nor *B* from *P*, nor *M* altogether from *V*. The gutturals are *K*, *G* and *Kh*: the sibilants are *S* and *Z*, representing two sounds only: the liquids distinguish *L* and *R*. This vocalization, while insufficient for the purposes of Aryan languages—especially those of the East Aryan languages—agrees with that of the Akkadian syllabary, which, in like manner, gives no very clear distinction of *P* and *B*, or *T* and *D*, or *M* and *V*; but distinguishes the gutturals as in Cypriote, and has also a small distinction of sibilants. It seems, therefore, that the Cypriote would be more fit for use with a Mongolic than with an Aryan language.

The sounds of the Cypriote were recovered by George Smith in 1872, and in 1888 Dr. Sayce compared a good many of the emblems with those of the Syrian hieroglyphs. Since then both systems have become better known, through fresh discoveries; and it appears to me that the comparisons can now be established in forty-six cases out of fifty-four. It is of course probable that, as in Cuneiform, so in Syrian, the emblem had more

than one sound; but by these means we may recover the common syllabic values of the vowels, and of the syllables in which a vowel followed a consonant, in nearly all cases, thus giving us something approaching to half the sounds required.

As regards the remainder, they would include syllables in which the vowel preceded the consonant—probably amounting to about forty emblems—and this leaves only some thirty signs to be accounted for. Following the analogy of the Cuneiform, we should expect these thirty emblems to include syllables in which a consonant preceded and followed a vowel—such as *Tar*—and a small number of ideograms and determinatives. In Akkadian the determinatives are not as numerous as in Egyptian, or even as in the later Assyrian. Thus in the Tell Loh texts there is no prefixed sign to determine personal names, and the commonest signs of this class are those for "country," "city," "Lord," and "God," with the sign of the plural. These also we should expect to find in Syrian; but on seals, and on the bilingual Boss of Tarkondemos, the Hittite or Cilician texts show no indication of any special sign marking the proper name: so that there is some reason to suppose that in this script, as in Akkadian also, no such sign was in use.

In studying the texts it is found that certain signs, amounting to about fifty in all, are of very frequent recurrence, appearing to represent the grammatical forms—cases of nouns suffixed to larger emblems, with pronouns and common verbs—and these appear often to agree with the sounds of similar parts of speech in Akkadian. Thus towards the end of clauses we often find the emblems *Mo-ne*, followed by another which might represent the verb, just as we so often in Akkadian find, *Mu Na* "I it" with a verb ending the sentence. In addition to this indication we have the fact that the sound recovered from the Cypriote appears to give the Akkadian name of the emblem represented by the Syrian hieroglyph. Thus, for instance, *Le* is the sound which appears to belong to the

bull's head, and *Le* is also a sound for the bull's head in Akkadian. *Mi* is the sound for the emblem of "country," and *mi* is a common Mongolic word for "land," "earth," etc. *Ti* is represented by an arrow, and the arrow emblem in Akkadian has also the sound *ti*. These indications seem all to agree with the proposed comparison with ancient Mongolic speech.

As regards determinatives, that for "god" in Cuneiform and Egyptian is a star; and the star also appears in Syrian with the sound *a* or *an* (Akkadian *an* "god"): the sign for "Lord" in Cuneiform is a throne, and this throne also appears on Syrian texts. The Syrian emblem, which seems to mean "country" on the Boss of Tarkondemos, represents two mountains. In Cuneiform the sign for country represents mountains, and the same is the case in Egyptian. In both these latter systems the plural is represented by three or four strokes, and four strokes occur as a suffix to nouns in Syrian, which may well be the plural. As to numerals, a hoop is used in Cuneiform and in Egyptian for ten; and the discovery of the Gurun text shows very clearly that the hoop in Syrian script was also used to represent a numeral: such groups as eighteen and twenty-eight being found on that monument. The sign for "city" is at present unknown, but if it resembled that used in Cuneiform, it would be a symbol representing a seat.

Turning to the two short bilinguals in Syrian and Cuneiform, which are not only valuable in themselves, but give us hopes of further bilinguals in these two scripts, it is to be noted that the characters on the Boss of Tarkondemos represent Cuneiform not of a very early period, whereas the seal from Cilicia in the Ashmolean gives Cuneiform at least as old as about 1500 B.C. That the Syrian script was in use in or before the fourteenth century B.C. is clearly indicated by the fact that the cartouche of Rameses II. is cut on the field of the statue on Mount Sipylos, which has Syrian emblems in relief. These raised emblems must have been already carved, therefore, before the arrival of Rameses II.; and the indications so enumerated seem to

show that the Syrian script was employed between 1500 and 700 B.C. In addition, it must be remembered that the hieratic character—or Cypriote—had been developed before 500 B.C.; and that the more archaic of the hieroglyphic texts would naturally be a good deal older, since on the Asia Minor monuments we find the script becoming more cursive and conventional, and so approaching nearer to the Cypriote. The Phoenician alphabet (which I have tried to show some years ago to have been derived from Cypriote), apparently came into existence between 1400 and 1000 B.C.; and the Syrian hieroglyphic script was, no doubt, considerably older than this latest product of the same system. It appears from such reasoning incorrect to suppose that all these texts can have been carved as late as the eighth century B.C., when the Phoenician alphabet was in common use throughout Syria.

From the two bilinguals we also recover a few sounds for Hittite emblems. The Cuneiform text on the Boss of Tarkondemos reads *Tarkudimme Sar Mat Ermē* (or *Erimē*). The native characters—six in all—give us *Tar* for the goat's head (Akkadian *dara* "deer"), *Ko* (as in Cypriote) for a peaked crown or obelisk, *Dim* for a sign very like the Cuneiform *dim*, and three others, of which one is *Mi*, as in Cypriote. The Ashmolean seal gives archaic Cuneiform symbols reading (according to the impression which I have obtained) *Indilimma ben Serdamu Abd ilu Iskhara* "Indilimma, son of Serdamu, servant of Iskhara." There are only four native emblems, the first of which is the head of an ass, which also occurs often on the Syrian monuments, and the third is the Cypriote *Ra*. The sound *Is* might be given to the asses head, and compared with the Turkish *esek* for "ass," of which the root is *es*. I should suppose that the four may read *Is-khe-ra ba*, meaning probably "Iskhera's servant"; but the only certain sign is the *Ra*.

The recovery of the sounds represents the only true method of dealing with the problem. Many attempts were made to read other systems without the aid of the sounds

by arbitrary suppositions; but all these were swept away by Champollion and Sir Henry Rawlinson, who both proceeded on the two principles which must govern all such enquiry—(1) The determination of the syllabic values of the common emblems; and (2) The determination of the character of the language, by comparison with known tongues of the same grammatical character and giving the same sounds.

There are certain well drawn emblems, the value of which may be reasonably conjectured from their forms and position in the sentence, independent of their sounds, by analogy of the use of similar signs in other hieroglyphic systems. Thus it is easy to conjecture that a pair of legs walking means "to go" or "a march," as the same emblem does in Cuneiform and in Egyptian. The "hand" no doubt means "take" "have" "power," as it does in Cuneiform and in Egyptian. The figure with hand raised to mouth no doubt signifies "speech," as in Egyptian; and the figure of a tablet on the same principle will mean "inscription." But the fact that there are only about 120 signs used on the Syrian texts shows clearly that the majority at least of the emblems must be used syllabically, and that we are not dealing with a purely picture writing.

The next important observation concerns the syntax of the language. If it be granted—as has been so generally allowed—that we are dealing with an agglutinative suffixing speech, one thing becomes certain, namely, that the verb must stand at the end of the clause. This is a law of syntax of all the known languages of this great class in Western Asia, both ancient and modern. Consequently it seems safe to suppose that on a Syrian text in such a language the emblems at the beginning are nouns, and those at the end of the text are verbs; and it is noticeable that such emblems as the foot, the hand, and others, which most probably stand for the roots of verbs, never occur at the beginning of any text. It should also be noted that in the agglutinative languages, the roots are all monosyllables, so that these would naturally be represented by

single syllabic signs in writing, with others for cases and pronouns attached. If this be granted, we then obtain some light on the character of the suffixes: for those which accompany the first emblems in a text would be cases of nouns, and those which end a text would be tenses or persons of verbs.

It seems to me that the indications and principles so stated will hardly be liable to be upset by further discovery; but though they may plainly indicate the character of the language, and even suggest the subject in some cases, they are far from enabling us at present to make definite translations. Any further work must be purely tentative. Yet the sounds may to a certain extent be checked, on the principles which are laid down in reading Cuneiform, and which Dr. Sayce has stated very clearly in his grammar of Assyrian (pp. xiv. xv.). There are several common combinations which demand special study, but unfortunately there is very little agreement as to the meaning of these groups. After long study of the texts it appears to me, however, that certain combinations connected with the verbs, occurring at the ends of texts or of their clauses, give indications by their frequent recurrence of important grammatical forms. Those which may be chiefly noticed are the following:

Mo-ne preceding verbs. Akkadian *Mu Na* "I it."
Me ke after verbs. Turkish *mek* for infinitive.
Neke following nouns. Akkadian *nak* "thereof."
duke for a verb, apparently "come" or "become."
Sa-ne perhaps the subjunctive. Medic *sne*, Mitani *sena*.

Among the nouns we find a pigtailed head with a sign above it, which group is thought to mean King or Chief: and a pair of tiaras for which a similar meaning has been conjectured; but there is at present no means of checking these suppositions. Another group which may, by aid of the Cypriote, be read as *Ri-lum-me*, seems to me to signify "writing," from comparison with the Medic verb *Ri-lu* "to write." A sign, which clearly seems to represent an

altar with a burning flame, is found very frequently towards the end of clauses, and never at the beginning. I conjecture that its sound was *bar*, which is the sound of the emblem representing an altar in Cuneiform; but it is so frequent, and always in the position of a verb, that it cannot be taken to be a noun merely meaning "altar," but must be regarded as a syllable. It may, perhaps, be the old Turkish verb *bar* or *var* "to be," which is also recognizable in Medic. I believe we may also recognize the pronouns *Mo* "I," *Ne* "he," *Bu* "this," and possibly the conjunction, with the sound *Yak* "and" as in Medic; but these views will by others be regarded as conjectural only.

The two questions thus separately investigated appear to lead to the conclusions—(1) that the Hittites of Syria were a Mongolic people speaking a Mongolic language; and (2) that the Syrian hieroglyphic texts were written by a Mongolic people in a Mongolic language, about the same historic period during which the Kheta flourished in Syria. It seems, probable therefore, that the Syrian texts were written by the Hittites, whatever be the case as to those in the same character and language found in Asia Minor and in Armenia

The only writer who has so far pronounced in favour of a comparison with Turkish speech is Dr. Peiser, in Germany, whose work I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting, but I believe that the theory which I put forward in 1887 gives, as Dr. Isaac Taylor and the late Mr. C. Bertin have both since stated, the simplest solution of the problem, so far as the determination of the language is concerned. In conclusion, a few words may be devoted to the description of the principal texts as far as known.

Texts from Jerablus.

Three of these in the British Museum were found by George Smith, in the ruins of the ancient Hittite city of

Carchemish. They are the most beautifully executed of all as yet known, and, though broken, are the most distinct.

No. 1. A text on the door-joints of a building, in five lines, is remarkable for its repetition of certain groups, consisting of three or four emblems each.

No. 2. A headless figure of a king or god, with eight lines of beautifully carved emblems, also broken on the right, contains, twice repeated, a rare emblem representing two persons who seem to be swearing faith to each other. A similar emblem in Egyptian signifies "alliance" or "brotherhood." I am inclined to suppose that this sign really represents the name of the Hittites—*Khat*; and in Turkish *Khat* signifies to "be joined," "connected," or "related." The *Khati* might, therefore, in Mongol speech mean "allies" or "brethren." It was the name of a very important Turkish people, whose centre was on the south shores of Lake Balkash. They are noticed by Ptolemy, and they ruled all Central Asia in the tenth century A.D., and invaded China. The old name of Cathay was taken from them, and the Mediæval Jews of Bactria identified them with their old enemies, the Hittites. Considering the migrations of Mongol tribes, and the great distances apart at which sections of one tribe are often found, it is not impossible that these Khati of Central Asia were a section of the same people called Khati by the Assyrians in Syria.

No. 3. Written round a curved surface of a pillar, with a figure on the back. It is broken at the top, and includes five lines of much decayed writing, which (as on most of the texts) is in relief. This text is remarkable for a head with very long ears, which recurs several times, but which is rarely found on other texts. It seems to represent a noun, and it recalls the figures in the British Museum, by which demons are represented on Assyrian monuments, with long ears like those of the ass. If the text referred to demons it would no doubt be a charm, like those of which so many are known in Akkadian literature; but it is equally possible that the sign was used syllabically, as the sign for "ghost"

is used in Cuneiform to mean "weak." We may perhaps suppose that this emblem indicates an "enemy"—mortal rather than demonic—in which case the text would be probably a memorial of war; and a study of the last line seems to indicate that it refers to enemies in connection with a city.

Texts from Hamath.

Five stones from Hamath, one at least of which was seen by Burckhardt in 1812, are now in the Stamboul Museum, where I have seen them. Two sets of casts are in England. They are remarkable for the repetition in three cases of the same initial formula, and they are perhaps the most archaic of known Syrian texts.

No. 1. Consists of three lines, and begins with the symbol for speech. It appears to be complete.

No. 2. Also of three lines, is very similar in the first and second lines to No. 1.

No. 3. In two lines, very similar but shorter.

No. 4. Is different. It appears to me to contain in the first line a personal name *Dutar*, as being that of the writer of the text. It is to be remarked that *Totar* was the name of a Hittite mentioned in the time of Rameses II., and it is quite possible that these texts are as old as 1350 B.C.

No. 5. Is the longest of the Hamath texts, consisting of five long lines. It presents the peculiarity that lines three and four both read from the right, the usual alternate arrangement being here discarded. In this, as in the previous texts from Hamath, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, the second noun is represented by a throne, with the symbol *un* beneath, and may I think be read *En-un*, meaning "Lord."

Texts from Merash.

There are three of these texts from the city at the foot of the Taurus, west of Carchemish, all of which are more

irregularly written than the preceding, and seem to be later.

No. 1. A lion with seven long lines of writing running round the side and front. It was found by Dr. Gwyther, and is now at Stamboul; but a cast is in the British Museum. This is the longest text yet known, but the emblems are very crowded, and not always very distinct. It appears to me that the first line states that the inscription was erected by a certain *Tarko man* or *Tarkoku*, the syntax of the first sentence presenting the usual sequence of object, subject, and verb. The demon head, in this case with horns, occurs once, perhaps indicating a contest; and the name of a prince seems to occur in the fourth line, where I think we may perhaps read *Khalupu-ne* "of Aleppo." Immediately after come combinations, which might perhaps give the sounds *Uru-ne-bar-sa barak*, "his city was ruined"; but this is purely tentative, and a great part of the text contains very indistinct emblems.

No. 2. A figure holding a staff, covered with writing, was found by Puchstein, and photographed; but the text is so indistinct that it cannot be treated.

No. 3. Two rudely carved figures on a rock, seated facing each other, with a sort of table or altar between them. The person to the right holds a sceptre, and the one to the left a cup. Above is a very irregular text, which has been copied by more than one traveller. The sequence of the syllables is uncertain.

Ibreez.

A group on the rock above the stream, of a gigantic horned deity, holding grapes and corn, faced by a king or priest to the right. There are three short texts—one (A) of three lines by the head of the god, who wears a beard; a second (B) of four lines behind the king, also bearded; and the third (C) much decayed hard by. They have been copied by Major Fischer, in 1838, and by Mr. Hogarth, in 1890, and were rediscovered in 1875 by the Rev. E. J.

Davis. In the third line of the text (B), referring to the king, occurs the emblem of a head with tiara, supposed to mean "chief" or "king," followed by *pe*, which probably indicates the nominative definite.

Tyana.

A monument with the figure of a king, brought from Bor, was here discovered by Prof. Ramsay. Mr. Hogarth has recently discovered that the lower part of the monument exists, with other lines of writing, but these have not been copied. The upper half includes four lines, the writing incised and more hieratic in character than any of the preceding.

Bulgar Maden.

This text, also incised, is one of the most complete yet found, and has been very carefully copied by Mr. D. G. Hogarth. It consists of five lines, which are very hieratic in character, and specially remarkable for a sign just like the Cypriote *ra*, which is not recognizable elsewhere with certainty.

Gurun.

This site yielded two texts, discovered by Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B., and carefully copied by Mr. Hogarth. They are hieratic in character, but much damaged by weather. No. 2 is specially remarkable for groups of vertical strokes, connected with hoops, which seem very clearly to be numerals. The text includes seven lines, and in line three I think the name *Tarkadimme* may be recognized. In line five occur the numerals "nine" and "eighteen"; in line six we find "eight," and probably a personal name; and in line seven the numeral "twenty-seven," and the pair of legs walking, which—as in No. 3 at Jerablus—no doubt signify "march." Hence I am led to suppose that this rock cut text refers to the expeditions

of Tarkondemos. The name of Tarkondimotos, as a Cilician king as late as the time of Augustus, has been pointed out by Dr. Mordtmann; and the Cuneiform characters on the bilingual Boss of Tarkondemos are thought to be as late as the time of Sargon. There is nothing so far to show that he would have called himself a Hittite, or that the inscriptions bearing this name, which was apparently a common one, all refer to the same person. But the character of the writing at Gurun appears to me clearly to show that the text is a very late one.

The Babylonian Bowl.

This bowl, now in the British Museum, was probably brought as spoil from the country where the Syrian script was used, and has a text written round it outside, also in hieratic script, with incised characters. It is not easy to know where to begin reading, and many of the emblems are so rudely formed as to be indistinguishable. It is remarkable for a very clear occurrence of the Cypriote *ni*, and for an unique emblem which seems to represent the bowl itself.

Izgin.

The new text just published by Mr. Hogarth consists of seventy short lines, but it was hastily copied, and is much defaced, so that it does not shed much new light on the subject. They run round four sides of a limestone obelisk eight feet high, and are cut in relief. Several familiar groups are recognizable.

Palanga.

A text in four lines beginning on the left, incised writing, and hieratic in character: on the front, left side, and back, of the lower part of a basalt statue of a seated figure.

Kölitolu Yaila.

Three lines beginning on the right, well carved in relief, but much injured: of red calcareous stone. It seems to contain a personal name.[1]

These twenty-two texts, together with an imperfect example from Samosata given by Puchstein, and other fragments from Carchemish and Tyana, represent the principal sources of knowledge of the script. On the figure at Mount Şipylos, Dr. Sayce copied a small group in relief of six or seven emblems, including the signs *Ko Le* and *Du*; and at Karabel, near Ephesus, the famous statue of Sesostris has a text of six or seven emblems, including the "tablet" and "bird." There are in addition seventeen seals belonging to M. Schlumberger at Paris, which appear to be in the same script, one of which represents a deity standing on a lion, like those in the famous rock sculptures of Pteria, which accompany an illegible text in the same character. On one of the seals a lion's head is carved, which is not otherwise found. Mr. Hogarth also possesses a seal with similar characters. A seal discovered at Nineveh by Sir H. Layard, presents a very common group of unknown meaning including the "Eagle." This, so far, is all that has been found, and what is most needed is the recovery of a bilingual of sufficient length to allow of further study of the language.

As however it is known that such bilinguals were made, in at least two instances, we need not despair of final settlement of this curious question; and, in conclusion, I would urge that what is most needed is excavation at Carchemish, the border city between Hittites and Assyrians, where, if anywhere, we might hope to obtain the needful clues. In the incomplete state of our knowledge the present contribution to the question may however prove useful to others.

[1] The Texts from Ibreez, Bulgar Maden, Gurun, Tyana, Kolitolu Yaila, Izgin, and Palanga are given by Prof. Ramsey and Mr. D. G. Hogarth in their "Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia." Paris, 1891 and 1893, with full account of the sites.

NOTES ON THE SYLLABARY.

No. 1. *A*, a pot. The Cypriote is read *ya*, but in Carian *ā*. In Akkadian *a* means "water."

No. 4. *O*. The Cypriote sign seems to represent the growth of an herb. In Akkadian *u* stands for herb.

No. 11. *Ak* is conjectural, but seems to give a probable sound. The emblem is a suffix on the texts.

No. 12. *Ik* seems to be a key. The Cuneiform emblem also resembles a key, and with the sound *ik* means "open" in Akkadian.

No. 17. *Khu*. The Cuneiform is supposed to be a bird, and with the sound *khu* means "bird" in Akkadian.

No. 20. The sound *ga* in Akkadian means "turn" "bend," and the emblem is apparently a crook.

No. 21. *Gu*. The emblem appears to mean "speak," and occurs as a verb at the end of texts. The Akkadian *gu* "speak" is represented by a somewhat similar Cuneiform sign.

No. 26. *To* is very like the Cuneiform *tuk* "to have" or "take."

No. 33. *Du* is the same sign used in Cuneiform, with the sound *du* in Akkadian, meaning "to come" and "to become."

No. 34. *Sa* seems to be a sickle or knife. It occurs as a suffix to nouns, perhaps meaning "in."

No. 35. *Se*: the hand extended. In Akkadian *se* means "to give."

No. 36. *Si* resembles the Cuneiform *si*, for the "eye." In Medic *siya* is "to see." The sign is usually a prefix, and may be used as a determinative.

No. 43. *Shi* seems to represent "horns." In Akkadian *shi* means "horn."

No. 46. The sound of the Cypriote is not certain. The emblem resembles in Cuneiform *zi*. In Akkadian *zi* means "spirit," and the sign is not unlike the Chinese emblem for "wind."

No. 49. *Uz* seems to represent a "quiver." The Cuneiform emblem which signified a quiver had the sound *uzu*.

No. 50. Resembles the Cuneiform *Ba*, which appears to have been a "pyramid."

No. 51. *Bi*. In Akkadian *bi* is "two."

No. 52. *Bo* is a common sign, and seems to stand for the demonstrative pronoun, which is *bu* in the language of Mitani, *ibba* in Akkadian, *appo* in Medic, and *bu* in Turkish.

No. 53. *Ab*, only found once, resembles the head of a camel. Akkadian *abba* "camel."

No. 57. *Pe* is a vase. In Akkadian *bi* is an emblem, apparently a vase, and means "cup."

No. 58. *Pi* is a common suffix of the nouns. Probably it is the nominative definite, as in Medic and in the Mitani language.

No. 59. *Pu* resembles the Cuneiform emblem of the same sound, which, in Akkadian, means "to extend" "to be young," or generally "to grow." It is a common Turanian root meaning "to grow," and is represented apparently by a bud.

No. 61. *Le*. One of the Akkadian sounds for the bull's head is also *le*.

No. 64. *Lu* is a "yoke," and the Cuneiform emblem for the yoke has also the sound *lu* in Akkadian.

No. 74. The sound is taken from the Boss of Tarkondemos.

No. 75. A dog's head. Akkadian *Ur* "dog," represented, as Mr. Bertin showed, by a dog's head in Cuneiform.

No. 79. *Mo* is like the Cuneiform sign for female, which has the sound *muk* in Akkadian. It is known to mean the pudenda.

No. 82. *Am* only occurs doubtfully once, and appears to be the head of a wild bull. The Cuneiform sign for the wild bull has the sound *am* in Akkadian.

No. 84. *Um* is a tablet, like the Cuneiform *um* (also *dub*).

No. 86. *Ne* seems to be the phallus, and to mean "male" "he." The Cuneiform *na* is somewhat like, and also signifies "male" and "he."

No. 93. *Un* is the sign for "ten." Akkadian *un*, Turkish *aun* "ten."

No. 95. *Bad* in Akkadian means "to strike" or "slay." The emblem is a hand and dagger. It forms the group *baddu* very often.

No. 96. A sheep's head. The Cuneiform emblem for "sheep" also represents the head, and has the sound *dib* in Akkadian.

No. 98. *Dur* is very rare. The Cuneiform emblem *dur* means "to stand."

No. 103. *Gal* resembles one of the wooden keys used in the East. The Cuneiform sign of the same sound means, among other things, "to cause to open."

No. 105. The Cuneiform sign *khir* means originally "growth," but is used for "writing."

No. 107. *Khul*, a demon. The word in Akkadian means "evil," and is common in Turanian speech with the meaning of "devil" "death" "foe," etc.

No. 108. *Sak*, a head. In Akkadian *sak* is "head." This gives us the words *sakpe* and *sakdu*, perhaps "vow" (Akkadian *sakba*) and "chief" "top."

No. 109. *Sig*: the Akkadian word *sig* means "to fill."

No. 110. *Lur*: the emblem appears to be a flame. In Medic *luru* is "to burn."

No. 111. *Nun*. The Cuneiform sign means "prince" "chief," representing a hand and sceptre. The Hittite emblem is a rare one.

No. 112. *Gug*: a ram's head. The sign seems to signify "fighting." In Akkadian we find *gug* among terms for sheep, evidently the Turkish *koch* "ram."

No. 113. *Kas*, "a pair." In Akkadian the sign *kas* represents two. Turkish *kos*, "a pair."

This does not quite exhaust the Hittite emblems, only 88 being placed in position including the determinatives. These are nearly all common, but to them we must add:



Often reduplicated. A tiara. Perhaps *Kha* or *Khan*.

 Also seems to be connected with royalty. Perhaps *Man.*

 Not frequent.

 Somewhat like a Phrygian cap.

 Is like the Cuneiform sign for the sun.

 Appears to be a snake. It only occurs in certain words.

 Is apparently a tree, and may be *Mu* as in Cuneiform.

 Resembles the sacred tree on monuments. Perhaps *So.*

 Seems to be a snake. It is like the Cypriote *ye.*

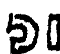
 Very rarely found, means, apparently, "to march."

 Only twice found. Perhaps "to stand still."

 Is like the Chinese sign for "baby." Perhaps means "small."

 May be only a variant of *lur.*

 Only once, at Ibreez. Is like one form of the Cypriote *Re.*

 Perhaps a combination *i-ak.* It is usually a prefix, and occurs double. Perhaps the conjunction. Medic *Yak.*

 Might be a variant of *Pe* or of *A.*

 Only occurs once at Jerablus (No. 2 text).

 A seated person rarely found. Perhaps a woman.

 A hare. Only occurs once, on the Merash lion.

 Also on the lion.

 Only as yet on Jerablus text, No. 3.

 Perhaps a swallow, in which case it would be *Nam.*

 On Jerablus text, No. 2, is an animal like a bear.

 On Jerablus text, No. 3, is very like the Cuneiform sign for "opposition." It is followed by the sign of "house" or "city." Perhaps "the resisting city."

 Perhaps a spear head, or a monument.

 Appears to be a variant of *Pu.*

 Only once found, on Jerablus text, No. 2.

 Perhaps only a variant of *Se* or *Da.*

 On the Tyana text, seems to be a "chain."

 A common sign, apparently a knife. Perhaps *Khas.* These, with a few doubtful and indefinite signs, bring up the total to about 120 emblems.

COMMON GROUPS.

Recurring on the Monuments.

(1) This begins texts at Hamath, Jerablus, Merash, and Izgin, and clearly means "speech," with a suffix.

(2) Especially at Jerablus. Perhaps *Ri-lumme*, "writing." It is apparently a noun.

(3) At Jerablus, and at Gurun. *Tarko-divmi* and *Tarkadimme*: apparently a noun, probably a king's name.

(4) At Jerablus, Bulgar Maden, on the Babylonian bowl, on Layard's seal (by itself). Perhaps a personal name or an ideogram for "prince." It is not a common form and is apparently a noun.

(5) On the Babylonian bowl, at Ibreez, Tyana, Bulgar Maden, and Palanga. Apparently a noun.

(6) At Merash and Hamath; appears to be a noun, and by position would be the object in one case.

(7) At Hamath, and Izgin, and Palanga; seems to be clearly a noun. Common without the upper sign.

(8) At Jerablus and Merash. A verb, probably *Baddu*; occurs in the infinitive. (Compare Medic *Batto* "put.")

(9) At Jerablus and Kolitolu Yaila; at Hamath *Meka* perhaps answers to this *Meke*. It is clearly a verbal suffix.

(10) At Hamath, Tyana, Izgin, etc. Precedes verbs, and reads *Mo-ne.* Apparently the pronouns "I, it."

(11) At Bulgar Maden, Merash, on the bowl, at Tyana, etc., appears to be a suffix of nouns reading *ne-ke,* "thereof."

(12) At Bulgar Maden, Merash, etc., appears to be a verb suffix reading *sa-ne.* Perhaps the Precative form. (Medic *sna,* Mitani-*sena.*)

(13) At Bulgar Maden, Kolitolu Yaila, Palanga, Merash, etc., a form of the verb, reading *Du-ke,* apparently "come" or "become"—the past participle active.

(14) Sometimes the last sign is *mo,* sometimes *du.* Occurs at Hamath, Jerablus, on the bowl, at Merash and Izgin. It seems to be a noun.

(15). Twice repeated on Jerablus, No. 1, reading from the left. It appears to be probably a verb in the first person.

(16) At Jerablus and Izgin. It seems to be a verb or a suffix of some kind.

(17) Very common on all texts at the end of clauses, possibly the verb substantive. It occurs reduplicated.

(18) At Jerablus and Merash. Perhaps *Sak-du.* It appears to be a noun, perhaps "top" "summit."

(19) At Tyana, Jerablus, Izgin, etc. A reduplication of the verb *du,* "to become," probably the causative.

(20) At Hamath. May be read *Gu-me-ka,* and seems to mean "sayings" or "words."

(21) At Bulgar Maden. Another form of the verb "to become." Probably *Du-sa*, "it becomes" or "he becomes."

(22) A noun at Pteria. The second sign is a common suffix. The group might be read *Si-is.*

(23) At Kolitolu Yaila and Jerablus. Appears to be a verb. The ram's head is common in other words.

The commoner combinations show pretty clearly the syllabic character of the writing, very few of them suggesting an ideographic explanation. The verb *du* "to become" "to be" "to come," represented as in the Cuneiform by a foot, would have the same meaning as in Akkadian and in Medic, in both which languages *du* means "to be"; and we obtain the forms *duke*, *dusa*, *dudu* for "was" "is" "is made be," *dua* "being," and *du-un*. One of the most interesting signs to recover would be the eagle, and it is remarkable that so far the eagle is never found except in one particular word. The following points will, I believe, prove to be ascertainable as to the grammar of the language.

Syntax.

The order is object, subject, and verb: the adjective follows the noun: the genitive is prefixed, or if following has a suffix: the pronouns precede the verb: the possessive pronoun is suffixed—all agreeing with Mongolic syntax.

The Noun.

The cases will include the suffixes *-pi* (nom. def.), *-s* (nom. indef.), *-ne* (gen.), *-sa* ("in"), *-lu* ("with"), *-ka* ("for"), *-da* ("from"), *a* ("to"), *e* (accusative). The plural precedes the case suffix.

The Verb.

The infinitive is probably *-meke*; 3rd present *-sa*; 3rd past *-da*; 3rd precative *-sane*; 3rd imperative *-s*; passive *-lu*; part. *-ke*.

The Numeral

Precedes the noun to which it refers, and is not written syllabically, but by strokes for units and *un* for "ten."

C. R. CONDER.

Southampton, 20*th May*, 1893.

Art. XXII.—*Notes on Akkadian*. By Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.

The study of Akkadian is based on upwards of thirty bilingual inscriptions of considerable length, the texts having been translated into Assyrian in the seventh century B.C. The affinity of the language to the Mongolic dialects of Central Asia, and especially to the Uigur and Turkish, is very generally recognized by scholars, the syntax and grammar, not less than the vocabulary, pointing to such comparison. The following notes refer to points which are not generally mentioned in former treatises on the subject, but which seem clearly deducible from a study of the texts, and from comparison with living languages.

Syntax.—The invariable order of the sentence seems to be object, subject, and verb: a verb can never stand otherwise than at the end of the sentence. In a compound without case endings the defined word always follows the defining word, and the reverse order is only found when the defining word has a case suffix. The adjective, on the other hand, never precedes the noun, though in living Mongolic languages the order is now the reverse of the Akkadian. The numeral invariably precedes the noun, and the auxiliary verb precedes, though in modern speech it follows, the verb. The personal pronouns also precede the verb, while the possessive pronouns follow the noun. No prepositions are used: the suffix of case precedes the possessive pronoun, and the plural precedes the case ending. The noun has regular cases, and is without gender. The verb (as explained by the Assyrian scribes) has only two tenses—past and present—the latter formed by adding *e* to the root. The causative is formed by reduplicating the root.

For comparative purposes the most important elements of the language are the suffixes, the noun cases, the numerals, the names of metals and of colours; and these all point to Turkish dialects as nearest to Akkadian.

Suffixes.

These, for the most part, are the same in Akkadian, in Proto-Medic (the third language of Behistun), and in Turkish dialects.

	AKKADIAN.	PROTO-MEDIC.	TURKISH (YAKUT).
Verbal adjective	-GA	-KA	*-kei*
Verbal noun	-IK	-K	*-k*
Abstract noun	-DA	-DA	*-it*
„ „	-MA	-MA	*-m*
Adjective	-KA	-KA	*-kei*
Noun of action	-RA	-RA	*-r*
„ „	-LA		*-l.*

The cases of the noun in the singular seem to be clearly indicated in the texts, as follows:

1.	Nominative definite	Akkadian	-BI	found in	Mongolic
	„ indefinite	„	-S	„	[speech
2.	Genitive or Possessive	„	-NA	Turkish	*-n*
3.	Locative	„	-TA	„	*-deh*
4.	Dative (1)	„	-GA	„	*-ga*
5.	Dative (2)	„	-A	„	*-a*
6.	Accusative	„	-E	„	*-e*
7.	Instrumental	„	-LI	„	*-li*
8.	Comitative	„	-LA	„	*-ailan*
9.	Causative	„	-KU	„	*-ichun*
10.	Comparative	„	-DIM	„	*-ting.*

The plural ENE preceding these resembles the Mongol plural *na.*

Numerals.

One	Akkadian	AS. ID	Ostiac, *it* Yenessei *isa*
Two	„	KI. KAS	Turkish *iki*, Ostiac *ket*
Three	„	ESSA. VUS	„ *auch* and *üs*
Four	„	SA. SAV	Yenessei *scheya*
Five	„	VASH	Turkish *besh*
Six	„	AS	„ *atti*
Seven	„	SISIN	Zyrianian *sisim*
Ten	„	UN	Turkish *aun*
One hundred	„	ME	„ *mun*
One thousand		UMUNA	„ *on mun.*

Names of Metals.

Gold	Akkadian	KUGIN	Tartar *kin*
Silver	„	KUMAS	Turkish *kömys*
Copper	„	ZAVAS	Mongol *zes*
Tin	„	ANNA	Hungarian *on*
Iron	„	DIMIRSA	Mongol *timir.*

Names of Colours.

White	Akkadian	AK	Turkish *ak*
Blue	„	GUK	„ *kök*
Red (Brown)	„	GUNNU	Mongol *khonor*
Grey	„	AKHARRA	Turkish *akhara.*

In addition to these indications, which seem sufficient to establish the character of the language, and some of which have been already indicated by Lenormant and other scholars, there are some 300 words, the meaning and sound of which are clearly indicated by the bilinguals, and which are comparable with Turkish, Ugric, and Mongol speech. In the list here given, those not otherwise marked are found in Turkish dialects. The Akkadian words are in capitals.

A "water"	Turkish	*ya* "water."
AI "father"	„	*ai* "father."
AB "water"	„	*ab* "water."

AB "father"	Turkish	*eb* "father."
AD "father"	"	*ata* "father."
ADH "strike"	"	*at* "strike."
AKHARRA "grey"	"	*akhara* "grey."
AK "white"	"	*ak* "white."
AK "cry"	"	*ach* "cry."
AK "twist"	"	*ek* "twist."
AGA "chief"	"	*agha* "chief."
AMA "mother"	"	*ama* "mother."
AM "bull"	"	*enek* "cow."
AVAR "circle"	"	*evir* "round."
AMAS "hope"?	"	*em* "hope."
AMIA "illness"	"	*em* "ill."
-AN "high"	"	*oñ* "high."
ANIR "groan"	Mongol	*anir* "groan."
ANNA "tin"	Hungarian	*on* "tin."
AN "of"	Turkish	*-n* "of."
ARI "flow"	"	*iri* "flow."
AS "joy"	Mongol	*ase* "joy."
AS "one"	"	*isa* "one."
AS "wish"	Turkish	*as* "wish."
AUS "ravine"	"	*aus* "opening."
BA "this"	"	*ba* "this."
PA "bond"	"	*bai* "bond."
PAP "male"	"	*papa* "father."
BAT "blood"	"	*bot* "blood."
BAT "fortress"	"	*bot* "fortress."
BAT "end"	"	*bit* "end."
PATESI "prince"	"	*batiz* "high."
PAKH "prince"	"	*bogh* "prince."
PAL "lord"	"	*bala* "high."
PAL "sword"	"	*pala* "sword."
PAL "axe"	"	*beil* "axe."
PAL "time"	"	*beyil* "year."
PAV "call out"	"	*bou* "bellow."
PA "spell"	"	*bai* "spell."
PAR "white"	"	*bor* "whitish."
BAR "live"	"	*bar* "live."

BAR "people"	Mongol	*bar* "people."
BAR "cattle"	Turkish	*barim* "cattle."
BAR "walk"	"	*bar* "walk."
BARAN "all"	Mongol	*baran* "all."
BE "corpse"	Turkish	*beye* "body."
BI "other"	"	*bi* "other."
PIN "foundation"	"	*ban* "foundation."
PIS "beget"	"	*bis* "birth."
PU "long"	"	*boi* "height."
BULUG "division"	"	*büluk* "division."
BUR "swamp"	"	*bur* "swamp."
-DA locative	"	*-deh* locative.
-DA abstract	"	*-t* abstract.
DA "speak"	"	*dia* "speak."
TAKH "establish"	"	*tokh* "make firm."
TAKH "resemble"	"	*tek* "like."
TAK "stone"	"	*tash* "stone."
TAG "turn"	"	*tek* "turn."
DAK "round"	"	*tek* "round."
DAK' "full"	"	*tokh* "full."
TAL "drop"	"	*tam* "drop."
TAL "year"	Mongol	*dil* "year."
TAL "lower"	Turkish	*tal* "lower."
TAL "break"	"	*til* "break."
TAMI "enclosure"	"	*tami* "house."
DAMALLA "large"	"	*tomluk* "thick."
DAN "strong"	"	*deñ* "greatly."
DARA "god"	"	*tor* "god."
TAR "split"	"	*tir* "split."
TAR "judge"	"	*tore* "judge."
TAS "contend"	"	*tusun* "fight."
DI "reach"	"	*tii* "reach."
DIB "strike"	"	*tep* "strike."
TIK "total"	"	*tek* "complete."
TIL "live"	"	*til* "live."
DIL "word"	"	*dil* "word."
-DIM "like"	"	*-tiñ* "like."
DIM "weak"	"	*dem* "weak."

DIM "ghost"	Turkish	*dem* "spirit."
DIM "peace"	„	*tim* "quiet."
TIM "bond"	„	*tem* "enclose."
DIMIRSA "iron"	„	*timir* "iron."
TIN "life"	„	*tin* "life."
DINGIR "god"	„	*tengri* "god."
DIR "dark"	Ostiac	*tarakh* "grey."
TIR "host"	Turkish	*ter* "gather."
TIR "wood"	Finnic	*tel* "wood."
DU "stamp"	Turkish	*tom* "stamp."
TUM "hell"	„	*tamu* "hell."
TU "sunset"	„	*tou* "dark."
DUB "smite"	„	*tep* "strike."
DUGU "knee"	„	*diz* "knee."
TUK "take"	„	*tek* "touch."
TUKUNDI "when"	„	*tegin* "till."
TUL "bring"	Finnic	*tul* "bring."
TUL "die"	Turkish	*toll* "die."
TUM "dark"	„	*ton* "dark."
TUM "flow away"	„	*tam* "trickle."
DUR "remain"	„	*dur* "dwell."
TUR "child"	„	*torüo* "to be born."
TURA "ill"	„	*tari* "evil."
TUR "chief"	„	*tore* "chief."
KHA(N) "fish"	Mongol	*hal* "fish."
KHAN "prince"	Turkish	*khan* "prince."
KHAT "dawn"	Finnic	*khat* "dawn."
KHAR "ox"	Mongol	*kur* "ox."
KHAR "lend"	Turkish	*khar* "exchange."
KHARRAN "road"	Finnic	*korno* "road."
KHAR "mountain"	Turkish	*khir* "mountain."
KHAZ "cut"	„	*kes* "cut."
KHILI "bright"	„	*chel* "beam."
KHILIB "god"	„	*chelep* "god."
KHIR "surround"	„	*khar* "surround."
KHIR "write"	„	*khir* "cut."
KHIR "repel"	„	*khar* "opposite."
KHIS "light"	„	*khis* "glow."

KHUL "evil"	Turkish	*ghoul* "devil."
KHUN "veil"	"	*kom* "covering."
KHUS "squeeze"	"	*khis* "squeeze."
E "house"	"	*ev* "house."
E "speak"	"	*ayi* "speak."
I "bright"	"	*ai* "white."
IB "cord"	"	*ip* "cord."
IP "make"	"	*ep* "make."
ID "hand"	"	*eitis* "hand."
ID "power"	"	*ida* "power."
ID "one"	Ostiac	*it* "one."
A "hand"	Turkish	*aya* "hand."
A "one"	"	*ai* "single."
IDIK "master"	"	*idi* "master."
ITTIK "flesh"	"	*et* "flesh."
IDU "month"	"	*eidata* "monthly."
EKHI "mother"	Mongol	*ekhi* "mother."
IK "raise"	Turkish	*ögö* "raise."
IK "open"	"	*ach* "open."
IK "flow"	"	*ikh* "flow."
IK "possess"	"	*eg* "possess."
IL "bright"	"	*yil* "bright."
IL "take away"	"	*el* "take."
IL "before"	"	*el* "before."
IL "raise"	"	*ulu* "raise."
IM "this"	"	*ime* "this."
IM "toil"	"	*em* "toil."
IM "wind"	"	*yil* "wind."
IM "sunset"	"	*im* "sunset."
EN "lord"	"	*eñ* "high."
INE "before"	"	*oñ* "before."
IR "weep"	"	*ir* "flow."
ERI "man"	"	*er* "man."
ERIM "soldier"	"	*eren* "hero."
ES "high"	"	*üs* "high."
IS "light"	"	*isik* "light."
IZ "wood"	"	*ise* "stick."
ESSA "foot"	"	*azek* "foot."

ISSE "prince"	Turkish	*us* "master."
ESSEB "prince"	Ostiac	*essep* "father."
IZIK "door"	Turkish	*izik* "door."
GA "house"	,,	*jia* "place."
KAN "prince"	,,	*kaan* "prince."
GU "call"	,,	*chau* "cry."
KIR "call"	,,	*kir* "cry."
KIR "see"	,,	*kor* "see."
GAB "rejoice"	,,	*khabat* "joy."
GAB "strike"	,,	*chap* "strike."
GAB "open"	,,	*kipu* "door."
KAT "hand"	Finnic	*kat* "hand."
KAT "deep"	Turkish	*khet* "deep."
KAT "fortune"	,,	*khut* "luck."
KAT "power"	,,	*göt* "power."
KAT "peak"	Mongol	*kadu* "peak."
KAGA "cry"	Turkish	*chakh* "cry."
GAL "great"	,,	*khalin* "big."
GAL "be"	,,	*khal* "remain."
GAL "die"	,,	*khal* "die."
GAL "raise"	,,	*khala* "raise."
GAM "bend"	,,	*jum* "bend."
GAN "produce"	,,	*jan* "life."
GAN "be"	Mongol	*kun* "man."
GAN "field"	Turkish	*khonu* "field."
GAR "wish"	,,	*char* "willing."
GAR "benefit"	,,	*kiar* "profit."
GAR "light"	,,	*kor* "see."
GAR "hostile"	,,	*khar* "oppose."
GAR "flood"	Mongol	*kuru* "rain."
GAR "food"	,,	*kere* "gnaw."
KAR "field"	Turkish	*kir* "field."
GAR "fathom"	,,	*khari* "cubit."
KAR "enclosure"	Mongol	*ger* "house."
GAR "swift"	Finnic	*karag* "swift."
GAR "entrails"	Turkish	*karan* "stomach."
GAR "make"	,,	*kayir* "make."
GAZ "slaughter"	Mongol	*choso* "blood."

KAS "two"	Turkish	*kos* "pair."
GE "below"	"	*koiu* "below."
KIT "below"	"	*khet* "below."
KI "place"	"	*jia* "place."
GI "flame"	Finnic	*keo* "flame."
GIBIL "burn"	Turkish	*kuyel* "burn."
GID "remove"	"	*git* "remove."
KIT "with"	"	*keitta* "with."
KIT "swell"	"	*kot* "swell."
GIG "night"	"	*kiche* "evening."
GIG "ill"	Finnic	*kice* "ill."
KIEL "slave"	Turkish	*kul* "slave."
KIN "reply"	"	*kiyin* "return."
KIN "middle"	"	*kin* "middle."
KIN "work"	"	*kin* "do."
GIR "cleave"	"	*chir* "cleave."
GIZ "strong"	"	*küs* "strong."
GIZ "man"	"	*kechi* "man."
KU "man"	Ostiac	*ku* "man."
GUM "man"	Mongol	*kun* "man."
GU "all"	Turkish	*chom* "all."
KU "eat"	"	*küv* "chew."
KU "famine"	"	*ju* "empty."
-KU "for"	"	*-ichun* "for."
KU "place"	"	*khoi* "lay."
KU "look at"	"	*ju* "seek."
KU (or GE) "prince"	"	*ege* "lord."
KU "clothes"	Mongol	*goye* "clothes."
KU "bright"	Finnic	*koi* "bright"
GUB "high"	Turkish	*kop* "high."
GUB "fix"	"	*khap* "grip."
KUT "cut"	"	*kut* "rend."
GUD "lie down"	"	*khot* "lay."
GUDHU "mighty"	"	*got* "power."
GUK "blue"	"	*kök* "blue."
GUG "tiger"	Mongol	*khakhai* "panther."
GUG "sheep"	Turkish	*koch* "ram."
KUL "seed"	Finnic	*kol* "seed."

KUM "top"	Turkish	*kom* "top."
KUVA "rest"	,,	*ku* "stay."
KUMAS "silver"	,,	*komys* "silver."
KUN "day"	,,	*gün* "day."
GUNNU "red brown"	Mongol	*khonor* "red brown."
GUR "enclose"	Turkish	*kur* "enclose."
GUR "stream"	Mongol	*kuru* "rain."
GUR "reply"	Turkish	*khorui* "answer."
GUR "faithless"	,,	*guiaur* "infidel."
KUR "land"	,,	*kera* "land."
KUR "mountain"	Finnic	*kor* "mountain."
KUS "mighty"	Turkish	*khosa* "mighty."
(KU)GIN "gold"	,,	*kin* "gold."
KUSU "sunset"	,,	*khis* "dark."
LAB "strong"	,,	*lab* "strong."
LAT "mountain"	Esthonian	*lada* "peak."
LAL "ghost"	Finnic	*lal* "spirit."
MA "land"	,,	*ma* "earth."
VA "house"	Turkish	*ov* "house."
MAKH "great"	,,	*makh* "great."
VAL "dwell"	,,	*ol* "live."
MAN "chief"	,,	*manap* "chief."
VAR "to be"	,,	*var* "to be."
VAR "path"	Turkish	*bar* "go."
VAS "weigh"	,,	*bas* "weigh."
VAS "divide"	,,	*bis* "cut."
VAS "high"	,,	*bas* "high."
MAS "collection"	,,	*mus* "collection."
ME "an hundred"	,,	*mun* "hundred."
VIL "shine"	,,	*yol* "shine."
VIR "crown"	,,	*vur* "cap."
VER "wind"	,,	*bora* "whirlwind."
VER "rain"	Mongol	*boro* "rain."
VIS "write"	Turkish	*bis* "write."
-MU "my"	,,	*-m* "my."
MA "this"	,,	*ma* "this."
VU "burn"	,,	*vot* "fire."
VUT "blood"	,,	*botu* "blood."

VUT "produce"	Turkish	*bot*	"growth."
VUKH "to bear"	"	*okh*	"bear."
MUNU "good"	Mongol	*mun*	"right."
VURU "place"	Turkish	*vurun*	"place."
VUS "three"	"	*besh*	"three."
NA "this" "he"	"	*on*	"this."
-NA "of"	"	*-n*	"of."
NAB "light"	Hungarian	*nap*	"day."
NAV "declare"	Turkish	*anā*	"declare."
-NAS "in"	Mongol	*-nasa*	"here."
NEN "mother"	Turkish	*nene*	"mother."
NU "not"	"	*ne*	"nor."
NUM "heaven"	Samoyed	*num*	"heaven."
RA "to"	Turkish	*ara*	"among."
RA "wash"	"	*ari*	"purify."
RA "spacious"	"	*er*	"space."
RI "bright"	"	*ör*	"burn."
-SA "in"	"	*-is*	"in."
SA "star"	"	*sus*	"star."
SA "heart"	Finnic	*sua*	"heart."
SA "four"	Yenessei	*scheya*	"four."
SA "proclaim"	Turkish	*chav*	"call."
SA "prosperous"	"	*saa*	"healthy."
ZAVAS "copper"	Mongol	*zes*	"copper."
SAKH "flame"	Turkish	*chakh*	"burn."
SAKH "prosperous"	"	*sakh*	"good."
ZAKH "bright"	"	*chakh*	"beam."
ZAG "right"	"	*zag*	"right."
SAK "top"	Finnic	*sak*	"top."
SAKKUL "bolt"	Turkish	*sikh*	"fasten."
ZAL "shine"	"	*chal*	"shine."
SAM "price"	"	*san*	"price."
SAR "write"	"	*syir*	"write."
SAR "bright"	"	*sara*	"bright."
SAR "the wind"	"	*serin*	"windy."
SE "seed"	"	*isi*	"seed."
SEV "sweep"	"	*süv*	"sweep."
SEV "favour"	"	*sev*	"favour."

SI "eye"	Ostiac	*sei* "eye."
SI "country"	Finnic	*sia* "place."
SIB "good"	Turkish	*söb* "good."
TZIKH "a bear"	,,	*atikh* "a bear."
SIK "hair"	,,	*sach* "hair."
SUKH "break"	,,	*sokh* "break."
ZIGTAK "urine"	,,	*siydik* "urine."
ZIL "great"	Mongol	*sulu* "strong."
SILA "road"	Turkish	*zol* "road."
SIV "slip"	,,	*sib* "slide."
SIR "extend"	,,	*sir* "space."
SISNA "seven"	Zyrianian	*sisim* "seven."
SU "people"	Turkish	*soi* "race."
TSU "flow"	,,	*su* "flow."
ZU "know"	Mongol	*su* "instruct."
ZU "thee"	,,	*si* "thee."
TSUM "stronghold"	Turkish	*zom* "strong."
ZUBU "kind"	,,	*söb* "good."
SUD "extend"	,,	*syit* "extend."
SUK "water"	,,	*suk* "water."
SUL "complete"	Mongol	*sūl* "end."
SUM "complete"	Turkish	*soñ* "end."
SUN "destroy"	,,	*sin* "break."
SUN "defeat"	,,	*syin* "defeat."
SUR "go"	,,	*sur* "go."
SUR "live"	,,	*syur* "live."
SUR "rain"	Votiac	*zor* "rain."
UBUR "breast"	Mongol	*öber* "breast."
UD "day"	,,	*ude* "day."
UDDU "go out"	Turkish	*ot* "go out."
UKH "poison"	,,	*akhu* "poison."
UL "star"	,,	*aln* "star."
UN "city"	,,	*unne* "house."
UR "burn"	,,	*ör* "burn."
UR "male"	,,	*er* "man."
URU "city"	,,	*auru* "enclosure."
US "old"	,,	*us* "old."
US "basis"	,,	*es* "basis."

These comparisons, which can be checked in the Turkish lexicons of Vambéry, the Ugric of Donner, and the Mongol of Castren, seem to show very clearly the character of the Akkadian language. It will be noted that by far the greater number of words follow the Turkish dialects, as do the cases of the noun, the numerals, etc.: many of the words are however common, with slight dialectic changes, to Finnic, Ugric, Mongol, and Turkish speech; but the Mongol numerals and case endings are different, and the speech of the Turkish tribes on the Oxus, and of the Turkish Yacuts in Eastern Siberia, appears to give the closest living parallel to ancient Akkadian.

C. R. Conder.

Southampton, 26th June, 1893.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1.

Montefiore College,
August 27th, 1893.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids.—The story of Paṭācāra (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. p. 556 ff.) strikes me as the long sought for Buddhist original of a series of similar tales in Eastern and Western literature.

The theme is, however, somewhat obscured in the Indian form. The tale does not end in the happy way in which the other literary parallels make it end. The Buddhist tale has undoubtedly changed and been adapted to the circumstances, in order to explain the conversion and pre-eminence obtained by Paṭācāra. The primitive form has been better preserved in the other literatures, where the wife (or the husband), after long trouble and many sufferings, are re-united with their children.

I will mention here some of the most important parallels, and refer to the bibliographical notes of Oesterley and Koehler, as, otherwise, instead of a short notice I would be writing an elaborate study on the series of tales, which turn round the peculiar loss of wife (or husband) and children, and their finding again after a lapse of time, and under vastly changed circumstances.

I mention, in the first place, the "History of Abu-Saber," the man of patience, who loses in turn his fortune, his wife, his two children, and yet never loses his patience and his hopes. He is afterwards amply rewarded and gets everything back that he has lost. This tale is included in

the "History of the Ten Veziers,"[1] which, as is well known, is of Indian origin. It is reproduced in the "Giami-ul hikayat," and published by Hammer in his "*Rosenoel.*"[2] In a very amplified form we meet with it in the "Turkish History of the Forty Veziers," where it is the thirteenth vezir's story.[3] The simple tale is here embellished with numerous additions drawn from different sources, but the leading incidents are identical with those of the other parallels. In *Habicht's* edition of the Arabian Nights,[4] we find Abu-Saber again.

Passing on to Hebrew literature, a similar tale is incorporated into the "Midrash of the Decalogue,"[5] probably of the tenth century. The hero never takes an oath. Swindlers take advantage of it, to rob him of his whole fortune. His wife is carried away by the captain of a ship. He loses one child in a stream which he tried to cross swimming, the other is carried away by a passing ship. After a long time he finds his children again, and through them his wife.

This tale is much more akin to the Indian and may stand in closer connection with it.

Almost identical parallels we find, then, in the literature of the West, and very ancient these are too, and what is more remarkable they are also legends of *Saints*, just like Paṭācārā. The oldest I have been able to trace is the history of Faustus, Faustinus, and Faustinianus in the famous "Recognitiones" of Clemens, the friend and companion of St. Peter. The same incidents occur then in the life of St. *Eustathius Placida,* which is incorporated into the "Gesta Romanorum"[6] and in the "Golden Legend" of Jacobusa Voragine as well as in the "Vita Sanctorum" of the Bollandists, 20th Sept. vi. pp. 106–121.[7] Oesterley

[1] *Knoes*, History X. Vezirorum Upsala, 1814, iii. pp. 31–40.
[2] Vol. ii. 1813, pp. 281–283.
[3] English, by E. J. W. Gibb, London, 1886, pp. 151–161.
[4] Vol. x. Night, 443-444.
[5] Ed. Venice, 1605, f. 23*b*, 26*a* (iii. 4).
[6] Ed. *Oesterley*, Berlin, 1872, c. 110 v. p. 730.
[7] v. *A. Potthast*, Bibliotheca historica medii aevi, Berlin, 1867, p. 694*a*, s.v.

has given in his edition the whole literature on this "Vita" to which I refer. Other additions in the direction of comparative literature were made by me, on the occasion of my Roumanian edition of it.[1] Still more Western parallels were adduced by *R. Koehler*, in his review of the Spanish edition of St. Eustathius.[2]

I have still to mention also some parallels from the romantic literature of the middle ages, such as the central episode in Buovo d'Ancona or Sir Bevis of Southampton [3] and last, not least, the chapbook "Valentine and Orson."

M. Gaster.

2. Teimouris.

H.B.M. Consulate,
Malaya.
June 13, 1893.

Sir,—Perhaps some of the readers of the R.A.S. Journal can help me to find out something about the history and origin of this evidently Arab tribe settled in Khorassān, and generally as to the Chehār Eimāks.

The origin of the Eimāks would appear to be Syrian. They claim themselves to be of Arab descent, and Malcolm (vol. i. ch. ix. p. 239) tells us on the strength of the "*Tuarikh Guzedah*" (sic) that "he (Hazar Asp) invited a large body of his own tribe of Eimāks from Syria, and their settlement in Laristān added greatly to the strength of his government."

Every Teimouri to whom I spoke claims Arab progeniture, and of external evidence there remains the wearing

[1] Revista p. Istorie Archeologie și Filologie, vol. iv. București, 1885, pp. 629–645.
[2] Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, iii. pp. 272–277.
[3] *K. Nyrop*, Storia dell'epopea francese, Firenze, 1886, pp. 204–205.

of the red Fez and Turban by the men, and of the white *Isār* (*Chādur*) by the women, and their peculiar pronunciation of the ض such as I heard nowhere else in Persia: One of the subdivisions is called *Arab.*

They say of themselves that they were brought to Khorassān by the Emir Teimour (whence their name) on the complaint of his mother that her caravan had been attacked by them on her way to Mecca. Malcolm says (vol. i. ch. xi. p. 292), "while he (Teimour) was employed in these operations one of his generals subdued the mountain chief of Laristān, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to good Mohamedans by plundering a caravan of pilgrims to Mecca." Their own tradition goes on to say that they to the number of 12,000 families were removed to Bokhara, where they for a time settled at a place called *Tarmeez.* So far for the rank and file. But all the chiefs of the Teimouris are Seyeds or Mirs. They claim descent from Meer Seyed Kelāl—whose real name was Meer Seyed Qāssim—a descendant of the Imām Hussein, and a great friend of Tamerlane, whose daughter he married, and to whom the whole of these, so to speak, captives were given as his wife's dower. Their son, Meer Shumseddun Mohamad, either during the lifetime of Emir Teimour or after his death, brought his family and tribe to Herāt and occupied the lands now known as Bekvā, Zemeendāver, and Bādkeis up to Gulrān. Tombstones at the later place are said to testify to these facts. Meer Shumseddun lies buried at a place to the East of Herāt called Khojeh Tāq. From him was descended the father of Qeleej Khān, who brought half the tribe to Khāff, whence they have spread over various parts of Khorassān.

Originally the Teimouris are said to have had four chiefs, after whom the four principal sections are named:

1. Surboozi.
2. Sālehhi.
3. Mohamad Husseini.
4. Khālesseh.

I. From the SURBOOZI come the following subdivisions, who when I was in those parts in 1884 were said to have:

1.	Turbooz	500 families.
2.	Avāzkorbāni	200 „
3.	Siāhmoozeh	150 „
4.	Kāli	100 „
5.	Roghāni	100 „
6.	Shah Pussundi	200 „
7.	Ali Gunji	100 „
8.	Morādi	50 „
9.	Ali Mohamadi	50 „
10.	Fāzeli	200 „
11.	Ali Khūrdi	100 „
12.	Dāmen Reegi	200 „
13.	Tāh Yoorti	100 „
14.	Sheikhi	200 „
15.	Shākh Būland	100 „
16.	Mahd (Mohamad) Reegi	100 „
17.	Kelb Sādi	150 „
18.	Tuk Ali	200 „
19.	Sheerkūsh	100 „
20.	Meer Hāfizi	100 „
21.	Siāh Kelleh	50 „
22.	Siāh Joul	50 „
		2600

II. SĀLEHHI. 16 subdivisions.

1.	Sālehhi	200 families.
2.	Yakoob Khāni	300 „
3.	Sheer Khāni	200 „
4.	Mureezi	100 „
5.	Shahbāzi	100 „
6.	Barooti	150 „
7.	Khaleeli	200 „
8.	Ali Khurdi	200 „
9.	Murd Shāhi	200 „
10.	Sur Koohi	200 „
11.	Sekunderi	50 „

12. Saboori	200	families.
13. Eel i Mahdi	100	"
14. Lashkari	50	"
15. No Amad	100	"
16. Katt' Sur	200	"
	2500	

III. Mohamad Husseini. 20 subdivisions.

1. Mollah Husseini	200	families.
2. Kohdāni	500	"
3. Sālāri	300	"
4. Kachul	200	"
5. Lagheri	200	"
6. Khosroï	100	"
7. Dah Mardeh	50	"
8. Qāri	100	"
9. Bāzgeer	50	"
10. Tukhali	100	"
11. Mohib Ali	100	"
12. Dārdāri	50	"
13. Mirza Doosti	200	"
14. Samandooki	100	"
15. Chelmeh	100	"
16. Zulfi	50	"
17. Yakoobi	50	"
18. Sūrkh Kamāl	200	"
19. Kolāh Derāz	200	"
20. Sangchooli	1000	"
	3850	

IV. Khālesseh. 14 subdivisions.

1. Ali Khājeh	300	families.
2. Angāreh	100	"
3. Gulkhātūn	200	"
4. Gūl Bāf	200	"
5. Goorchi	100	"
6. Kāli	100	"
7. Kelātehgi	300	"

8. Mukhtabāz	200 families.	
9. Qala'akāhi	200 "	
10. Sakhāvi	100 "	
11. Meeshmust	100 "	
12. Tāheri	200 "	
13. Arab	100 "	
14. Zoori	100 "	
	2600	i.e.

Surboozi	2600 families.
Sālehhi	2500 "
Mohamad Husseini	3850 "
Khālesseh	2600 ..
	11,550 or at an average

of five to each family, 57,750 Teimouris spread over parts of Khorassān and Afghanistān. Sometimes half of a family live on one side of the frontier and the other half on the other, but the actual number of *Teimouris* said to be in Khorassān in 1884 were:

Under Ali Merdān Khān (from Khāff to Chenarān)	4000 families.
Under Atā-ullah Khān (in Sangbust and Sur Jām)	500 "
The Siāh Khānehs and Sefeed Khānehs (those living in tents or houses) of Khāff under Derveesh Ali Khān . . (500 lately came to Jām)	4500 "
Under Shukrullah Khān at Berdoo . . .	100 "
	9100 families
	or 45,500 persons.

The rest are said to be in Herāt under the (then) governorship of Serdar Abdullah Khān Teimouri.

It is curious to remark how little Arabic there is to be found in the names of these tribes.—Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER FINN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1893.)

I. Notes and News.

Father Beschi.—In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society are two volumes, small quarto, containing the original MS., apparently in the Father's own handwriting, of a Dictionary of Shen Tamil by this distinguished old scholar. The Shen Tamil words are explained, not in English or Latin, but in ordinary Tamil.

Bhartrihari.—Mr. K. B. Pathak, of the Deccan College, in a paper read at a recent meeting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, maintains that Bhartrihari, the Sanskrit grammarian of the seventh century, was a Buddhist. It has already been suggested that the Buddhist grammarian mentioned by I-tsing, the contemporary Chinese pilgrim, may have been Bhartrihari, and a Buddhistic flavour has been detected in his Ṣatakas. Mr. Pathak's most novel argument was that Vāchaspati Miṣra, who flourished in the eleventh century, when Buddhism was by no means yet extinct in India, criticises Bhartrihari as an heretical author.

M. Darmesteter.—The Prix Decennial of 20,000 francs (£800), awarded every alternate year by one of the five branches of the Institut "for the work or discovery best

calculated to honour or profit the country, which may have been produced during the best ten years," has been adjudged by the Académie des Inscriptions to M. James Darmesteter, professor of Zend at the Collège de France. In the voting there were no less than nine ineffectual ballots; but at the eleventh ballot M. Darmesteter obtained twenty-three votes, as against seventeen votes given to M. de Sarzec, formerly French consul at Bagdad. The two great works of M. Darmesteter that won this recognition are: *Chants Populaires des Afghans* (published by the Société Asiatique, 1888–90), and his translation of the Zend Avesta (published by the Musée Guimet, three vols., 1892-3). We may add that the three other winners of this prize, when awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions, were Dr. Jules Oppert, Mariette-Bey, and M. Paul Meyer; and that each of these except Mariette is also a professor at the Collège de France.

Oriental Congress Transactions of 1892.—The transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1892 are now ready in two volumes. Vol. I. contains list of members, accounts and other preliminary matter, the Indian and Aryan sections, indexes and glossaries of words in Sanskrit and Indian dialects, old Persian and Zend, besides a general index. Vol. II. comprises the Semitic, Egyptian, Geographical, Persian and other sections, and an index of authors and subjects. Members can have their copies on applying personally or through a bookseller to the Assistant Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, on and after November 1st. Members desirous of having their copies forwarded to their address should intimate how they wish them sent, by post, rail, or other mode of carriage, and should in all cases enclose a postal order to defray charges. The postage for England and the Continent will be 2*s*. 6*d*. for the two volumes.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF ANGLO-BURMESE WORDS.

One of the great difficulties in the way of studying old books about Burma and the adjacent countries lies in the use, by travellers and other writers, of words for place-names and for describing novel objects and things, which are neither taken from the vernaculars nor from their own language, but really belong to what may be styled the *lingua franca* of writers on Oriental subjects. This habit has made the older records to a great extent unintelligible without a key, and has no doubt prevented their being much read in the present day, for it must be remembered that on the whole the peculiar expressions travellers have used have had each but a short life, and have assumed almost as many forms as there have been writers. We are not much better in the present generation, for we still talk of the pagodas of Burma, and take journeys to Mergui, Prome, and Bassein, and appoint Deputy Commissioners to Sandoway and Akyab, though we have forgotten all about abaths, and ganse, and mackreas, and few of us could point out Meckly on the map.

Perhaps the best way of testing how far this sort of thing has gone will be to follow an imaginary traveller in Burma of, say, three centuries ago, and see what happened to him and where he went, as described in the words he has left behind him. He leaves Reoon, which is the country of the Mogen, bound in one of the little ships of the day for the far distant Ava and Pegu, of which he has heard so much, and on the voyage he notes in his diary that he has to drink water out of mortivans. The vessel puts in at Sodoe, and, after passing Negraglia, finally lands him at Cosmin in the kingdom of Verma. Here he visits the Banho, and hears much talk of those wonderful folk, the Carianners. One morning during a vigorous walk, which he explains to the people is necessary for the health of all

Colars, he is thoroughly frightened by a bada, which he describes on his final return home as "so big as two buls with a horne to her snowte." After this adventure he proceeds by boat, *viâ* Dalaa, to Cirion. Thence he meant to go to Martaban, but is so terrified by what he hears of the macareo, "of whose fury strange things are told," that he hires a paroe instead and proceeds to Macao, "a pretie little towne," which he finds is only two days distant from Pegu, if you go comfortably in a deling, with a cushion under your head. With Pegu he is immensely impressed, and makes a considerable stay there. Here he is told of Cassay and the Cookie Mountains, of the terrible Bremas, of the glories of Ansedaa, and Pren, and other wonderful places. Here, too, he meets a friendly tarega, who swindles him in the little matter of the glittering wares of Capellan, and teaches him how to guzzle durioons and drink nipa wine and sampsoe. He also does a little deal in duggies and shinbeams, buying them by the baar, and paying for them partly in ganza by the byze and partly in teccali. Over this he has some trouble with the ovidore and the runday, and in order to put himself straight has to visit the mandarins of the Lotoo, the Upper Roger, and even the Great King Ximintooginico himself, and bribe them all round. While he is settling matters he visits the great varelle and a beautiful bao, where he is taught something of the ancient Balie language and the worship of Praw by the talapoins, until he is suspected of ogling the younger talapoinesses. He now thinks it time for him to depart, and, with the calm courage of the men of his class, he strikes inland into the jungles for Judea, *viâ* Tangu, Lan John, and Jangomay, because "he knows it is the onely way to go." Thence, after striking up a friendship with the Laos, and having a fight with the Gueos, he finds himself on the borders of Champa and Comar. His accounts of the latter place from Judea, at which town he meets a friend who will take his letters home by ship, and which he incontinently also writes down as India, cause in after years much confusion in the minds of learned

geographers, some of whom insist that he has been to Cape Comorin, and some to Kamrup in Assam. And this, in spite of his very clear explanation that Judea is the capital of Asion, a kingdom of Zierbaad, the King whereof is a worshipper of Somonocodom. From Judea, in his own inimitable manner, our traveller finds his way overland to Mergi and Tanazar, from which he takes ship again, and finally, after being nearly wrecked on the Isles of Man, he arrives once more at Recon, which he now, with the inconsistency of the true traveller, calls Arquam. Lastly, he goes to the Porto Grande, that great city of Bengala, Chartican, whence he finds his way by ship to Madrespatan, and thence home to England or Lisbon as the case might be, where, as likely as not, after putting his experience into print, he died with an evil reputation as a liar, because, like poor Pinto, he did but tell the truth with fair accuracy as to the terrible bada, the danger of the macareo, the huge size of the mortivan, the gilding of the varelle, and the temptations of the durioon, whose smell he described in homely sailor language that will not bear repetition. "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude!"

It is a fair question to ask of the reader: How many of these traveller's words convey any meaning to your mind? How many of these places can you identify?

The study, however, of these words and place-names is well worth our while, if we would unlock the knowledge that is hidden away in the old books, and make them tell us what our ancestors knew. To the student of the days gone by in Burma it is indispensable, and when entered into surprisingly interesting. A useful knowledge of the subject can, however, now-a-days be only arrived at after much reading and the collation of many books—a work that is at present hardly possible for any one person to perform successfully, and it is in the hope that others may be induced to take it up and add to the scanty stock of positive information so far available that "Contributions towards the History of Anglo-Burmese Words" will be

from time to time published by the present writer in these columns.

A number of quotations have been noted in many works, but, as a beginning will be published, only those passages bearing on the subject, which are to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, or *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, and which have been collected from all parts of the book. And in addition to these will be occasionally added a few quotations from other works to fill up obvious gaps in Yule's information or to correct the few errors that he has fallen into. Later on efforts can be made to complete the mass of information he has gathered together.

In studies of this kind an ounce of fact is worth a bushel of speculation, and the great thing is to set passages from the old books side by side, showing the exact forms each word has assumed at different dates in its history, so that its story may be traced stage by stage from birth to death and its meaning positively ascertained.

As Yule has in his preface given the complete title of each work quoted, and as the other works quoted are in the present writer's possession, mere indications of titles have been made to show whence the quotations have come. But should others be kind enough to join in this pleasant controversy, it will be necessary, if their information is to be made useful in the future, to state the title of each work read in full thus:—Yule, Col. Henry, and the late A. C. Burnell; *Hobson-Jobson,* being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of kindred Terms; etymological, historical, geographical and discursive, 1886.

With this introduction the contributions will commence in the form of a Glossary, after the approved manner of modern dictionaries, as indicated in the work just quoted and in the great Oxford English Dictionary.—*Rangoon Gazette*, April 29th, 1893.

R. C. T.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE STUDY OF ANGLO-BURMESE WORDS.

BAO.

[This curious word, used only by *Sangermano* and *Quirini*, so far as I know, has puzzled philologists. The solution of its origin seems to be found in the third quotation below.]

1781. Egli sembra dissi, che i Talapoini non siano che un' avanzo, e rampollo di cotali filosofi Indiani, menando una vita a quelli somigliante in certi loro Monisterj, con vocabolo Egizio, o nell' Egitto usato, BAO chiamati.—*Quirini, Percoto*, 125.

c. 1819.—There is not any village, however small, which has not one or more large wooden houses, which are a species of convent, by the Portuguese in India called BAO.—*Sangermano*, 88.

1874. BHA, a monastery.—*Haswell, Peguan Language*, 102.

1886. Burm. Kyaung, a Buddhist monastery. The term is not employed by Padre Sangermano who uses BAO, a word, he says, used by the Portuguese in India (p. 88). I cannot explain it.—*Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Kyoung, in Supplt.

BASSEIN.

[By way of warning as to the following quotations, I would note that I doubt whether BESYNGONA really represents the modern word BASSEIN, though it must have represented some place in the same neighbourhood, and that BATTIAM may *not* represent BASSEIN, though the context seems to suggest that it does.]

c. 150. That of the BESYNGEITAI Cannibals on the Sarabakic [Martaban] Gulf where are . . . . mouth of the River BESYNGA . . . . BESYNGA, a mart.—*Ptolemy, Geographike*, II. 4, *McCrindle's translation* in *Ind. Ant.* xiii. 372.

1552. In a version which I have of *Ptolemy, Undecima Asiæ Tabula*, 1552, there occurs BESYNGA fl.—*Temple* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 20.

1590. In another version of (*Ptolemy*) of 1590 . . . . there occur BESYNGITIS REG., BESYNGNA fl. and BESYNGNA EMPORIUM.—*Temple* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 20.

1674. In another version of (*Ptolemy*) of 1590, copied by *Sanson d'Abbeville* in a Latin map called *India Vetus*, 1674, there occur BESYNGITIS REG., BESYNGA fl., and BESYNGA EMPORIUM.—*Temple* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 20.

1781. Intanto piaciutto era alla Congregazione di Propaganda che il Regno di Ava fosse allora coltivato nella fede da' Sacerdoti secolari di essa Congregazione, e a' nostri destino li Regni di BATTIAM, Martaban, e Pegu, cui spettava la Citta e porto di Siriam.—*Quirini, Percoto*, 93.

1784. Oserois-je vous prier de vouloir bien l'accorder a des hommes malheureux qui on fait naufrage a la cote de Dala et qui sont conduits a BASSIM.—*Letter* in *Y'oung Pao*, I. 212.

1801. An ineffectual attempt was made to re-possess and defend BASSIEN by the late Chekey [Sikke] or Lieutenant.—*Symes*, 16.

1819. Merghi and BASSINO, being likewise seaports, have their Sciabandar.—*Sangermano*, 65.

1824. The river beyond that to BASSINE is from my observations, and what I have since collected, clear, and safe from the island to BASSINE.—*Report* in *Wilson's Documents*, p. 57.

1827. The district of BASSEIN is bounded on the north by the PASHEEM nullah or creek.—*Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War*, Appx. xliv. No. 21.

1827. But it does not appear that either of the ports of BASSEIN and Rangoon, which were open to our shipping, possessed any Burman trader of much wealth.—*Two years in Ava*, 250.

1827. And floated down to Rangoon or BASSEIN for sale.—*Snodgrass, Burmese War*, 289.

1829. This is the only inconvenience of the BASSEIN

RIVER, which is a more accessible, safer, and centrical port for foreign trade than that of Rangoon.—*Crawfurd, Ava,* 461.

1830. KOTHEIN . . . . [or POTHEIN, the letter in Burney's MS. is doubtful]. "BASSEIN."—*Burney* in *Yule, Ava,* 352.

1852. The senior had been Woon of BASSEIN, but was now a personal attendant on the king.—*Wilson, Burmese War,* ed. 1852, p. 81.

1852. Negrais Island and BASSIEN.—*Martin, title.*

1852. The blockade of the rivers of Rangoon, BASSEIN, and Salween, above Maulmain.—*Baker, Rangoon and Martaban,* 14.

1852. PUTHEINGMYO, pron. PATHEINGMYO, BASSEIN, the second seaport in Burmah, after Rangoon, situated on the western outlet of the Irrawaddy, one hundred miles from the sea.—*Judson, Burmese Dict. s.v.*

1852. Notes on BASSEIN, by an Artillery Officer, who was stationed at BASSEIN from July to December, 1852.—*Title* in *Laurie, Pegu,* p. 218.

1854. BASSEIN, styled a "City" in General Godwin's Despatch.—*Laurie, Pegu,* 218.

1855. This remark (of *Ptolemy*) seems infallibly to identify Mons Meandrus with the Yomadoung, the great spinal ridge of Aracan, and the river BESYNGA with the BASSEIN branch of the Irawadi . . . . The Rev. Mr. Mason . . . . traces BESYNGA in the Salwen, called by the Talains, or people of Pegu, BEKHUNG. But it may be suggested that BATHEIN-khyoung (river of BASSEIN in Burmese), affords at least as strong a resemblance.—*Yule, Ava,* 205.

1870. BASSEIN has always been a port of considerable importance, and is alluded to as Cosmin by Ralph Fitch and other travellers.—*B. B. Gazeteer,* II. 83.

1870. Tha-khwot-peng, a tidal creek in the Rangoon district; in English generally called the BASSEIN creek.—*B. B. Gazeteer,* II. 719.

1883. He sent his army against BASSEIN, where Laukbya's three sons commanded. This town was defended by foreign decked boats armed with guns. [and this in 1388!] *Phayre, Hist. of Burma,* 69.

1884. The name (BESYNGYTAI) of the cannibals is partly preserved in that of BASSEIN.—*McCrindle* in *Ind. Ant.* xiii. 372.

1884. In BASSEIN a fierce struggle ensued .... the town had hitherto been called KUTHEIN .... Alompra changed the name to PUTHEIN, "the hot image-house." By this name it was called ever afterwards.—*Forchhammer, Notes*, ii. 12.

1886. BASSEIN. This is a corruption of three entirely different names, and is applied to various places remote from each other (1) WASAI, an old port on the coast, 26 m. North of Bombay .... (2) a town and port on the river which forms the westernmost delta-arm of the Irawadi in the Province of Pegu. The Burmese name BATHEIN .... (3) BASIM, or properly WASIM, an old town in Berar.—*Yule*, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Bassein.

1893. BASSEIN, the modern Burmese name is PATHENG, by ordinary Burmese phonetics used for PUTHENG, spelt PUSIN and PUSIM .... Yule says, *s.v.* Cosmin, that Alaungp'aya changed the name from KUTHENG to PUTHENG on his conquest of the Talaing Country in 1755-60, but Yule's statement is unfortunately bad history .... This change from initial P to K in such names is not isolated .... The Talaing pronunciation of the name BASSEIN is PASEM, or PASIM according to dialect .... *Temple* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 19.

1893. The evidence now collected [that BASSEIN does not date as a word beyond 1780] upsets the theory that the BESYNGYTAI of Ptolemy represents the people about BASSEIN, or that the BESYNGA River is the BASSEIN River.—*Temple* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 20.—*Rangoon Gazette*, May 19th, 1893.

R. C. T.

II. Notices of Books.

The Náladiyár, or Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory, to which is added a Concordance and Lexicon, by the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893.

Dr. Pope was well known in South India as an excellent Tamil scholar. During his long residence there he did good service in the cause of Tamil literature by the publication of his Tamil Grammars, Catechisms, and Readers, and by various translations into the Tamil language. Since his return to England, and especially during his residence at Oxford, he has thrown himself heartily into the work of giving to such students at the University as may desire it, a helping hand in acquiring a knowledge of Indian life and thought; and has also been engaged in editing Tamil classics in a careful and scholarly fashion. He has thus been able to recommend the literature of a language which he knows thoroughly, and of a people whom he loves sincerely, not only to those who intend to make South India their home, either as civilians, missionaries, or merchants, but also generally to Oriental scholars. There is, however, another and a more weighty reason for his labours in this direction, which is scarcely of secondary importance. The Tamilians themselves, though justly proud of their ancient and venerable literature, are not, as a people, celebrated for historical and critical research, in fact, being Hindus, they are eminently uncritical; and, therefore, Dr. Pope has avowedly prepared his careful and critical text-books quite as much for them as for European students and scholars.

The Tamil language, "the Queen of the Dravidian tongues," as Mr. Caldwell lovingly called it, is very beautiful. Those who know it only in the common, every-

day vernacular, may probably be tempted to smile at this confident assertion; but it is nevertheless perfectly true. Its lovely sister, Telugu, sounds musical and melodious even in her most common utterance and speech. We readily admit that Tamil, as ordinarily spoken, is not the most harmonious of languages; but classical, and we venture to add, ecclesiastical Tamil, is a very different matter. It is almost as stately as Latin and flexible as Greek. "Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity," wrote Mr. Percival in his *Land of the Veda;* "and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind. The language, thus specific, gives to the mind a readiness and clearness of conception, whilst its terseness and philosophic idiom afford equal means of lucid utterance." The Rev. W. Taylor was still more enthusiastic in his praise of Tamil. "It is," he said, "one of the most copious, refined, and polished languages spoken by man." Referring to its literature, Bishop Caldwell, who was no mean authority on the subject, wrote: "It is the only vernacular literature in India which has not been content with imitating Sanskrit, but has honourably attempted to emulate and outshine it. In one department at least, that of ethical apothegms," such as the poem now under consideration, "it is generally maintained, and, I think, must be admitted, that Sanskrit has been outdone by Tamil." Classical Tamil has, moreover, a rare literature at its back, and can boast of poetry of no inferior order at a date long before Bacon wrote or Spenser sang.

Seven years ago, as the readers of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* will remember, Dr. Pope published an excellent critical edition of the Kuraḷ, the best specimen of Tamil epigrammatic poetry, and the greatest favourite of the Tamil people. The Náladiyár, or, in full, the Náladi-nánnúrru, the poem now before us, belongs to the same literary epoch as the Kuraḷ, and it is written on very much the same literary model. It is, from internal evidence, considered by the most competent authorities to be

the more ancient of the two productions. Bishop Caldwell attributed it to the Jaina cycle of Tamil literature. The best works in that literature were written during the period when the Jains were in South India in the old Páṇḍya kingdom, and to them the Tamil language owes much of its purity, independence, and strength. They were reformers, and, as reformers generally have done, they appealed to the great middle-class population, and used the vulgar vernacular speech. Homely epigram and simple phrases go straight to the hearts of this class. Bishop Caldwell was of opinion that the Jaina period extended from about the eighth to the twelfth century of our present era. In this estimate Dr. Pope agrees with him. "A very careful consideration of many masterpieces of Tamil literature," he says in his introduction to the *Náladiyár*, "leads me to think that between A.D. 800 and 1200 the greatest of these works were composed." Supposing that the Kuṛaḷ was written towards the close of this period, as the tradition regarding its production might lead us to expect, we may fix the approximate date of the Náladiyár as A.D. 1050.

Náladi means 'four feet,' evidently referring to the metre in which the poem is written. This is a stanza of four lines, or a quatrain, which will, perhaps, be best represented to English minds by the stanza employed by Tennyson in his *In Memoriam*. This is the most natural and probable explanation of the title of the poem. The Hindu idea of its origin and its name is characteristically grotesque. The tradition is, that when the Bráhmans of Madura destroyed all the books of their Jaina opponents, by throwing them into the river Vaigai, which flows by that town, the palm-leaves on which these verses were written, instead of being carried downwards by the stream, ascended four feet against the current; and, on account of this miraculous occurrence, were rescued from the waters and preserved.

The Náladiyár owed its production to the celebrated Literary Academy established at Madura, the sweet and pleasant capital of the Páṇḍyan princes. The time during which this Academy was founded was the golden era of

Tamil poetry. No literary production of the period became popular without the imprimatur of the College. Not only the Kuṛaḷ and the Náladiyár, but, most probably, the Chintámaṇi, the greatest of original Tamil narrative poems, was written during this literary period, during which the Jains exercised a predominant intellectual ascendency, and helped to mould the Tamil language into its best and most independent form, comparatively free from Sanskrit accretions. Some Tamil scholars are of opinion that the Náladiyár was not the composition of a single author, but that it was the production of various minds. Bishop Caldwell gave, so far as we can ascertain, no opinion on this point; and we are inclined to agree with Dr. Pope, who, in the Introduction to his Kuṛaḷ, says that, though they were evidently composed by several unknown hands, he felt sure that he could detect the work of one principal writer in about half of the four hundred verses it contains.

The contents of this poetical anthology are divided into three parts: 1, On Virtue; 2, On Wealth; 3, On Pleasure; being very similar to the subjects of the Kuṛaḷ. The subdivisions are of the usual character of Hindu didactic poetry. The instability of human prosperity and of youth, the might of virtue and the impurity of the body, the merit of overcoming anger and miserly conduct. In the part on wealth, or well-being, there are verses in praise of learning and good breeding, of friendship, family affection and home life, of benevolence and liberality, of independence, self-respect, and intellectual skill. The third portion is principally amatory, but, apparently, which is wonderful in Oriental verse, contains nothing that can ruffle the mind of the most susceptible. The third and fourth lines in each stanza contain the point or principle intended to be conveyed in it, which is to be deduced from the simile or illustration in the first two lines. The verses are written much in the style of other Indian didactic poetry, such as the verses of Vémana in the Telugu language. Some of the illustrations, especially those describing the scenes of nature, are beautifully striking, while others are decidedly

common-place and tame. In some instances the phrases have assimilated themselves into the life of the people, passing into the proverbial language of the South; and the whole collection is so popular that, as Dr. Pope remarks, it has been called the Veḷḷâḷar Védam, or the sacred book of the cultivators. A very noticeable feature in the collection is, that no sacred name occurs in it except, perhaps, in the dedication, which seems to belong to a later period, and to be the work of a more modern hand; and there is in it a remarkable absence of reference to any idolatrous form of worship. The principal theory running through this collection of verses is that of metempsychosis as conveyed in the well-known Hindu term *karma*—a religious action with the idea in it of destiny, which is the fruit, to be suffered or enjoyed in the present life, of the good or evil actions performed by the same individual in his former states of existence. Yet still, as Dr. Pope justly observes, there is "a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervent and unselfish charity" pervading these verses, "and generally a loftiness of aim that is very impressive." The similes commonly used have a bright local colouring, and are drawn from the hill scenery of the South, the animals, birds, and insects of the hills and plains, the surrounding trees and plants, such as the bambu, the palm, the margosa, and the plantain, and from Hindu domestic life—just such things as would touch the untutored mind of the South India ryot.

We append half a dozen verses as specimens of the style of the poem, and of the method of the treatment of them by the learned English commentator. The first passage we select is evidently a great favourite with Dr. Pope, who quotes it in his introduction as, perhaps, the best specimen of this species of Tamil verse. The first line—the Tamil rendering of "Art is long, and time is fleeting"—has frequently been quoted in South India. "If I am not deceived," he writes, "there is in many of these verses something far beyond mere technical skill. At times by a few

happy touches an idea is expressed in such apt language, and illuminated by such a picturesque use and adaptation of familiar words, each chosen with truest and most accurate discrimination, that the quatrain becomes a group of life-like pictures, on which the mind is fain to linger long, and to which it recurs often."

135.

வாழ்நாள்சில; அவற்றினும் நோய்கள்பல; ஆதலால், யாவரும் இன்றியமையாத நூல்களையே கற்க வேண்டும்.

கல்வி கரையில, கற்பவர் நாள்சில,
மெல்ல நினைக்கிற் பிணிபல; — தெள்ளிதின்
ஆராய்ந் தமைவுடைய கற்பவே,—நீர்ஒழியப்
பாலுண் குருகிற் றெரிந்து!

Discriminating study.

Learning hath no bounds, the learner's days are few. If you think calmly, diseases many wait around! With clear discrimination learn what is meet for you, like the swan that, leaving the water, drinks the milk.

In this matchless verse not a syllable could be spared; while almost every word is common and easy, yet is the very fittest, and is used in its exact meaning. It is somewhat archaic; has a fascinating air of mystery; pleasantly exercises and amply rewards the student's ingenuity; seems dark at first, but once lit up, sparkles for ever.

Thus கரை = *shore* suggests a metaphor: 'learning is a shoreless—infinite—ocean.'

Then comes the simple antithesis, 'the learner's days are few.' In Tamil the use of the same root twice (in கல்வி and கற்பவர்), and again in the third line (கற்பவே), imparts an added charm.

Into these perfectly (to Tamil ears) harmonious lines is compressed a whole chapter:

'The *subjects of study* (கல்வி with a plural verb) are infinitely numerous; but the learner's days are few; and if it be calmly thought out, men are liable to many diseases.

[பிணி = natural infirmities or "bonds," that enfeeble and restrict.] Youthful enthusiasm may lead men to anticipate great and varied triumphs; *calm reflection* teaches them their natural weakness. So, men should learn with discrimination (தெள்ளித்), examining closely (ஆராய்) things befitting (அமை, "suit, satisfy, gladden") them, with intelligence (செறிந்து) like that of the bird (the semi-divine *Hañça*), that drinks only the milk and leaves the water, when these mingled are presented to it.' Of course this last is received as a fact!

See my Kuraḷ, p. 252. Note தனிச்சொல் in line 3.

Here are four sentences: subj. கல்வி, சார், பிணி, and ஒருவர் (understood); pred. இல, சில, பல, கற்ப. கற்ப, G. 83, is poet. 3rd pl. = 'they will learn,' and is used as an optative, 'let learn.' குருகு + இல. G. 61, 'like the bird.'

The mythic *Hañça* (அன்னப்பட்சி) is said to have the faculty of drinking only the milk in any mixture offered to it. The following is suggestive:

THERE IS A SENSE BEYOND THE SENSES!

'நாக்கின் அறிப இனியகவை; மூக்கினால்
மோந்தறிப எல்லா மலர்களும்;—நோக்குள்ளும்
கண்ணினாற் காண்ப அணியவற்றை; தொக்கிருந்
தெண்ணினான் எண்ணப் படும்.

By the tongue they know sweet flavours; by the nose they smell and know all flowers; by eyes that discern they see adornments; by thoughtful investigation of many combined (the truth of invisible realities) is thought out.'—[N. M. K. 78.]

Comp. B. I. S. 245 and 7605:

अनन्तशास्त्रं बहुलाश्च विद्याः स्वल्पश्च कालो बहुविघ्नता च ।
यत्सारभूतं तदुपासनीयं हंसो यथा क्षीरमिवाम्बुमिश्रम् ॥

Which is the original? Comp. also Vēmana i. 166:

Pāla nīru kramamu paraga hamsa yerungu.
The swan can distinguish water when mixed with milk.

We quote the following stanzas for the beauty of the moral lessons inculcated in them.

73.

அன்புடையார் சொல்லுங் கடுஞ்சொல்லே இன்சொல்லாகக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

காதலார் சொல்லுங் கடுஞ்சொல் லுவந்துரைக்கும்
ஏதிலார் இன்சொலிற் றீதாமோ,—போதெலாம்
மாதர்வண் டார்க்கு மலிகடற் றண்சேர்ப்ப!—
ஆவ தறிவார்ப் பெறின்?

Harsh words of those who love are better than complaisant words of foes.

Lord of the swelling sea's cool shore, where bright insects hum around every flower!—Are severe words from loving lips harder to bear, if men can only rightly estimate their result, than pleasant words that strangers courteously speak?

எ: கடுஞ்சொல்.—ப: ஆமோ?

Or, 'words of reproof.' Comp. Ps. cxli. 5, and Kural 795.

74.

இடைத்தமட்டில் திருப்தி அடைந்த அறஞ்செய்த பொறையுடையவராய் வாழ்வோர்க்கு என்றுந் துன்பம் இல்லை.

அறிவ தறிந்தடங்கி அஞ்சுவ தஞ்சி
உறுவ துலகுவப்பச் செய்து—பெறுவதனால்
இன்புற்று வாழும் இயல்புடையார் எஞ்ஞான்றுந்
துன்புற்று வாழ்தல் அரிது.

The thoroughly disciplined and contented man is happy.

Those who know what should be known, and rule themselves thereby; who fear what should be feared; who use all their faculties to bless the world: and whose nature rejoices in all good gained: are for ever free from woes.

எ: வாழ்தல்.—ப: அரிது. Kural, p. 219.

This is Contentment, S. संतोष. Comp. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, 6800, which speaks of the blessedness of (संतोषामृततृप्तानां—शान्तचेतसाम्) 'those satisfied with the Ambrosia of Contentment, the men of quiet minds.'

The following seems to us a veritable gem of pure moral teaching.

67.

தீங்கு செய்தோர்க்கு எதிர்செய்யாமையே அறிவுடையார்க்கு அழகு.

மாற்றாராய் நின்றுதம் மாறேற்பார்க் கேலாமை
ஆற்றாமை என்னார் அறிவுடையார்;—ஆற்றாமை
நேர்த்தின்னா மற்றவர் செய்தக்காற் றாம்அவரைப்
பேர்த்தின்னா செய்யாமை நன்று.

Return not evil for evil.

When men stand forth as our enemies, and would begin the conflict, to decline the strife is not, in the language of the wise, lack of power. Even when men have confronted and done us intolerable evils, it is good not to do them evil in return.

எ: அறிவுடையார், பெரியாரை.—ப: என்றும், கற்று.

Here au absolute peace policy is taught: 'to decline a challenge is no sign of weakness, and not to avenge oneself is virtue.' Comp. Kuṛaḷ 861, which is less heroic in strain.

We conclude our extracts with two domestic pictures, which afford us a pleasant insight into an ancient Tamil home.

383.

கற்புடைய மனையாள் வசிக்கும் இல்லமே இல்.

நாலாறும் ஆறாய் நனிசிறிதாய் எப்புறனும்
மேலாறு மேலுறை சோரினும்—மேலாய
வல்லாளாய் வாழுமூர் தற்புகழு' மாண்கற்பின்
இல்லாள் அமர்ந்ததே இல்.

The real home!

On every side the narrow dwelling lies open, on every part the rain drips down; yet, if the dame has noble gifts, praised by townsfolk for her modest worth, such a housewife's blest abode is indeed *a home!*

Comp. Kuṛaḷ, p. 206.

384.

கணவன் கருத்துக்கொத்து நடக்கும் கற்புடையவள் பெண்.

கட்கினியாள், காதலன் காதல் வகைபுனைவாள்,
உட்குடையாள், ஊர்நாண் இயல்பினாள்,—உட்கி
இடனறிந் தூடி இனிதின் உணரும்
மடமொழி மாதராள், பெண்.

The wife: 'placens uxor.'

She is sweet to the eye, and adorned in the way that a lover loves; she enforces awe; her virtue shames the village folk; she is submissive; but in fitting place is stern, yet sweetly relents:—such a soft-voiced dame is *a wife*.

All Tamil poets regard it as an accomplishment in a woman to know how and when to assume an offended air (ஊடு, புலவி, பிணக்கு), and when to come to a good understanding with her spouse, and lay it aside (உணர்வு).



We think that these specimens are sufficient to show the English reader of what material these verses are composed. They leave a pleasing impression of the tone of thought and mode of life in South India some eight hundred and fifty years ago.

Dr. Pope has not only given the Tamil student this admirable text and commentary, but he has also given him quite a little critical apparatus in a Lexicon and Concordance to the poem. We cannot conclude without one word of hearty praise of the manner in which the book has been produced. The managers of the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on the enterprise they have exhibited in procuring clear Tamil type of two sizes, specially intended for this volume, and superior to any we have before seen in England. The accuracy of the printing is simply marvellous. Our eye has not alighted on a single misprint; and, considering the great difficulty of correcting the press where so much type in a foreign language is employed, the praise given by Dr. Pope to the skill, patience, and unwearied zeal of Mr. Pembrey, Oriental reader at the Clarendon Press, is thoroughly deserved.

H. M.

Bibliothek der Sprachkunde, or Collection of practical Handbooks for the Study of Languages. By various Authors. Wien: A. Hartleben.

This useful series is quite unprecedented, both in quantity and in quality, either in Germany or in any other country: it has now reached its fortieth volume, and, as it includes already many Oriental languages, it comes rightly within the scope of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. For some of these languages, there are in England plenty of valuable Handbooks; but, for some of them, there are none or nearly so, and, this being the case, I feel myself quite justified in reviewing here the whole Oriental series.

As a rule, each Handbook consists of a theoretical-practical Grammar with Exercises, some colloquial Phrases, a Chrestomathy with Notes and Glossary, and a small Vocabulary of about 2400 usual words: this rule has been infringed in some instances, the Grammars having been lengthened without necessity and the Vocabularies having been thrown away.[1] However, the publisher, Herr A. Hartleben, of Vienna, deserves the gratitude of all those interested in general linguistics, whether speculative scholars or practical students of languages.

Leaving aside, of course, the languages belonging to the Greek, Gallo-Italic, and Teutonic families, I will proceed to the Far East by way of Eastern Europa.

Slavonian Languages:—

Bulgarische Sprache, von Fr. Vymazal.—I can nearly state that this very accurate Handbook of the Bulgarian language is the only one existing in any European language, as the previous works of A. Cankof and D. Kyriak (Wien, 1852; in German), and of Morse and Vasilief (Constantinople, 1860; in English), are long ago out of print, and, moreover, were rather inaccurate. Although the language is not

[1] I am alluding here to the Roumanian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Handbooks, which, being rather pedantic and tedious, are of little or no practical use.

yet quite fixed and the orthography is yet less fixed, it is highly interesting: it has preserved the use of an old affixed article, while, in the other Slavonian languages, this article has remained only in the plural as the ending of the infinitive (in fact, a collective noun).

Russische Sprache, von B. Manassewitsch.—A very valuable Handbook of the Russian language, concise and complete; the language is copiously illustrated in English.

Kleinrussische oder Ruthenische Sprache, von M. Mitrofanowicz.—Invaluable Handbook of the important Ruthenian language, not yet illustrated in any other European language, as far as I know; very carefully prepared.

Slowenische Sprache, von Carl Jos. Pečnik.—A complete and accurate Handbook of the Slovenian language, spoken in Carinthia and Carniola, and not yet illustrated in any other European language: it has preserved, at least partially, the old Slavonian dual.

Serbo-kroatische Sprache, von Emil Muža.—Tolerably good Handbook of the Servo-Croatian language, not yet illustrated in English: the Dictionary of usual terms is wanting. The Servian is the eastern, and the Croatian the western, dialectal form; the latter being written with Roman, the former with Cyrillic, characters. However, there are such lexicographical and other discrepancies between these two dialectal forms of the language, not to speak of the writing, that it would have been better to deal separately with the Servian and the Croatian, not omitting to append to each a distinct Vocabulary.

Slovakische Sprache, von Gustav Maršall.—Complete and accurate Handbook of the Slovakian language, spoken in North-Western Hungary, and not yet illustrated in English; this language is sometimes considered as being only a dialect of the Bohemian language: but, as it has preserved many antiquated forms, the reverse opinion should be more correct. The people who speak it consider the word "Slovak" rather as an insult, and claim to be the "Slavs" *par excellence.*

Böhmische Sprache, von Karl Kunz.—Valuable Handbook of the Bohemian (not Gipsy) language, for which I know

only a Dictionary in English by V. E. Mourek (Prag, 1879).

Polnische Sprache, von B. Manassewitsch.—Complete and, what is here of the utmost importance, comprehensive Handbook of the Polish language, the most difficult amongst Slavonian languages, of which there is nearly nothing in English.

IRANIAN LANGUAGES :—

Armenische Sprache, von C. Kainz.—Practical and quite unparalleled Handbook of the Armenian language, by far better than any other in German, English, or French : it combines excellently the old or classical Armenian and the modern form of this interesting language.

Neupersische Sprache, von A. Seidel.—Concise and accurate Handbook of the modern Persian language; however, it has many valuable competitors either in German, English, or French.

INDIAN LANGUAGES :—

Sanskrit-Sprache, von Dr. Richard Fick.—Little Handbook of the Sanskrit language, only quoted here as belonging to the series: the language is well-known, and has been profusely illustrated in English.

Hindustani-Sprache, von A. Seidel.—Very carefully compiled Handbook of the Hindustani language, also profusely illustrated in English : it is the first attempt to make it known in Germany, and, indeed, a very successful one.

MALAYAN LANGUAGES :—

Malayische Sprache, von A. Seidel.—Very practical and accurate Handbook of the Malay language, intended chiefly for Germans, as it has been tolerably illustrated in Dutch, in English, and in French.

Javanische Sprache, von Dr. H. Bohatta.—Complete and valuable Handbook of the Javanese language, already illustrated in Dutch and in French, but not yet in German or in English.

SEMITIC LANGUAGES:—

Hebräische Sprache, von B. Manassewitsch.—One, and not the worst, of the numerous Handbooks of the Hebrew language.

Arabische Sprache, von B. Manassewitsch.—Valuable Handbook of the Arabic language, with special reference to the literary form of the language, but with some occasional reference to the colloquial Arabic: a Handbook specially devoted to the colloquial Arabic is to appear shortly.

OURALO-ALTAIC LANGUAGES:—

Ungarische Sprache, von Ferdinand Görg.—Most accurate Handbook of the Hungarian language, already illustrated in English by Csinks (London, 1853), whose work is not to be despised, on the contrary.

Finnische Sprache, von M. Wellewill.—Complete and comprehensive Handbook of the Finnish language; the only practical book on the subject in any European language: the Vocabularies are invaluable.

Türkische Sprache, von Carl Wied.—Accurate Handbook of the Turkish language, so masterly illustrated in English by the late Sir J. W. Redhouse.

Japanische Sprache, von A. Seidel.—Very carefully and judiciously compiled Handbook of the Japanese language, copiously illustrated in English.

MONOSYLLABIC LANGUAGES:—

Chinesische Sprache, von C. Kainz.—Unpretentious and effective Handbook of the Chinese colloquial language; intended chiefly for Germans, as the language has been repeatedly illustrated in English.

Siamesische Sprache, von Dr. F. J. Wershoven.—Very practical and carefully compiled Handbook of the Siamese language, already illustrated in English, though, perhaps not so successfully.

AFRICAN LANGUAGES :—

Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrikas, von A. Seidel.—Practical Handbook of the Nama, Otyiherero and Oshindonga languages, spoken in the German settlements of South-West Africa: the compiler has very ably condensed here the whole knowledge he has derived from English and German explorers of languages; this book is intended only for Germans, but to be noticed on account of its value.

Suaheli-Sprache, von A. Seidel.—Carefully compiled Handbook of the Swahili language; chiefly based on Bishop Steere's and Dr. Krapf's works, but with a more practical turn.

And now, if I add: (1) that I would have gladly noticed the Handbook of the so-called Volapük language, save for my perplexity about entering it in any Oriental family of languages; (2) that a Handbook of the language of the Gipsies is to appear shortly; and (3) that the above-noticed Handbooks are of uniform size and length (post 8vo.; about 192 pages), and nicely bound in cloth; I shall have concluded this Review at my own, and, I hope, at my readers', satisfaction.

DIE BEDAWYE-SPRACHE IN NORDOST-AFRIKA. Von LEO REINISCH. II. (Grammatik). 8vo. pp. 80. Wien: F. Tempsky, 1893.

This is only the first part of the Grammar, dealing chiefly with phonetics: it will be more convenient to review it together with the second part, when issued.

LES INSCRIPTIONS DE L'ÎLE DE DAHLAK. Par RENÉ BASSET. 8vo. pp. 39. Paris: E. Leroux, 1893.

An interesting paper on the History of the island of Dahlak, in the Red Sea.

LES APOCRYPHES ETHIOPIENS, traduits en français. Par RENÉ BASSET. I. Le livre de Baruch et la légende de Jérémie. 8vo. pp. 39. Paris, 1893.

TH. G. DE G.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BURMESE EMPIRE. By Father SANGERMANO, Roman Catholic Missionary. Printed at Rome, 1833; republished at Rangoon, and sold by Messrs. Trübner & Co.

Father Sangermano was sent to Burma in 1782, returned to Italy in 1808, and died in 1819. The work above alluded to was left in manuscript, and published after his death. It contains a minute and accurate description of the manners and customs of the people, an abridgment of the annals commonly called "Rāzāwin," an epitome of the Buddhist religion as it exists in Burma, an abstract of the Code of Law called "Dhammathat Shway Myin" (golden rule), and an immense amount of other information. This work was held in such high repute by the late Judicial Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. J. Jardine, I.C.S., that he advised the Government of British Burma to have it reprinted. This was done; but it is much to be regretted that explanatory notes were not added: for the names of persons and places are spelt after an Italian method, which misrepresents the Burmese pronunciation. There are also other matters which require elucidation. For instance, the monks, commonly called "Hpon-gyee" (great glory) by the Burmese, are invariably called by Father Sangermano "Talapoin;" and it has been generally supposed that the word is a corruption of "Talapat," the leaf of the "Talipot" palm, carried by the monks as a screen or fan to hide their faces. The monasteries, called by the Burmese "Kyoung," are called by Father Sangermano "Bao," and the use of these words is now quite unknown. If, however, we bear in mind that Sangermano resided chiefly at Rangoon, where the population is Mwn (pronounced *moon*)—a people with a distinct language and nationality, who were not finally subjugated by the Burmese until 1757, little more than twenty years prior to Sangermano's arrival—we must naturally look for the explanation of these terms in the Mwn or Peguan language. Accordingly, I find that the Peguan word for "monk" is "Tilapoin," or lord of wealth—from *Tala* "lord," and *poin*

"wealth." "Bao" is similarly the Peguan "*Bå*, a monastery," which they pronounce very long, like *Bå-a*. Mr. Haswell in his grammar gives "Tee-la-pain" as the proper word to be used in addressing a superior. Again, Sangermano talks of the Judges of the dead as "Jamamen," and it is not easy to recognize the Hindu "Yama" in this disguise; but the word is evidently composed of "Yama" and the Burmese word "min," a ruler. Our old friends the Karens are called Carian; and "Myo-thu-gyee," the headman of a town, remains "Miodighi;" whilst the headman of a village, "Yua-thu-gyee," is utterly unrecognizable in "Ioadighi." In the chapter on natural products, I fail to recognize "santor" and "durcione" amongst fruits, or "gondon" as a tree; but "marione" is the "mayan" plum (*Mangifera oppositafolia*). A large lizard is called "tala gojà," which is evidently one of the Varans; but I can find no Burmese or Mwn word like it. A little trouble would have made the book a much more valuable one. Many of the inaccuracies are doubtless due to the fact that the author was not himself able to see the first edition through the press; and much credit is due to the original editor that the work was turned out as well as it was.—*Ind. Mag.* April, 1887.

R. F. St. A. St. John.

Midrash Samuel . . . . . ed. Salomon Buber. Krakau, 1893. 8vo. pp. 142.

Midrash Mischlé . . . . . ed. S. Buber. Wilna, 1893. 8vo. pp. 112 (1 sh. 6*d*.).

The homiletic interpretation of the Bible, which commences already with its first translation into Greek, continues down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The legendary biblical lore that we find in Muhamedan and early Christian writings, finds its last source in those ancient homiletic and legendary commentaries known under the name of *Midrash*. A critical study of this literature

has commenced only during the second half of this century, owing to the powerful impulse given to these studies by *Zunz*. Hitherto we had only reprints of one, or the utmost two, ancient prints, which were based in most cases on *one MS.* only. Thanks to the indefatigable labours of Mr. Buber we possess now critical editions of the most important Midrashim, based upon numerous MSS. Variae lectiones are given, literary references are supplied, and to each text the editor has added learned and extremely valuable introductions and indices. The two volumes which I bring under the notice of our readers are the homiletic commentaries to the Books of Samuel and Proverbs, and show the same excellence of treatment and critical acumen as all the previous editions of Buber.

M. G.

G. H. Gwilliam, B.D. Anecdota Oxoniensia. The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures. Five more Fragments . . . Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893. 4to. xli. pp. 23, and 3 photo-ligraphic plates, *facsimiles.*

We owe a debt of gratitude to the learned editor of these precious fragments, and to the Clarendon Press for their publication.

In a lucid introduction the editor gives us a description of the fragments. He discusses the handwriting, the probable date, the dialect, and the relation of the versions to the originals of the Old and New Testament.

Very valuable is the list of all the known remains of the Palestinian versions, and list of Palestinian and other words and forms, and the notes on the fragments. These consist of: *Numbers*, iv. 46, 47; iv. 49–v. 2; v. 3, 4; v. 6–8. *Colossians*, iv. 12–18. 1 *Thessalonians*, i. 1–3; iv. 3–15. 2 *Timothy*, i. 10–ii. 7. *Titus*, i. 11–ii. 8, and are printed with an English translation.

The question whether the whole of the Old Testament once existed in this particular dialect is still an open one.

It is, however, not improbable that such was the case, considering that the first to have used it must have been Judæo-Christians, who would cling to the Old Testament as well as to the New, at least to the Pentateuch.

In the *Targumim* we have, in fact, such old translations into the vernacular, and the example thus set must have been imitated by the Judæo-Christians. The translation of the fragments differs, however, *considerably* from that of the *Targumim*, and points to an independent origin; a point which Mr. Gwilliam had not noticed, and which has at least a negative value.

M. G.

OUR INDIAN PROTECTORATE. By CHARLES LEWIS TUPPER, of the Indian Civil Service.

The work is described by the author as "An introduction to the study of the relations between the British Government and its Indian Feudatories." The subject is one of great interest, and, as Secretary to the Government of the Punjab and its dependencies, Mr. Tupper has been in a favourable position to investigate it.

The First Chapter distinguishes between 'International Law' and 'Indian Political Law'; Chapters II. and III. give a brief historical sketch of the growth of our Protectorate, from the days of the fiction of the supremacy of Dehli to the present time; Chapters IV. to VI. trace the development of our present policy towards Native States, considering *inter alia* the question of the annexation of Oude, the doctrine of lapse, the adoption "sanads" and their consequences, the Proclamation of 1858 and Imperial Assemblage of 1877. In Chapters VII. to XI. Mr. Tupper shows the intimate connexion between the existing system and the past of India by describing the indigenous institutions and forces which have largely influenced the formation of our Empire, such as early Indian ideas of sovereignty (tribal or territorial) and its attributes; the forms of sovereignty in the Deccan and Southern India; the

sovereignty of the Moghals; the forms of feudalism, or feudal tendencies, in India. In Chapters XII. to XV. he gives an interesting account of the condition of some of the British Provinces in times immediately preceding annexation, such as the Mahratta country, the Panjab, and some Mahomedan States, and also of some of the Native States comprised within our Protectorate at the present time. There is a Chapter on 'The limits of British interposition'; another on 'Some of the advantages of Native rule,' on 'The constitutional position of Native States,' and on 'Certain obligations of Native Rulers.' The last Chapter (XX.) deals with 'India and Imperial Federation.'

It will be seen from the above statement of the contents of the work that it traverses a good deal of ground beyond the domain of the Royal Asiatic Society; but though primarily a work for Indian Statesmen and the scientific jurist, it contains a vast amount of information of great interest to those engaged in the study of Institutions, and its historical summaries are valuable. The treatise displays close reasoning and great research, but is, in parts, too professional for any but experts in Indian administration. Mr. Tupper's general conclusion that the existing system of our relations with the Native States of India is "thoroughly sound, thoroughly beneficial, and capable of much useful development," is satisfactory.

III. Obituary Notices.

Sir Charles Peter Layard, K.C.M.G., died on July 17th at his residence, 54, Elm Park Road, S.W., at the advanced age of eighty-six. He was the son of Mr. C. E. Layard, and was born in 1806. After leaving St. John's College, Cambridge, he was appointed, in 1830, extra assistant in the Colonial Secretary's Office in Ceylon. In 1831 he became magistrate at Jaffna, in 1832 assistant to the collector at Colombo, in 1839 district judge at Galle, in

1840 district judge at Trincomalee, in 1850 again district judge at Galle, in 1851 Government Agent in the Western Provinces, and, in conjunction with the last-named office, he was Acting-Colonial Secretary in 1869 and again in 1871. He was married in 1834 to Louisa Anne, daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards. He became C.M.G. in 1875, and K.C.M.G. in 1876. His wife died in 1886. He was for many years a leading member of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was an excellent conchologist, having gradually acquired a very remarkable collection of Ceylon shells.

Mr. Justice Telang.—As we go to press we very much regret to have to record the death of Mr. Justice Telang. A full obituary of this distinguished scholar will appear in our next issue.

INDEX FOR 1893.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

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Managing Chairman—T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, 3, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
(With power to add workers to their number.)

Hon. Sec. and Treas. for America—Prof. Lanman, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. Sec. and Treas. for Ceylon—E. R. Gooneratne, Esq., Atapattu Mudaliyar, Galle.

This Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.

The historical importance of these Texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about B.C. 400–250). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully, and for so long a time, so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious

movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity. In the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. In the history of Indian literature there is nothing older than these works, excepting only the Vedic writings; and all the later classical Sanskrit literature has been profoundly influenced by the intellectual struggle of which they afford the only direct evidence. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious—than the publication of the Vedas has already been.

The whole will occupy about nine or ten thousand pages 8vo. Of these 6000 pages have already appeared. The accession of about fifty new members would make it possible to issue 1000 pages every year.

The Subscription to the Society is only One Guinea a year, or Five Guineas for six years, payable in advance. Each subscriber receives, post free, the publications of the Society, which cost a good deal more than a guinea to produce.

It is hoped that persons who are desirous to aid the publication of these important historical texts, but who do not themselves read Pāli, will give Donations to be spread if necessary over a term of years. Nearly £400 has already been thus given to the Society by public-spirited friends of historical research.

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Benares, Queen's College, India.
Birmingham Central Free Library.
Brighton Public Library.
Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.
Copenhagen University Library.
East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square.
Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale
10 Geneva. Bibliothèque Publique.
Göttingen University Library.
Halle University Library.
Harvard College.
Johns Hopkins University.
Kief University Library.
Liverpool Free Public Library.
London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
London Library, 14, St. James's Square.
Madrid. Biblioteca del Ateneo, Calle del Prado.
20 Manchester Free Reference Library, King St., Manchester.
Marburg University Library.
Münich University Library.
National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place.
Newcastle-on-Tyne Free Public Library.
Oxford. The Indian Institute.
Peabody Institute, U.S.A.
Pennsylvania University Library.
Philadelphia, Library Company.
Philadelphia Mercantile Library.
30 Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., Theological Seminary.
Strasburg University Library.
United Service Club, 116, Pall Mall.
Washington Catholic University Library.

Note.—There are many other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending him their names to be added to the above list.

	Resident Members.	Resident Compounders.	Non-resident Members.	Non-resident Compounders.	Honorary Members.	Subscribing Libraries.	TOTAL.
1888	127	42	173	53	30	—	425
1889	115	50	168	62	30	7	432
1890	108	46	182	60	30	11	437
1891	110	47	185	62	30	16	450
1892	110	48	187	61	30	23	459
Deaths ..	3	3	4	—	5	—	} 28
Retirements ..	7	—	6	—	—	—	
	100	45	177	61	25	23	431
Elected since	10	—	20	1	4	10	45
	110	45	197	62	29	33	476
Transfers ..	+2	+4	+6	+1	+1	—	
	−7		−3	−4			
Jan. 1st. 1893	105	49	200	59	30	33	476

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